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# ANNALS OF WINDSOR,

ETC., ETC.





# ANNALS OF WINDSOR,

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE CASTLE AND TOWN;

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

ETON

AND PLACES ADJACENT.

BY

ROBERT RICHARD TIGHE, ESQ.,

AND

JAMES EDWARD DAVIS, ESQ.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

VOL. I.



LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, AND ROBERTS.

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TO  
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

Queen Victoria,

THIS HISTORY OF  
HER ROYAL CASTLE OF WINDSOR

Is humbly Dedicated,

BY  
HER MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECTS,

THE AUTHORS.

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## PREFACE.

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IN presenting an historical work purporting to treat of any particular district, it is the duty of an author to satisfy the public, in the first place, that the subject is of sufficient importance to justify the attempt; in the next place, that the field of his labours is not already occupied; and lastly, that he has the materials and means for performing the task. An examination of the work itself must be, in general, the medium of determining an author's qualifications in other respects.

That the subject matter is worthy of investigation, the authors of the 'Annals of Windsor' are relieved from the necessity of any laboured proof. The interest attached to Windsor, arising from the Castle having been a residence of the sovereigns of England from the Norman Conquest to the present time, and its consequent connection with many events in English history, is evident.

In proportion to the importance of the subject, is the neces-

sity for showing that it has not hitherto met with worthy treatment. It is therefore desirable to review what has been previously attempted and accomplished in reference to Windsor.

Ashmole, who wrote an elaborate work on the Order of the Garter, containing much valuable information connected with Windsor, also contemplated writing a work on the Castle, and collected materials for that purpose, but never carried the project into effect. In 1714 Dr. Dawson, Vicar of Windsor, published the 'Memoirs of St. George and the Order of the Garter,' as an Introduction to an intended "History of the Antiquities of the Castle, Town, and Borough of Windsor, with the parts adjacent," but the project was not carried out. In 1749 Pote, the bookseller at Eton, selected portions of Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' and adding to them a collection of monumental inscriptions in St. George's Chapel and the parish church, and prefixing a concise account of the principal charters of the Borough, and a description of the Town, with some other particulars, published the whole in a quarto volume, styling it 'The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle,' &c. In 1813 Mr. James Hakewell, an architect, reprinted a great part of the text of Pote, to which he added descriptions of places in the neighbourhood of Windsor and Eton, and published this, with illustrations, by subscription, as the 'History of Windsor.' An examination of Mr. Hakewell's volume, will show that not the slightest attempt was made to entitle it to the name of a 'History.'

After the extensive alterations and restorations in the castle under Sir Jeffrey Wyatville, in the reigns of George the Fourth and William the Fourth, the executors of the architect published



a series of 'Illustrations of Windsor Castle,' to which is prefixed a most valuable and carefully written historical essay, by Mr. Ambrose Poynter, on the structure, and on the changes effected in it from time to time by various sovereigns. It occupies twenty-six pages, and, as far as it extends, leaves little to be desired, and is very frequently referred to and cited in the following work. Being restricted, however, to the mere changes in the structure of the castle, it is needless to say that the essay has no pretensions to rank as a history of Windsor, either of the castle or town. Even for the purpose for which it was designed it is not always accessible, the unwieldy form and strictly architectural style of the illustrations confining the essay within the reach of a very limited number of persons.

A very pretty volume by Leitch Ritchie (and of which a second edition, by Mr. Jesse, was published in 1848), entitled 'Windsor Castle and its Environs, including Eton College,' contains some pleasant gossip, interspersed with pictorial illustrations.

The work that has the strongest claim to be regarded in the light of a History of Windsor, is Mr. Stoughton's 'Notices of Windsor in the Olden Time,' published in 1844. In this unpretending but interesting little volume there is, undoubtedly, more matter connected with Windsor than had been put together by any previous writer; but still it does not possess the character of a Local History. The substance of it formed a series of lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute at Windsor, and the author's principal sources of information were the previous works already noticed, aided by an occasional reference to other authorities, and a few extracts from second-hand notes of local documents.

Of hand-books and illustrated guide-books for visitors to the castle, the one most deserving of commendation is Mr. Jesse's 'Summer Day at Windsor and Eton.'

With the exception of Mr. Poynter's essay, not one of the works enumerated shows any attempt on the part of the author to lay before the reader even the most ordinary sources of information. Not only have the national records of the country remained unsearched, but the printed works of the chroniclers and historians of England have been neglected. With respect to the mass of local records, their very existence appears to have been unknown and unthought of. The muniments of the corporation, as well as the parochial registers and churchwardens' accounts, have remained entirely unnoticed, and yet the past history of a town like Windsor, possessed of charters and privileges from a very early period, is scarcely inferior in interest to the transactions more immediately connected with the castle. The chamberlains' accounts alone, commencing with the reign of Henry the Eighth, afford a fund of information on various topics connected with the domestic habits and customs of the people in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The payment of the parliamentary representatives of the borough; the bribery and intimidation of a later period; the various visitations of the plague; the sanitary condition of the town (as for example, the cleansing of the streets at the funeral of Henry the Eighth); the changes effected at the Reformation; and the later alteration in religious feeling attending the growth of Puritanism, are only a few heads of numerous classes of entries. Some will be found, indeed, involving topics of a higher and more

general interest; as, for example, those entries relating to the change in the value of money, and the proceedings between the Protector Somerset and the Lords of the Council. Foxe, the Martyrologist, is confirmed in his history by the particulars of the names and position of the chief inhabitants of Windsor at the time the victims of the Six Articles were burnt there, and the national historians of the same period are corroborated by the entries respecting the summary execution of the priest and butcher in 1536. Even Shakespeare, exhausted as every source of information respecting him and his plays apparently is, receives fresh illustration in the existence and position of the "Garter" Inn, the rank of "mine host," the position of "The Fields," "Datchet Mead," the state of the Castle ditch, and various other contemporaneous entries of names and places connected with the 'Merry Wives of Windsor.' So abundant are the materials relating to this play, from these and other sources, that a separate chapter has been devoted to them.

The materials collected by Ashmole, and preserved at Oxford, are perhaps even of greater value, as they comprise extracts from various local records now lost or destroyed. The proclamation in 1495 (not noticed by Ruding) respecting the coinage, and the correspondence between Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, and the Mayor of Windsor in 1635, illustrate the nature of some of these documents.

It is on the careful examination for the first time of the local muniments, and of Ashmole's manuscripts, that the authors in a great measure rest their claim for support. At the same time they have not neglected any other available sources of information

and it is scarcely necessary to say, that an examination of the Public Records by the assistance of the Calendars, and of various MSS. in the British Museum, has afforded a very considerable portion of the materials employed in these volumes. The appearance in print for the first time, as it is believed, of the most interesting part of the narrative of the visit of Philip of Castile to Henry the Seventh at Windsor, in 1506, from the Cottonian MSS., and the Parliamentary surveys from Carlton Ride, may be referred to as instances of curious matter brought to light.

As the title-page indicates, these researches have not been strictly confined to Windsor. Eton is necessarily, from its situation, so closely connected with Windsor, that to shut out all notice of it would be to render the whole work imperfect, and although the authors do not pretend that a complete history of Eton is contained in these volumes, yet they believe that more information respecting the town and college will be found interspersed in them than has been hitherto collected in any work purporting to give an account of that place. It may be remarked, that while almost every previous account of Eton commences with the foundation of the College by Henry the Sixth, many earlier events and circumstances connected with the town are here recorded. The same observations apply, in a less degree, to various other places of interest in the neighbourhood.

At the same time the authors do not assume that they have exhausted the stores of materials for a history of Windsor. It would be more than the labour of a life to examine all the public records for that purpose. Fresh sources of information have been

disclosed by calendars published since the principal part of the work went through the press.

The circumstances that induced the authors to undertake this task may be briefly referred to.

In the year 1845 Mr. Tighe, then resident in Windsor, suggested some improvements and alterations in the roads and approaches to the castle and town of Windsor. These suggestions were contained in a letter on the subject addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, then Lord Lincoln, First Commissioner of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and printed for private distribution, accompanied by illustrations from the plans and drawings of Norden, and later surveyors. In prosecuting these inquiries into the former condition of the castle, town, and neighbourhood, and the changes effected from time to time, the fact that little had hitherto been done towards a history of this important and interesting district, became apparent. Entertaining the design of supplying the want, Mr. Tighe obtained the assistance of his friend, Mr. J. E. Davis, whose spare time from professional avocations has been accordingly devoted to the preparation and completion of the 'Annals.'

The present volume is the result, and the authors may say, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne, "We were hinted by the occasion, not caught the opportunity to write of old things, or intrude upon the antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of antiquities, who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things, or make out learned novelties."

It only remains for Mr. Davis to acknowledge the great assistance received in the preparation of this work. Thanks are

due to the authorities at the British Museum, to Sir Francis Palgrave the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records, and to the officers of the Rolls Chapel and at Carlton Ride.

At Oxford, in addition to the general assistance received during repeated visits to the Bodleian and Ashmolean, Mr. Davis cannot refrain from expressing his obligations to the Rev. H. O. Coxe of the former, and to Dr. Duncan of the latter. To his friend Mr. Granville Somerset, Fellow of All Souls, he is indebted for access to the Library of that College. Mr. Rowell, the intelligent assistant deputy-keeper of the Ashmolean, is entitled to an acknowledgement for his constant attention during a protracted examination of the manuscripts.

At Windsor, although many of its inhabitants have afforded material aid, it is for the important services of Mr. Seeker, Clerk of the Peace, and formerly Town Clerk of the Borough, that thanks are especially due. Besides giving full access to all the Records of the Corporation, he has increased the value and accuracy of the work by suggestions and corrections, which his local knowledge, combined with a taste for antiquarian pursuits, so well qualified him to make.

Lastly, to Mr. Thomas Wright an acknowledgment is tendered for many valuable suggestions, and important assistance in the progress of the earlier pages through the press.

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# ANNALS OF WINDSOR,

*&c.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### WINDSOR PREVIOUS TO AND DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

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CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE, A.D. 1066, WALTER FITZ-OTHER.

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Difficulties attendant upon the investigation of the early history of Windsor—Tradition of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table—Traces of the Romans in the neighbourhood of Windsor—Old Windsor a residence of Saxon Kings—Edward the Confessor—Grant by that King to St. Peter's, Westminster—Regained by William the Conqueror—Site of the Palace at Old Windsor—Derivation of the name of Windsor—Erection of the Castle by the Conqueror—Domesday Survey—State of the district, derived from the particulars contained in that Instrument and other sources—Walter Fitz-Other appointed Governor of the Castle—Origin of the Town—Windsor a residence of the Conqueror—Supposed to refer to Old Windsor—Dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York—Preservation of game by the Conqueror.

IN tracing to remote periods the history of any place that has been more or less distinguished as the scene of important or interesting occurrences, difficulties of various kinds impede the progress of the historian and antiquary. One impediment arises from the general absence of all positive information as to the first commencement of structures, whether of towns or villages, castles or religious edifices, and of the causes that led to the selection of the particular spots for their erection. It is a difficulty, however, especially incident to the case of ordinary habitations, for, if they possess any interest from their connection with past events, the cause of that interest must necessarily have arisen subsequently

to the first erection of the dwelling whose origin is consequently unrecorded. Thus while it sometimes happens that the exact period of the foundation of an abbey or a castle, may, independently of any charter or written evidence attesting the fact, be determined with accuracy from the general interest attached to the event itself or the causes which led to it, the time or causes, on the other hand, that first brought men together to inhabit any particular spot, the addition of one dwelling to another, and the gradual formation of the hamlet, the village, and town, are lost in obscurity.

A stumbling-block of another kind lies in the path of the inquirer after, and collector of, the vestiges of the past. Traditions, either wholly fabulous, or containing a large admixture of error with fact, are connected with the scenes of past occurrences, and were handed down without discrimination by the early recorders of events.

Difficulties of both the classes referred to, attend the historian of WINDSOR.

Froissart, adopting the common belief of his age, narrates that King Arthur instituted his order of the Knights of the Round Table at Windsor, and assembled there with his knights;<sup>1</sup> but the existence of such a British king is at least a matter of doubt, and that part of his history which assigns Windsor as one of his residences, may be certainly regarded as fabulous.<sup>2</sup>

That the Romans, during their possession of Britain, had dwellings in the immediate vicinity of Windsor, is certain. Roman coins and urns have been found at St. Leonards, near Windsor;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chron., b. i, c. 100. Harrison, in his description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's 'Chronicles' (edit. 1587), says the Castle was "buildd in times past by King Arthur, or before him by Arviragus, as it is thought."

<sup>2</sup> See the quaint but discreet language of Lambarde to this effect, in his 'Dictionarium Angliæ Topographicum et Historicum.'

<sup>3</sup> See them engraved and described in Ashmole's 'Berkshire,' vol. iii, p. 210. See also Lysons' 'Magna Britannia,' vol. i, p. 199. A bronze lamp, several spear-heads, pieces of a trumpet, and a spur, presented by Sir Hans Sloane to the Society of Antiquaries, were dug up there, with other antiquities, in 1705. The bronze lamp was supposed to be Roman, but it has not the appearance of such high antiquity. (Lysons, pp. 215 and 199, note). It was, however, adopted as the crest of the Society of Antiquaries, and is engraved in the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' vol. i.

and Roman bricks, &c., are also stated to have been met with at Old Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

In the vicinity of Burnham, in Buckinghamshire, a few miles north-west of Windsor, coins of the emperors Constantine and Probus have been found.<sup>2</sup>

The existence of the great Roman road leading from London westward to Silchester (*Callewa Atrebatum*), and which is supposed to have crossed the Thames at Staines (*Pontes*), makes it a reasonable inference that Old Windsor, which is only three miles above Staines, was not a spot unknown to the Romans. It has, indeed, been suggested, that either Old Windsor or St. Leonards is the site of *Pontes*,<sup>3</sup> but Staines is now generally considered as the true site of that station,<sup>4</sup> while it has been hinted that *Bibracte*, which is also claimed for Bray, would better suit Old Windsor.<sup>5</sup>

If, however, Staines is to be considered as a Roman station on the road between London and Silchester, it is impossible that either Old Windsor or St. Leonards could be a station on the same line of road, because there is indubitable evidence of the existence of the Roman Road in the vicinity of Sunning Hill, some miles south of Old Windsor, where it goes by the name of the *Devil's Causeway*,<sup>6</sup> and any person acquainted with the situation of the places, or referring to a map of the district, will at once perceive, that assuming Staines and Sunning Hill to be upon the line, St. Leonards and Old Windsor could not have been near it. As there is no ground for supposing the existence of any other line

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, p. 199. See also the impressions of a gem, bearing a Mercury on one side and  $\Phi\Lambda\Omega\chi$  on the other, found by Mr. Pownall in Old Windsor; 'Ash. MSS.,' No. 1763, fol. 36 b.

<sup>2</sup> In the possession of Mr. Moore, of Thames Street, Windsor.

<sup>3</sup> Horsley, 'Britannia Romana.' St. Leonards is so far from the river Thames as to preclude the idea that the Roman station was there.

<sup>4</sup> See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 203; 'The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon,' by Thomas Wright, (1852,) p. 136; and Edgell's 'Observations upon certain Roman Roads and Towns in the South of Britain.' Holinshed says Reading was called *Pontium* (vol. i, p. 79, edit. 1807).

<sup>5</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 203. Bibracte is now placed at Wickham Bushes, near Bagshot.

<sup>6</sup> See Edgell's 'Observations, &c.,' cited in note 4.

of Roman road in this part of the country than the one from London to Silchester (in which all the roads to the south-west of England were united), the title of Old Windsor as the site of a Roman station cannot be supported.

If Old Windsor cannot with certainty be said to have been known to the Romans, it is beyond doubt that this is the spot which attracted the attention of the Saxons to the neighbourhood as a royal residence; although the present town and castle of Windsor are of Norman origin, as will be hereafter shown.

Old Windsor, which is now a parish and scattered village, lies about two miles south-east of the present town of Windsor.

The manor belonged to the Saxon kings, who are supposed to have had a palace at Old Windsor from a very early period. It is certain that King Edward the Confessor sometimes kept his court there.<sup>1</sup>

According to one chronicler, it was at Windsor that Earl Godwin, or Goodwin, father-in-law of Edward, met his death.<sup>2</sup>

Hermannus, the archdeacon, in his 'Miracles of St. Edmund,'<sup>3</sup> the MS. of which is of the time of William the Conqueror, mentions the fact of a person going to Edward the Confessor in his palace

<sup>1</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 413. "Didici à luculento quodam teste Eadneardum regem, Ethelredi infortunati filium, Vindelesoranum Castrum celebrasse." Leland, 'Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem,' verb. 'Vindelesora.'

<sup>2</sup> The Earl had been suspected of being instrumental in the murder of Alfred, the king's brother, in the previous reign of Harold. "Upon Easter Monday," about the 12th year of Edward's reign (1053), says Fabyan, ('Chronicles,' by Ellis, p. 228,) "Goodwyn, syttyng at the kynges bourde with other lordes, in the Castell of Wynsore, it happed one of the kynges cuppe-berers to stumble and to recover agayne, so that he shed none of the drynke; wherat Goodwyn loughed, and sayd, 'Nowe, that one brother hath susteyned that other,' wherby he ment that the one fote or legge hath sustayned that other from fallynge. With whiche wordes the Kyng marked hym and sayd, 'ryght, so my brother Alfrede shulde have holpen me, ne hadde erle Goodwyn ben.' The erle then conceived that the kyng suspected hym of his brother's deth, and sayd unto the kyng, in defendynge his untrouthe, 'Syr, as I perceyve well, it is tolde to the that I shuld be the cause of thy brother's deth; so mut I safely swalowe this morsell of brede that I here holde in my hande, as I am gytlesse of the dede.' But as soone as he had receyved the brede, forthwith he was choked. Than the kyng commaunded hym to be drawn from the table, and so was conveyed to Wynchester, and there buried."

It does not appear on what authority Fabyan assigns Windsor as the scene of this event. All the early chroniclers place Earl Godwin's death at Winchester.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Cotton, Tiberius, b. ii, fol. 48. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Thomas Wright, for the discovery of this curious contemporary notice of Windsor. [J. E. D.]



at Windsor. "Venitur Windelesoriis ad locum regii decoris, aperit rex secretum sue voluntatis," &c.

This is the earliest notice hitherto discovered of Windsor, so far as respects the narrator, but in Geoffrey Gaimar's 'Estorie des Engles,' which was composed about the middle of the twelfth century, reference is made to Windsor in describing a victory obtained by Earl Ethelwulf over the Danes, at Englefield, in the year 871, nearly a century before the conquest.<sup>1</sup>

Windsor, however, is not mentioned in reference to this event by any other historian, and, moreover, the name does not occur in two out of the four MS. versions of the 'Estorie des Engles,' from which that chronicle has been printed.

William of Malmesbury, in narrating the miraculous powers of Edward the Confessor, incidentally mentions Windsor as a royal residence. "That you may know the perfect virtue of this prince, in the power of healing more especially, I shall add something

<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Norman metrical Chronicle of Geoffrey Gaimar, printed for the first time entire, from the manuscript in the British Museum, with illustrative notes, &c., edited by Thomas Wright, 8vo, 1850, printed for the members of the Caxton Society. See also the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica.' The following is the passage in which Windsor is mentioned:

"Quart jor après vint Edelret  
 Li reis, e son frere Elveret,  
 A Redinges, out mult grant ost,  
 E les Daneis en eissirent tost.  
 En un plein champ tindrent estur,  
 Ki ne failli en tut un jor.  
 Illoc fust Edelwolf oscis,  
 Li riches hom dunt des ainz vus di.  
 E Edelret e Eivereth  
 Furent chascé a Wiscelet.  
 Co est un gué vers *Windsoveres*,  
 A unes estand en unes mores.  
 Illoc l'un ost alat arere,  
 Ne seurent gué sur la rivere:  
 Thuiforde ad nun li gué tudis,  
 U les Daneis sunt resortiz.  
 E les Engleis sunt eschapez,  
 Mès mulz en sunt morz e naffrez;  
 Ci furent Daneis victur."

Wiscelet, mentioned in the above extract, is Wistley, or Wichelet Green, near Twyford.

which will excite your wonder. Wolwin, surnamed Spillecorn,<sup>1</sup> the son of Wolmar of Nutgareshale,<sup>2</sup> was one day cutting timber in the wood of Bruelle,<sup>3</sup> and indulging in a long sleep after his labour, he lost his sight for seventeen years, from the blood, as I imagine, stagnating about his eyes: at the end of this time, he was admonished in a dream to go round to eighty-seven churches, and earnestly entreat a cure of his blindness from the saints. At last coming to the king's court, he remained for a long time, in vain, in opposition to the attendants, at the vestibule of his chamber. He still continued importunate, however, without being deterred, till at last, after much difficulty, he was admitted by order of the king. When he had heard the dream, he mildly answered, 'By my lady St. Mary, I shall be truly grateful if God, through my means, shall choose to take pity upon a wretched creature.' In consequence, though he had no confidence in himself, with respect to miracles, yet, at the instigation of his servants, he placed his hand, dipped in water, on the blind man. In a moment the blood dripped plentifully from his eyes, and the man restored to sight exclaimed with rapture, 'I see you, O king! I see you, O king!' In this recovered state he had charge of the royal palace at Windsor, for there the cure had been performed, for a long time; surviving his restorer several years. On the same day, from the same water, three blind men, and a man with one eye, who were supported on the royal alms, received a cure, the servants administering the healing water with perfect confidence."<sup>4</sup>

Those who are accustomed to deal with the traditions of the old chroniclers, will receive the above narrative as evidence of the existence of a royal residence at Windsor at this period, without being bound to admit the miraculous powers of the monk-beloved king. Moreover, as the chronicler lived in the early part of the twelfth century, the fact of there being a palace at Old Windsor some fifty or sixty years before, if not strictly within his own knowledge, must have been matter of common notoriety.

<sup>1</sup> According to Kennet it should be "de Spillicote." ('Parochial Antiquities,' vol. i, p. 72, edit. 1818.)

<sup>2</sup> Lutegarshale, now Ludgershall. (Kennet's 'Parochial Antiquities.')

<sup>3</sup> Brill, in Bucks. *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> William of Malmesbury's 'Chronicle,' by Sharpe.

Roger of Wendover places another incident in the reign of Edward the Confessor at Windsor. "It happened in the same year (A.D. 1065), in the presence of King Eadward, at Wyndeshore, Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, moved with envy, seized by the hair his brother Harold, as he was pledging the king in a cup of wine, and handled him shamefully, to the amazement of all the king's household. Provoked to vengeance at this, Harold seized his brother in his arms, and lifting him up, dashed him with violence against the ground: on which the soldiers rushed forward from all sides, and put an end to the contest between these famous brothers, and separated them from each other."<sup>1</sup>

According to one MS. version of the Saxon Chronicle, Æthelsige, or Ethelsy, was consecrated Abbot of St. Augustine's by the king at Windsor, on St. Augustine's mass day, A.D. 1061.<sup>2</sup>

A charter of king Edward bears date the 20th of May, 1065, at the royal *vill* of *Wendlesore*,<sup>3</sup> and is attested by Gibson, bishop of Wells.<sup>4</sup> Another royal charter, without any date of the year, purports to be made at Windsor on the fourth day of Easter; witnessed by Eadgitha the Queen, and Earls Godwin and Harold.<sup>5</sup>

Edward the Confessor, by a charter bearing date the fifth of the kalends of January, 1066, granted Windsor, with its appurtenances, to the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster.<sup>6</sup>

The charter commences with a recital of the past afflictions of the kingdom by the disputes for the sovereignty, the ultimate peaceable establishment of Edward on the throne, and his great prosperity, so that no preceding king could be compared to him in riches and glory. The king goes on to say, that being indebted to God for all these blessings, he had determined to proceed to the seat of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and there return thanks

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Wendover's 'Flowers of History,' by Dr. Giles, 2 vols., London, 1849, vol. i, p. 321. Henry of Huntingdon places the scene at Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> See the 'Saxon Chronicle,' by Dr. Giles, 8vo, London, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> "In regali villa Wendlesore nuncupata."

<sup>4</sup> Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici,' tom. iv, pp. 163, 165.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Cott., Faust., A. iii, fol. 25 b. The charter is printed in the 'Monasticon,' and in Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici.'

for past mercies, and pray for a continuance of them; that he had made preparations for the expense of the journey, and prepared worthy presents for the apostles; but that his nobles, fearing disturbances in his absence, had dissuaded him from the attempt. He therefore applied to the Pope for a dispensation from his vow, which was granted, but coupled with a command to Edward to bestow the amount intended for the journey, either in building or repairing and enlarging some religious house dedicated to St. Peter. A communication made by St. Peter to a trustworthy monk, expressing his wish that the monastery at Westminster should be rebuilt, had determined the king's selection; and that the fabric was accordingly restored. The king then specifically confirms the donations of land of former monarchs and the gifts of the great men of his court; and, lastly, states that for the hope of eternal salvation and for the remission of his sins, and for the souls of his father and mother and all his ancestors,<sup>1</sup> and to the praise of God, he had placed upon the altar, by way of endowment, various things used in the services of the church, together with a grant of lands at different places, and among others, "Windlesora cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus."

The charter closes with an anathema against those who should oppose the intent of the deed, which is witnessed by a number of bishops and nobles.

At the same time that the King granted this charter to the monastery of Westminster, he announced to his bishops, earls, and thanes of Berkshire and Middlesex his grant of Windsor in these terms:<sup>2</sup>

"Edward the king greets well my bishops and my earls, and all my

<sup>1</sup> "Postremo ego ipse, pro spe retribucionis eternæ, et pro remissione delictorum meorum, et pro animabus patris mei et matris mei et omnium parentum meorum," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Edward king gret wel mine biscopes and mine eorles and alle mine þegnes on Barroescire and on Middelsexen freondlic, and ic kithe ou þat ic habbe se-gifen Criste and Sainte Petre into Westminster, Windlesoren and Stane, and al that tharto herde, binnan bureh and butan, mid sace and mid soene, mid toll and mid theame, and mid infaungeneþef, on wode and on felde, be strande and bi lande, on strate and of strate, and on alle thngan, swa ful and swa forth, swa it me silfen forrest on hande stod, and ic nelle geþafyan that þær any man ani onsting habbe on any thngan buten se abbod and thase broþran to Sainte Petres neode. God cou se healde. (MS. Cotton Faustina, A iii, fol. 104 rº.)

thanes in Berkshire and in Middlesex friendly, and I make known to you that I have given to Christ and St. Peter at Westminster, Windsor and Staines, and all that therto belongs, within burgh and without, with *saca* and *soca*,<sup>1</sup> with toll and with *theame*,<sup>2</sup> and with *infangtheft*,<sup>3</sup> in wood and in field, by strand and by land, in street and out of street, and in all things, as fully and as extensively as I myself first held it; and I will not suffer that any man have power there in any thing, but the abbot and monks for the need of St. Peter. God himself preserve you."

The quantity of land which Edward held was twenty hides.<sup>4</sup>

Old Windsor did not continue long in the possession of the monastery. William the Conqueror, being greatly pleased with its situation, made, in the first year of his reign, an exchange of lands, by which Windsor was again restored to the crown.

"By the constitution and favour of the venerable Abbot of Westminster, I have agreed for Windlesora for the king's use, the place appearing proper and convenient for a royal retirement on account of the river and its nearness to the forest for hunting, and many other royal conveniences, in exchange for which I have given Wokendune and Feringes."<sup>5</sup>

The following writ appears to have been issued by the king at the same time:<sup>6</sup>

"William the king greets William, the bishop, and Swein, the sheriff, and all my thanes in Essex friendly, and I make known to you that I

<sup>1</sup> *Saca* was the power and privilege of hearing and determining causes and disputes, levying forfeitures and fines, executing laws, and administering justice within a certain precinct. *Soca* was the territory or precinct in which the *saca* and other privileges were exercised. (Ellis, 'Introduction to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 273; Wilkins, 'Leges Anglo-Saxonice,' p. 202.)

<sup>2</sup> *Theame* was the power of having, restraining, and judging bondmen, neifs, and villains, with their children, goods, and chattels, in the lord's court. (Cowel, 'Law Interpr.,' fol. 1727.)

<sup>3</sup> *Infangtheft*, thieves taken within the jurisdiction.

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>5</sup> See extract in Gough's 'Camden's Britannia.' The King also gave fourteen sokemen and their lands, and one freeholder in Thurestaple Hundred, who held one yard land belonging to Feringes, with three houses in Colchester. (See Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 127-8.) I have not discovered the original charter, which appears to be imperfectly cited. [J. E. D.]

<sup>6</sup> Willem king gret Willem b. and Swein scirefen and alle mine thegnes on Estsexen frendlice. And ic k  e eow that ic wille   at   a twa land, Feringe and Wokindone,   e ic lete into Westminster for Windlesore the hwearfe ligge   der (*sic*) inne nu mid sace and mid soene, swa full and swa f  r swa itt hi   der inn firmest se-unnen habbe on allen

will that the two lands Feringe and Wokendon, which I gave unto Westminster, in exchange for Windsor, henceforth be held with *saca* and *soca*, as fully and as extensively in every thing, as they have enjoyed it therein, most firmly; and let the sheriff Sweyn deliver the land to the holy monastery to have as they had it; and I command that whatsoever may have been carried away thence, whether cattle or other property, shall be restored within seven nights after this writ has been read, by my friendship. And I will not suffer that any man deprive the holy monastery of any thing that I have collected therein."

The site of the royal palace at Old Windsor is not known with certainty.<sup>1</sup> A farm house, which until recently stood west of the church and near the river, surrounded by a moat, probably marked the site.<sup>2</sup> Scarcely raised above the level of the Thames, which flows close to it and supplied the moat with water, the palace had no natural defence, and was used rather as a convenient spot for hawking and hunting than a place of strength.

It is from the situation of Old Windsor that its name is generally supposed to be derived. In the grants of Edward the Confessor the place is called "Windlesora" and "Windlesorc." Camden speaks of Windsor as called by the Saxons, "*perhaps* from the windings of the banks, Wyuderhopa."<sup>3</sup> This derivation, which

þngen, and Sweyn scirefa betace tha land into than halagen minstre habbe se e hi habbe, and ice beode þatt swa hwat swa þanun ut se-don sð on erfe odðe on oðer þnge, þat it cume ongean binnen sefen nihten þar þe þs se writte se-raed bið bi minen freondscipe. And ice nelle se-þasian þat mann atbrede þam halagen minstre any þare þnge þas þe ice þider inne se-unnen habbe. (MS. Cotton, Faust., A iii, fol. 113 r°.)

<sup>1</sup> Leland (writing in the 16th century) wonders at the seldom mention made of this place by the old Chroniclers. "Illud certe mihi mirum videtur, quod, quum non paucis ab hinc seculis tanquam regia Saxonum sedes re ipsa in magno steterit precio, cum aucupii, tum venationis titulo, tam rara de eo fiat mentio apud veteres historiæ scriptores." ('Commentarii in Cynceam Cantionem,' verb. Vindelesora.)

<sup>2</sup> See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> "Windles-ofra, Windles-oure, Windles-ora, Windsor, Berks; flexuosa ripa; qualis Thamesina ista, ad quam situs est vicus inde dictus, Windelsor, Windsor." (Bosworth's 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.') By the old historians the name was variously spelled: Windleshora (Florence); Windlesores (William of Malmesbury); Windleshores, Windleshores (Hen. of Hunt. and Hovd); Windeshores, Windesoure (Hovd); Windelsores, Windlesores, Windlesores (Gervase); Windesoure, Wyndesore (Brompton); Windesour, Wyndosor (Knighton). Gibson says (in the 'Nominum locorum explicatio' affixed to his edition of the 'Saxon Chronicle') 'Quod autem nonnunquam scribitur Windlesofra et Windlesoure, id deducendum esse vocabulum suadet ab *ofre* (*ripa*), quod paulatim liquefactum fuit in *oure*, indeque in *ora*.'

was merely a suggestion of Camden, has been adopted by subsequent writers as incontrovertibly established;<sup>1</sup> but although the winding course of the river Thames, between the present town of Windsor and Staines, certainly gives a plausibility to this suggestion,<sup>2</sup> it may be doubted whether the origin of the name may not be more correctly traced to another source. Harrison, in describing the Thames and its tributaries, says, "Being past the Cole (Colne), we come to the fall of the Vindeles, which riseth by north west neere unto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run together toward Cherteseie, where when they have met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the north-east side of Cherteseie."<sup>3</sup>

There can be little or no doubt that Windlesham derives its name from this stream, and signifies the house or village on the Windles, or Vindeles, as Harrison spells it. Although Windlesham is several miles distant from Windsor, it must be remembered that the whole of the district drained by the river Windles, was originally within the limits of the forest of Windsor;<sup>4</sup> and as Old Windsor was probably selected by the Saxon kings as a residence for the same reason that it was subsequently repurchased by the Conqueror, (namely, on account of its convenience for hunting

<sup>1</sup> Although Ashmole, in his 'Order of the Garter,' speaks of Camden's idea simply as a conjecture, Pote, who (in his 'History of Windsor') transcribes largely from Ashmole, ventures to say, "Camden *rightly* conjectures that the remarkable winding course or shore of the river here gave rise to the name." Mr. Stoughton, more recently, in his 'Windsor in the Olden Time,' says Old Windsor "bore the name of Wyndleshora, a Saxon appellation, referring to the winding banks of the Thames in that vicinity." This is one of the many instances that occur (among topographical and antiquarian writers especially) of a modest suggestion being taken up and treated as a positive and incontrovertible dictum. Two absurd conjectures have been made as to the origin of the name Windsor: Lambard ('Dict. Angl. Top. et Hist.') says it is derived from "the *seyndie shoare*, because it standeth lygh, and subject to the wynde;" the other is, that it was so called from the winding of boats across the Thames at this place.

<sup>2</sup> That the Thames does wind unusually in the neighbourhood of Old Windsor is evidenced by the fact that some years ago the Commissioners of the Thames Navigation made a shorter cut for barges from the wear below Datchet to Old Windsor, in order to avoid the circuitous course of the river between those places.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Description of Britaine,' prefixed to Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' edit. 1587.

<sup>4</sup> See "Windlesham Walk," in Norden's Map and Tables of the Forest. (Harl. MSS., No. 3749.)

in the forest,) it may very naturally have received the name of Windles-ofer, or Windles-ora, the place beyond or adjoining to Windles in the forest of Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

The lands of Windsor, granted by Edward the Confessor and exchanged by the Abbot of Westminster with William, appear to have had reference to Old Windsor, and did not include the site of the present town or castle.

The Conqueror proceeded to build a castle<sup>2</sup> on the brow of the

<sup>1</sup> There is a large parish on the western border of Dorsetshire called Broad Windsor, which is described in Domesday Survey by the names of "Windsore," "Windestorte," and "Windsore." The members of a family named from this place are described in instruments of the reign of Henry the Third as Thomas and John de "Windsore." Hutchins says the parish seems to take its name from the winding border that separates it from Somersetshire ('Dorsetshire,' vol. i, p. 603, 2d edition); but this is not a satisfactory derivation, and was probably suggested to the author by Camden's corresponding derivation of Windsor in Berkshire. It deserves notice that Winsham (spelt as Windlesham is generally pronounced) is near Broad Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> The Conqueror relied mainly on the strength of his castles for the preservation of his power in England. It was the want of such places that had facilitated his success, and the multiplication of them gave him the strongest assurance that he would be able permanently to overcome his English subjects.

The castles of the Conqueror's own time were those of Canterbury, Tunbridge, and Rochester, in Kent; Hastings, Arundel, Bramber, and Lewes, in Sussex (Pevensey had been erected in the Roman times); Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight; Walingford and Windsor, in Berkshire; Wareham, in Dorsetshire; Exeter and Oakhampton, in Devonshire; Dunhevet and Tremaon, in Cornwall; Gloucester and Berkeley, in Gloucestershire; Chepstow, in Monmouthshire; Dudley, in Worcestershire; in Herefordshire, Wigmore, Clifford, and Ewias; the castles of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln; Rockingham, in Northamptonshire; Warwick and Tutbury, in Staffordshire; Shrewsbury and Montgomery Castles, in Shropshire; Ruthlan, in Flintshire; Penwardant, between the Ribble and the Mersey; the Peak Castle, in Derbyshire; two castles at York; Pomfret and Richmond Castles; Clitheroe; Raleygh, in Essex; Norwich Castle; and Eye, in Suffolk.

Of these, nearly the whole of which are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, eight are known, either on the authority of that record or of our old historians, to have been built by the Conqueror himself; ten are entered as erected by greater barons, and one by an under-tenant. Eleven more, of whose builders we have no particular account, are noticed in the Survey either expressly or by inference as *new*. It is singular that the ruins which are now remaining of almost all these castles have preserved one feature of uniformity: they are each distinguished by a mount and keep,—marking the peculiar style of architecture introduced into our castellated fortifications by the Conqueror and his adherents.

The castles of Dover, Nottingham, and Durham, known to have been built by the Conqueror, with the White Tower in the Tower of London, are unnoticed in the Domesday Survey. (Ellis, 'Intro. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 223; Ellis, 'Letters,' 3d series, vol. i, pp. 11-12.)



hill two miles north-west of Old Windsor. No accounts are left of the form or details of this structure, nor the precise period of its erection.<sup>1</sup> It was built before the Domesday survey, which was finished in the year 1086.

Some idea of the state of the district at the time of the erection of the Castle, may be collected from the survey.<sup>2</sup>

King William held Old Windsor as his own demesne, *i. e.* retained it as his own estate.<sup>3</sup> Edward the Confessor was possessed

<sup>1</sup> "The castle of the Norman period of our history must not be confounded with the palatial fortress of the fourteenth century. The principles upon which the Norman strongholds were constructed resemble those which apply to the fortification of a town. A high and solid rampart, encircled by a ditch, flanked by salient towers, and defended by a parapet, inclosed an open space, sometimes of several acres. At or near the extremity of this inclosure, and on its most inaccessible height, or, if the site afforded no proper vantage ground, on a vast artificial mound of earth, stood the citadel of the place, the lofty and massive *keep*, furnished within itself with every means which the space could afford of sheltering and maintaining the garrison when they should be driven from the outworks, and the plans of these ancient towers display many skilful contrivances by which their object was effected." (Poynter's 'Essay on the History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle,' prefixed to Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's 'Illustrations of Windsor Castle.')

<sup>2</sup> The commissioners or inquisitors for the formation and adjusting of this survey, it appears, were, upon the oaths of the sheriffs, the lords of each manor, the presbyters of every church, the reves of every hundred, the bailiff and six villans of every village, to inquire into the name of the place, who held it in the time of King Edward, who was the present possessor, how many hides in the manor, how many carucates in demesne, how many homagers, how many villans, how many cotarii, how many servi, what free-men, how many tenants in socage, what quantity of wood, how much meadow and pasture, what mills and fish-ponds, how much added or taken away, what the gross value in King Edward's time, what the present value, and how much each free-man or soch-man had or has. All this was to be triply estimated: first, as the Castle was held in the time of the Confessor; then as it was bestowed by King William; and, thirdly, as its value stood at the formation of the Survey. The jurors were moreover to state whether any advance could be made in the value. The method generally followed in entering the Returns was, first, to entitle the estate to its owner, always beginning with "Terra Regis;" the hundred was next specified; then the tenant, with the place; and afterwards the description of the property.

The inquisitions having been taken, were sent by the justiciaries to Winchester, and there classed and methodised, and entered in a register, such as we now view it. (Ellis's 'Intro. to Domesday,' vol. i, pp. 21, 30.)

<sup>3</sup> The following is the entry in Domesday relating to Old Windsor:—"Terra Regis. Rex Willielmus Tenet Windesores in dominico. Rex Edwardus tenuit. ibi xx hidæ. Terra est. In dominico est una carucata et xxii villani, et ii bordarii cum x carucatis. Ibi unus servus et piscaria de vi solidis et viii denariis, et xl acræ prati. Silva de l porcis de pasnagio et alia silva missa est in defensu, et adhuc sunt in villa e hagæ v minus. Ex his sunt xxvi quietæ de gublo, et de aliis exeunt xxx solidi. De terra hujus manerii tenet Albertus clericus unam hidam et dimidium et tertiam partem unius deum;

of twenty *hides* there, and that appears to have been the extent of the Conqueror's possessions surrounding the old Saxon palace.<sup>1</sup> Whether the *hide* was any precise quantity of land, and if so, what that quantity of land was, are points not positively determined. Mr. Kemble, the most recent, and perhaps best authority on the subject, believes it to have been equal to forty Norman or thirty-three and a half Saxon acres.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Ellis, however, infers that a hide was six score, or one hundred and twenty acres.<sup>3</sup>

The arable land in the king's demesne was one *carucate*, originally signifying as much arable as could be managed with one plough, and the beasts belonging thereto in a year; having meadow, pasture, and houses for the householders, and cattle belonging to it. The precise quantity probably differed according to the nature of the soil, or the custom of the country. It appears to have approached in quantity to a hide, the *carucate* being a term of Norman introduction, the hide a Saxon division.<sup>4</sup>

There were twenty-two *villans*, (*i. e.* holders of small portions of land at the will of their lord, rendering personal services to him, who might dispossess them whenever he pleased,) and two *bordarii*, or cottagers, who were of a less servile condition than the villans, holding their bord, or cottage, and small parcel of land, on condition of supplying the lord with poultry and eggs, and other small provisions,<sup>5</sup> but their condition probably differing on different manors;<sup>6</sup> and one *servus* (who is supposed to have been a villan) receiving wages instead of land, at the discretion of the lord.<sup>7</sup>

Walterus, filius Other, unam hidam et dimidium et unam virgatum, et tantum silvæ unde exeunt v porci de pasnagio, Gislebertus maminot iii virgatas, Willielmus belet unam hidam. Aluricus i hidam et alter Aluricus dimidium hidam et presbiter villæ unam hidam et dimidium, et ii servientes curiæ regis dimidium hidam. Eudo dapifer ii hidas. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebat xv libras et post vii libras, Modo xv libras."

<sup>1</sup> The "Terra Regis" of Domesday was chiefly composed of land that had been possessed by Edward the Confessor, Harold, and other Saxon princes and earls. (See Allen's 'Inquiry into the Royal Perogative in England,' Svo, 1830; and Ellis's 'Introd. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 228.)

<sup>2</sup> Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' vol. i, chap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> See Ellis's 'Introd. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Kennett's 'Glossary of Parochial Antiquities.'

<sup>6</sup> Ellis's 'Introd. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Kennett's 'Gloss. Paroch. Antiq.'

The villeins and bordarii had ten ploughs. Attached to the carucate, or plough-land, was a fishery, yielding a rent of six shillings and eight pence. There were forty acres of meadow-land and wood-land, for *pannage* in which, or the privilege of running and feeding hogs in it, fifty hogs were annually rendered to the lord. There was another wood, not subject to pannage, but fenced in, to secure the growth of the timber.

In the manor were ninety-five houses. These probably formed the village or town of Old Windsor, and were in the immediate vicinity of the old palace or king's residence, which was situated there, as already stated, in Edward the Confessor's reign. Of these houses, twenty-six were free from the payment of *gabel*, or tax, to the king. The others paid thirty shillings.

Besides the king's demesne, there were other lands in this manor held by his subjects, under him. Albert, the *clerk* (clericus), had a hide and a half, and the third part of a tenth. Walter, the son of Other, a hide and a half and one *virgate*, (a variable measure, like the hide and carucate, but probably signifying here the eighth part of a hide.)<sup>1</sup> He also had as much wood as sufficed to keep five hogs yearly by the privilege of pannage in it.

Gislebertus, or Gilbert Maminot, held three virgates; William Belet, one hide; Aluricus, or Alfric, one hide; and another Aluricus, half a hide. The priest (presbyter) of the village held a hide and a half; and two sergeants (*servientes*) of the king's court, half a hide. Eudo the king's steward, or sewer, held two hides.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Ellis's 'Introd. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 155. If the virgate signified here the fourth part of a hide, as it is supposed to do in other places, the quantity of land held by Walter would probably have been expressed by a hide and three virgates. [J. E. D.]

<sup>2</sup> Eudo held other lands in Berkshire, and also in the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Hants, Hertford, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, and Suffolk. He is sometimes designated "Eudo Dapifer," but more frequently as "Eudo, filius Huberti." "The former name was obtained from the office of sewer, or steward, which Eudo held at court. Hubert de Rie, the father of Eudo, was a great favorite with Duke William in Normandy, who sent him ambassador, with a large retinue, to Edward the Confessor, who was induced, by Hubert's dexterity, to appoint William his successor in the throne of England. The father was promised the office of steward of the household as soon as William should be possessed of the crown; but after his conquest, William being apprehensive of commotions in Normandy, sent Hubert back with his three eldest sons to maintain that country in quiet. Eudo, the fourth son, remained in England, received very large possessions, and was shortly after made steward of the

The value of the manor in Edward the Confessor's reign was fifteen pounds, but afterwards reduced to seven pounds; but at the time of the survey was again estimated at fifteen pounds.

This was the state of Old Windsor at the time of the survey. There is no trace of the existence of the town of New Windsor at that time. The Castle had been recently erected on half a hide of land in the manor of Clewer (Clivore), which was possessed by Radulfus, the son of Seifride.<sup>1</sup> King Harold, or, as he is described in Domesday, Earl Harold, previously held this manor, which in his time comprised five hides, but at the time of the survey consisted of four hides and a half, the Castle of Windsor being erected on the other half hide.

The arable land of Radulfus consisted of one carucate and a half, with nine villans and six bordarii, having four ploughs. A mill yielded ten shillings. There were twenty acres of meadow-land, and wood-land rendering ten hogs. The son-in-law of Radulfus held half a hide, yielding however nothing to the manor; the value of which was formerly seven pounds, but at the time of the survey four pounds ten shillings.

On the other side of the Thames, we find Walter, the son of Other, possessed of the manor of Eton, comprising twelve hides, of which eight carucates were arable land. The manor previously belonged to Queen Eddid, or Editha, the wife of Edward the Confessor, and was probably held by her, with all her other pos-

household, in the room of William Fitz Osbern. His wife was Rohaise, daughter of Richard, son of Gilbert, Earl of Eu. Eudo founded the Abbey of St. John at Colchester, in 1096, and was in favour with King William Rufus. He died at Preaux, in Normandy, but his corpse was brought to England and buried in his monastery at Colchester, February 28th, A.D. 1120." (See Morant's 'Hist. of Colchester,' p. 139.) Adam, the brother of Eudo Dapifer, was one of the commissioners for making the Conqueror's survey. "Terra Eudonis filius Huberti," stands as a title to Eudo's lands in Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Bedfordshire. But the entries themselves uniformly begin "Eudo Dapifer tenet de Rege." (Ellis's 'Introduction to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 415.)

<sup>1</sup> Radulfus filius Seifrid tenet de rege Clivore. Heraldus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendebat pro v hidis, modo pro iv hidis et dimidio et castellum de Windesores est in dimidio hida. Terra est. In dominio est una caracuta et dimidium et ix villani et vi bordarii, cum iv carucatis, et molendinum de x solidis et xx aeræ prati. Silva de x porcis. De hac terra tenet gener ejus Radulfus dimidium hidam et nichil est ibi. Valuit vii libras. Modo iv libras et x solidos.

sessions, until her death in 1075, when they reverted to the crown, and this manor granted by the Conqueror to Walter.<sup>1</sup>

There were two mills at Eton, valued at twenty shillings, and a fishery yielding a rent of a thousand eels. One of the mills at Eton, and that at Clewer, no doubt stood on the same spots where the "Tangier" and Clewer Mills are now situated.<sup>2</sup> Various causes tend to make a corn-mill one of the most permanent species of property.<sup>3</sup> The situation is originally selected where the stream offers the greatest natural advantages. The grinding of corn by means of a water-wheel has never been superseded by other sources of mechanical power, although, where that element cannot be readily obtained, the action of air and steam have supplied its place. The conversion of corn into bread was an essential process for the support of all classes and persons; for the soldier as well as the husbandman; and accordingly, through all the changes of kingdoms and the vicissitudes of their rulers, the mill-wheel has never ceased to perform its peaceful revolution.

The fisheries at Eton and Old Windsor also still exist on the same spots they occupied eight hundred years ago.

There is no mention of houses in the manor of Eton, but it is probable, from the fact of there being two mills in it, that there was at least a village at that period where the town of Eton is now situated.

<sup>1</sup> From the family of Fitz Other, the manor of Eton descended or passed into those of Hodge, Huntercombe, and Scudamore, and from them descended through female heirs to the Lovel family, from whom, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, the manor was acquired by Eton College. Another manor in the same parish, called Eton-Stockdales *cum* Cole-Norton, was for several centuries in the Windsor family. During the last and the present century it has been successively in the families of Ballard, Wassell, Buckle, and Penn. (See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. 1, p. 560.)

<sup>2</sup> The 'Westminster Magazine' for the year 1781 contains an engraving of Clewer Mill. It is there stated that before its destruction by fire "the interior machinery of the mill was extremely curious and singular, and drew the attention of the king and many of the nobility to visit it."

<sup>3</sup> In Domesday-book, wherever a mill is specified, we generally find it still subsisting. Mills anciently belonged to lords of manors, and the tenants were permitted to grind only at the lord's mill. This circumstance sufficiently accounts, not only for the great number of mills noticed in the survey as objects of profit to the landholder, but for the large sums which they are continually stated to yield. (Ellis's 'Introductio to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 122.)

Whether there were any churches at Old Windsor, Clewer, and Eton, is not stated in the survey.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, by no means improbable that they existed at all these places, for the precept which directed the formation of the Domesday survey laid no injunction on the jurors to make a return of churches, so that the mention of them, if made at all, was of course likely to be irregular. Accordingly the whole number actually noticed in the survey, comprising a few more than one thousand seven hundred, falls considerably under what there are grounds for concluding they must have amounted to, about, or soon after, the time of the Conquest.<sup>2</sup>

It may be reasonably inferred that a church existed at Old Windsor at this period, for, as already stated, the priest (presbyter) of the village or manor is mentioned as tenant of land at that place.<sup>3</sup>

Of the state of the country around Windsor, during the earlier Saxon period, there are necessarily but few materials for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. The Mercian kings are supposed to have had a palace at Cippenham in Buckinghamshire, about three miles north-west of Windsor.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that it was a royal residence at a subsequent period, and an ancient moated site still exists there.<sup>5</sup>

In the "*mote park*," which lay immediately south of Windsor and adjoining the Great Park, vestiges of a square entrenched enclosure are still discernible, which may have given rise to the name, although the situation of the place precludes the idea of its having

<sup>1</sup> "The church of Old Windsor in Berks is ancient, and consists of one isle, in which is an octagon font, in the angles of which are a Æt, a cross, two cross keys, a rose, a lilly, and an anchor defaced." (Dr. Thomas Girdler to Hearne. See the Glossary to Hearne's 'Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle,' vol. ii, p. 629.) A woodcut of the font in Clewer Church will be found in a subsequent part of this work. There are no remains of the old parish church of Eton.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis's 'Introduct. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstance of presbyter occurring most frequently in counties where scarcely any "*ecclesiæ*" are noticed, gives strength to the presumption that the officers of the exchequer, who abridged the inquisitions, considered the entry of the one as in most cases implying the existence of the other. (Ibid., p. 289.)

<sup>4</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., and see *post*, Chapter IV. (Reign of Henry III.).

been selected, or the moat formed for the purposes of defence.<sup>1</sup> There are other similarly marked spots in the neighbourhood of Windsor, probably referable to the same origin. Near Langley Maries, in Buckinghamshire, are remains of earth works, now called "Trenches" or the "Moat," with an artificial hill or mound adjoining.<sup>2</sup> The well-known mound called *Salt Hill*, which, in Lysons' 'Buckinghamshire,' is spoken of as a "tumulus," may be a vestige of the same or an earlier period.<sup>3</sup>

From the few particulars extracted from Domesday Survey, the following general conclusions may be drawn:

A few serfs and swineherds dwelt in straggling huts near the old palace or manor-house of the Saxon kings at Old Windsor, tending their swine in the woods, which, stretching southwards and westwards, formed the outskirts of the Royal Forest of Windsor.

<sup>1</sup> See Norden's 'Description of the Moat Park,' in a subsequent part of this work.

<sup>2</sup> These remains have not been noticed by any antiquary or other writer. They lie about a quarter of a mile from Langley church, and one hundred yards north of the Great Western Railway, from which the mound, covered with trees, is readily discernible.

<sup>3</sup> Although the origin of the Montem, at Eton, has been repeatedly the subject of antiquarian discussion, (and is now, by the best authorities, referred to the custom of the boy-bishop,) no attention appears to have been paid to the selection of the ancient hillock for the ceremony. A mound, or elevated spot of ground, does not seem to be connected with the former ceremony of the "boy-bishop" at any other place, and therefore, although the procession and ceremonies at Eton may have originated in the manner suggested, the question why "Salt Hill," a distance of nearly two miles from the College, and situated in another parish, should have been selected, is not disposed of. It may be observed, that the elevation is not sufficiently marked to render it probable that it was chosen on that account alone. Salt Hill owes its present apparent elevation to the removal of gravel from the vicinity, for the purpose of repairing the roads; for on a close examination, it will be seen that the artificial mound is raised only a few feet above the natural level of the adjacent fields. The choice of this spot may have originated, perhaps, in the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to assemble at a tumulus (which was often an object of superstitious reverence among them) to perform games and ceremonies at fixed periods. Traces of such customs still exist in different parts of the kingdom. (See Wright's 'Early Notices relating to the Antiquities of St. Alban's,' 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxiii, p. 264; and Wright's 'History of Ludlow,' 8vo, 1852, p. 15.) As it is not intended to enter into details of what is already in print and easily accessible, further than is essential to give a complete character to this work, it is sufficient to refer the reader who wishes to find a full account of Eton Montem, to Brand's 'Popular Antiquities,' by Sir Henry Ellis, (2 vols. 4to, 1813, and 3 vols. 8vo, 1849,) and Lipscombe's 'Buckinghamshire,' vol. iv, p. 465.

The Buckinghamshire side of the river was chiefly cultivated ground, free from wood, bounded by moorland on the north.<sup>1</sup>

Datchet, lying on that side of the river, between Old and New Windsor, appears to have an earlier mention of its name than Windsor. In a record of the time of Æðelræd (Ethelred, A.D. 990, 995), mention is made of land at "Deccet" exchanged for land at "Hæceburnam" (Hagborne?), and at "Bradanfelda" (Bradfield).<sup>2</sup>

Windsor is incidentally mentioned in Domesday as having been a residence of the Conqueror. Thus the king is stated to have sent his writ from thence to Robert de Oilgi to restore certain land in Berkshire, of which Azor, a steward in the reign of Edward the Confessor, was unjustly dispossessed;<sup>3</sup> and again, the manor of Draintone (Drayton) in Buckinghamshire, was held in the Conqueror's time by Radulfus Passaquam, of Lewinus de Neweham, and provided two armed men (Hos Loricatos) to guard Windsor.<sup>4</sup>

Walter, the son of Other, or Walter Fitz Other, who possessed the manor of Eton, and held some land in Old Windsor Manor, and was also owner of several other manors in the neighbourhood, as Stoke, Horton, and Burnham, was appointed by the Conqueror Castellan or Governor of the Castle of Windsor and Warden of the Forest,<sup>5</sup> a grant which was confirmed by the Empress Maud, at Oxford, to his son William Fitz Walter, who assumed the surname of Windsor from his office.<sup>6</sup>

This office of Constable of the Castle of Windsor has existed from the first appointment of Walter Fitz Other or Otho to the present day. Of the duties of Constable at a later period some account will be given hereafter, from the pen of Whitelock, who

<sup>1</sup> Harrison describes the Thames as taking in at Eton "the Burne which riseth out of a moore, and commeth thither by Burnham." (Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' edit. 1587.)

<sup>2</sup> See Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' vol. ii, p. 48; see also Leland's 'Itin.,' vol. ii, fol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. i, fol. 62. (See Ellis's 'Intro. to Domesday,' vol. i, p. 32.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., fol. 151 b.

<sup>5</sup> See 'Bib. Cotton.,' Claudius, b. vi, c. ix, fol. 153, 158; Dugdale's 'Baronage,' tom. i, p. 599.

<sup>6</sup> Sharpe's 'Peerage.' Dugdale, however, citing a MS. in the possession of Thomas, Lord Windsor, says that it was Walter Fitz Other, the father, who took the surname of Windsor. He was the ancestor of the present Earl of Plymouth, and of the Carews of Cornwall, and the Fitzgeralds, Fitzmaurices, &c., of Ireland.



was Constable of the Castle and Keeper of the Great Park in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Although Walter Fitz Other appears to have been the first regularly appointed Constable of the Castle, we have, in the tradition of William of Malmesbury, evidence of the appointment of Wolwin Spillecorn as Keeper of the Royal Palace at Old Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the erection of the Castle by William, there does not appear to have been any town or village where the present town of Windsor stands. It must have gradually arisen under the walls of the Castle, partly from the convenience or necessity of having residences in the vicinity for persons connected with the Castle, but more especially from the protection afforded by the royal residence, against violence and injuries to the person or property of the serf or vassal, and the opportunities afforded of gaining a livelihood by the sale of wares and merchandize to the attendants upon the court.<sup>2</sup>

The first direct mention of Windsor as a residence of the Conqueror is in the year 1070. We are told that in the feast of Pentecost that year, "the King being then at Windsor, gave the archbishopric of York to Thomas, a venerable canon of Bayeux, and the bishopric of Winchester to Valceline or Walkelin, his own chaplain."<sup>3</sup>

It has been generally supposed that when Windsor is mentioned as the place where William the First and Second occasionally held their courts and festivals, Old Windsor, and not the present Castle,

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 6. Ailred of Rievaulx, however, a contemporary of William of Malmesbury, and who narrates the same miracle of King Edward, states that Wolwin was made keeper of the king's palace at Westminster, *i. e.* of St. Peter's Church.

<sup>2</sup> See Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' vol. ii, p. 302. Leland, in a passage in his 'Itinerary,' says, "The Towne of Newe-Windlesore was erected sines that King Edwarde the 3. reedified the Castelle there." ('Itin.,' vol. iv, part i, fol. 47.) But this appears to be merely a loose scrap of information picked up by that antiquary from "George Ferras," and noted down at the time. There is certain proof of the existence of a *town* at Windsor as early as Edward the First, and of a *church* there in Richard the First's reign. (See *post*, Chapter III.) In the Pipe Roll referred to, the 31st year of Henry I, William de Bocheland renders an account of the old rent of Windsor, and also of the new rent, showing that for some time Windsor was let out to farm, as we shall find it was in subsequent reigns.

<sup>3</sup> Roger de Hoveden; Bromton.

is intended ; as Henry the First held his court in the Castle for the first time in 1110.<sup>1</sup>

The controversy between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as to the authority of the former over the latter, which had existed for some time, was discussed in the reign of the Conqueror, and determined at Windsor, at Whitsuntide, 1072. William of Malmesbury, recounting the proceedings between Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, Archbishop of York, relative to this point, in that year, says, "This cause was first agitated at the festival of Easter, in the city of Winchester, in the royal chapel situated in the castle ; afterwards in the royal *ville*<sup>2</sup> called Windlesore, where it received its termination, in the presence of the King, the Bishops, and Abbots of different orders, who were assembled at the King's court on the festival of Pentecost."

The Archbishop of York, on that occasion, made "unlimited profession of canonical obedience" to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Queen Matilda, Hubert (the Pope's legate), and the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Sherborne, Worcester, Dorchester, Winchester, and Helmham, appear to have been among those present at Windsor on this occasion, and testified their acquiescence in the arrangement by their signatures.<sup>3</sup>

The festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost were kept with great solemnity for several centuries ; and it is by the record of them, made by the older historians, that we are chiefly enabled, for a considerable period, to trace the movements of the Sovereign. Of William the Conqueror we are told he was "held in much reverence. He wore his crown three times in every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester ; and at these

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> "Villa regia."

<sup>3</sup> See William of Malmesbury's 'Chronicle,' by Dr. Giles. The other bishops appear to have attended by proxy, as instead of signing, they assented. Selden, in his 'History of Tythes,' (Selden's Works, vol. iii, part ii, p. 1193,) says, "Out of a MS. of Exeter I have seen (In excerptis MS. apud s. c. Rob. Cotton) transcribed a canon of a council held at Windsor, some years after the Norman Conquest, I think under Lanfrank, in these words, 'Ut laici dicimas reddant sicut scriptum est.'"

times all the men of England were with him,—archbishops, bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights.”<sup>1</sup>

The festivals of Whitsuntide, in the years 1070 and 1072, are the only two mentioned as kept at Windsor during this reign, and no other event is recorded connected with it than those above mentioned. It may well be assumed, however, that the Conqueror, during that part of his reign spent in England, made use of Windsor and the adjoining forest for hunting. The preservation of game was with him, as with his Norman successors, an important subject. “He made large forests for deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Saxon Chronicle.’

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



Salt Hill, from the South Side.

(See *ante*, p. 10.)

## CHAPTER II.

### WINDSOR FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM THE SECOND TO THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SECOND.

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CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE—A.D. 1087, WALTER FITZ OTHER.

A.D. 1100, WILLIAM FITZ WALTER.

A.D. 1153, RICHARD DE LUCY.

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William the Second at Windsor, with his Council, at Whitsuntide—Imprisonment of the Earl of Northumberland in the Castle—Visits of the King to Windsor—Death of the Bishop of Durham there, &c.—Henry the First at Windsor, in Christmas, 1104-5; at Easter, 1107—Commences the re-building and enlarging of the Castle—Probable extent of the Castle; Situation of the King's Apartments—Chapel dedicated to Edward the Confessor—Endowment by Henry—Foundation of the College for eight Canons—The King holds his court in the New Castle, at Whitsuntide, 1110—Again at Christmas, 1113-14—Marriage of the King at Windsor to Adelicia of Louvaine—Dispute between the Bishop of Salisbury and the Archbishop of Canterbury—Imprisonment of Hugh Fitz Gervaise at Windsor, in 1126—David King of Scotland, at Windsor—Festival of Christmas following kept at Windsor—Dispute between Archbishops of Canterbury and York—Supposed predilection of the King for Windsor and Woodstock—Absence of all mention of Windsor from the accession of Stephen until the Treaty of Wallingford—Fortress of Windsor committed to Richard de Lucy, in trust—Repairs and other works at Windsor during the reign of Henry the Second—Henry at Windsor at Christmas, 1170—William King of Scotland there—Parliament at Windsor again in 1179—The King there at Christmas, 1184-5—Prince John knighted—Principal residences of the King—Painting on the walls of a room in Windsor Castle—Vineyard at Windsor.

WILLIAM RUFUS was at Windsor, at Pentecost, 1095, "and all his witan<sup>1</sup> with him, excepting the Earl of Northumberland; for the king would neither give hostages nor pledge his troth that he should come and go in security."<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this discouragement to the earl to attend the king's court, his absence

<sup>1</sup> Council.

<sup>2</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.'

was made a pretence for levying war against him. The king's army invaded his lands, and besieged him in Bamborough Castle. He contrived to leave the castle secretly, and proceeded towards Tynemouth, at which place, or on his way thither, he was wounded and taken prisoner, with some of his followers, and by the king's orders brought to Windsor, and there confined in the castle.<sup>1</sup>

This is the earliest mention of Windsor Castle as a state prison, a purpose, however, for which it was no doubt adapted from the period of its first erection by the Conqueror, and for which we shall find it was employed, from time to time, in succeeding reigns, and down to the close of the Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

The king was at Windsor, at the Christmas following (A.D. 1095-96), and probably with a large attendance, as he had commanded that all who held lands of him, and wished to retain his protection, should be at his court on that festival.<sup>3</sup>

William, Bishop of Durham, died there on New Year's Day, but was buried at Durham.<sup>4</sup> The king on this occasion did not stay long at Windsor, as he was at Salisbury with his witan "on the octaves of the Epiphany." We find him again at Windsor, at Easter, 1097, when his court was attended by the great nobles "both of England and Normandy, with great reverence and fear."<sup>5</sup> He intended to hold his court on this festival at Winchester, and sailed from Normandy with that intention, but was detained at sea by bad weather until Easter Eve, when he landed near Arundel. "Therefore," says the historian, "he held his court at Windsor."<sup>6</sup> Why the king's being at Arundel should determine him to proceed to Windsor instead of to Winchester, is not very obvious. Probably, however, the advantage of a more beaten road to Windsor determined the choice.

<sup>1</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle;' Henry of Huntingdon. Roger de Hoveden says the Earl "forti custodie mancipandus ad Windleshoram est ductus." Roger of Wendover places the event under the year 1094.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall Bellisle was imprisoned in Windsor Castle in the eighteenth century. As a prison for debtors within the jurisdiction of the Forest Court it was used down to a comparatively recent period.

<sup>3</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.'

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. "Apud Windleshoram in curia Regis." (Hoveden.)

<sup>5</sup> Henry of Huntingdon.

<sup>6</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.'

From Windsor, where he kept the feast of Whitsuntide, "wearing his crown,"<sup>1</sup> William marched into Wales, and we have no further mention of him at Windsor. Like his father he appears to have kept the three great festivals of the year chiefly at Winchester, Westminster, and Gloucester. During the year preceding his death (which occurred in the New Forest, August 2, A.D. 1100), we are told he held his court at Christmas, with much magnificence, in Gloucester; at Easter, in Winchester; and at Pentecost, in Westminster,<sup>2</sup> in the new hall built by him, which he intended should only be a bedroom in proportion to the size of the palace he contemplated erecting.<sup>3</sup>

The first festival kept by Henry the First, at Windsor, was Christmas, 1104-5. The following Lent he went to Normandy against his brother Earl Robert.<sup>4</sup> He held his court at Windsor again at Easter, 1107,<sup>5</sup> and the same year commenced rebuilding and enlarging the castle.<sup>6</sup>

We have no information as to the details of the alterations and improvements effected in the structure of the Castle in this reign. The Exchequer accounts, which would throw a light on the subject, do not exist;<sup>7</sup> but from a comparison of the features of the Norman fortresses in general, says a writer of authority, with those still discernible at Windsor, coupled with the information to be derived from the records of a later period, it may be conjectured, without wandering far into the field of speculation, that the castle of Henry the First differed little in form or extent, from the site occupied by

<sup>1</sup> Henry of Huntingdon.

<sup>2</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle,' and Roger of Wendover.

<sup>3</sup> Roger of Wendover. It was left for Queen Victoria to carry out the magnificent designs of William Rufus in the erection of a palace at Westminster, although not for the purpose of the Sovereign's residence.

<sup>4</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.'

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; Henry of Huntingdon.

<sup>6</sup> "In 1107," says Stow, "King Henry began to build the new castle, with the chappell and towne of Winsore, on the hill one mile from the old towne of Windesore." Henry of Huntingdon says, Henry built New Windsor.

<sup>7</sup> The series of Great Rolls of the Exchequer, or Great Rolls of the Pipe, begins with the second year of the reign of Henry II. There is one roll of an earlier date, and now referred to the 31st of Henry I. It contains a memorandum of a payment of 20*s.* for the carriage of timber from Windsor to Oxford.

the lower and middle wards at the present day; that the *domus regis* occupied the upper bailey, and that the hall formed a portion of a line of buildings separating the two courts, and defended on the lower side by a ditch. But the keep alone survives, at least in its form and position, though it is probable that in these characteristics only is there any trace of the original structure. A few architectural fragments, in the Norman style, brought to light from the excavations during the progress of the improvements in the reign of George the Fourth, are perhaps the only relics of the palatial edifice of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

Henry the First also erected a chapel, which was dedicated to Edward the Confessor,<sup>2</sup> and provided five priests for it, to attend to sacred matters.<sup>3</sup> He also founded a college, in connection with the chapel, for eight priests or canons, neither endowed nor incorporated, but maintained by an annual pension out of the king's exchequer.<sup>4</sup>

During the greater part of the period of the building of the new castle, the king was in Normandy; but considerable expedition seems to have been used in the erection of the new structure, for at Pentecost, 1110, the king having summoned all his nobles to the castle, held his court "for the first time in the New Windsor."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle,' prefixed to Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's 'Illustrations of Windsor Castle,' where see a woodcut of these fragments.

<sup>2</sup> See Pat., 22 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 6; Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 135. Leland had an impression that it was dedicated to St. Mary. "Erat in Castro vetus templum religione sacrum, et Divæ Mariæ, ut memini, dedicatum." ('Commentarii in Cygneam Cant.,' verb. Vindelesora.)

<sup>3</sup> Leland, *ut supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 152. Tanner, speaking of Windsor, says, "In the Castle here was an old free chapel dedicated to K. Edward the Confessor, in which King Henry I placed eight secular priests, who seem never to have been incorporated nor endowed with lands, but to have been maintained by pensions yearly paid out of the king's exchequer." ('Notitia Monastica,' p. 21.)

<sup>5</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.' Miss Strickland, in her 'Lives of the Queens of England,' says Matilda, the queen, "was principally employed, during the king's absence, in superintending the magnificent buildings at New Windsor, which were founded by Henry, and in the completion of the royal apartments of the Tower of London. She, as well as Henry, patronised Gundulph, the episcopal architect, to whom England is indebted for the most magnificent and lasting of her public buildings." But I have not met with any

This expression of the historian appears to have given rise to the belief, that the previous festivals, of this reign at least, if not of the preceding, stated to have been held at "Windsor," refer to Old Windsor.<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the writer, however, seems rather to be that the feast of Whitsuntide, in the above year, was the first occasion on which the castle was used after its enlargement. This reading is strengthened by a similar passage in the same chronicle with reference to the year 1099. At Pentecost, in that year, William Rufus is stated to have held his court for the first time in the new building at Westminster.<sup>2</sup> The meaning there, undoubtedly is, that the new building and not the locality of Westminster was used for the first time on that occasion, for the king himself and his father frequently held festivals at Westminster.

From the year 1110 to 1113, Henry was in Normandy. At Christmas, 1113-14, he held his court at Windsor, and held no court again that year anywhere.<sup>3</sup> The king, however, appears to have been at Windsor as late as the end of April, previously to going into Wales for the Summer.<sup>4</sup>

At Windsor, in 1121, Henry was married to his second queen, Alice or Adelia, the beautiful daughter of Godfrey of Louvaine. The ceremony was delayed in consequence of a singular dispute between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Salisbury. Roger le Poer, the Bishop of Salisbury, claimed the right to marry the royal pair, because the Castle of Windsor was within his diocese. The right was disputed by Ralph, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

authority for this statement, so far as relates to Windsor. The '*Vita Gundulfi*' (Wharton's '*Anglia Sacra*,' ii, 273) is silent on the point, and so also is the '*Textus Roffensis*.' [J. E. D.]

<sup>1</sup> See Lysons's '*Magna Brit.*,' vol. i, p. 416; and Poynter's '*Essay*.'

<sup>2</sup> '*Saxon Chronicle*.'

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* At Windsor, Teulph, the king's chaplain, was appointed Bishop of Worcester, but only lived two years. (Roger de Hoveden.)

<sup>4</sup> Fabyan says, "In the 15th year of his reign, the king intended to have promoted Faricius, Abbot of Abyndon, unto the see of Canterbury; but by a council, kept at Wyndesoure, of bysshoppys, the king's mind was changed, and to that see was there admitted Raufe, that was bishop of Rochester." Eadmer fixes the date, as cited by Holinshed, and says the archbishop was elected at Windsor on the 26th of April, 1114; see also Roger de Hoveden.



on the ground that wherever the king and queen might be within the realm of England, they were his parishioners. The ceremony was eventually performed by the primate, on the 24th of January, 1121, in the presence of the whole council of England then assembled at Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

We find Henry at Windsor at Christmas and Whitsuntide, 1122.<sup>2</sup> In the Autumn of 1126, the king, returning from Normandy, brought with him as prisoners, Waleram Earl of Mellent, and Hugh, the son of Gervaise, against whom he had waged war, and captured in 1124. He sent Hugh to Windsor, and caused him to be kept in strong bonds.<sup>3</sup> "After Michaelmas, David King of Scotland came hither, and King Henry received him with much honour, and he abode through the year in this land."<sup>4</sup> At the Christmas following (1127-28), the king held his court at Windsor, the King of Scotland being there, "and all the head men of England, both clergy and laity. And the king caused the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and all the thanes who were present, to swear to place England and Normandy, after his death, in the hands of his daughter the princess, who had been the wife of the Emperor of Saxony."<sup>5</sup>

At this festival at Windsor, and at the ceremony of crowning the king, usually repeated on these occasions, a dispute arose between William Archbishop of Canterbury and Thurstan Archbishop of York, similar to that already mentioned between the archbishop of the former see and the Bishop of Salisbury, and identical with the contest between the two archbishops in the Conqueror's reign. "Thurstan, Archbishop of York, wished to crown the king, to the prejudice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he was prevented by unanimous consent; and his cross-bearer, who had carried his cross into the king's chapel, was turned out, together with the cross which he was carrying."<sup>6</sup> In a short time this unseemly

<sup>1</sup> Eadmer, 136, edit. Seld.; Roger de Hoveden; 'Saxon Chronicle.'

<sup>2</sup> Roger de Hoveden; Henry of Huntingdon.

<sup>3</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.' Hugh obtained hostages in 1129, and returned to France.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> 'Saxon Chronicle.'

<sup>6</sup> Roger of Wendover.

contention between the two archbishops grew so hot, that not only they, but also the Bishop of Lincoln, went to Rome to obtain a decision on the point of their dispute.<sup>1</sup>

In the thirty-third year of his reign, the king, during Christmas (A.D. 1132-3), lay sick at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> This is the last time he is mentioned as having been at Windsor. In the following year he went to Normandy, and died there in 1135.

Henry the First spent so much of his time in Normandy, and when in England held his court at so many different places, that it is impossible from the mere fact of actual residence to infer that he favoured any particular spot. The erection of a palace at Woodstock, and the re-building of Windsor, are, however, evidence of a predilection for those places, which, as to the former, is confirmed by the fact that in the park of Woodstock, "beside the great store of deere, he appointed diverse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent unto him from foreign countries farre distant, as lions, leopards, lynxes, and porcupines."<sup>3</sup>

We have some evidence of the existence of a town at Windsor in the reign of Henry the First. In an Exchequer Roll supposed to belong to the 31st year of this reign, mention is made of the *burgus* or borough of Windsor, and William de Bochelande, who appears to have farmed the place, rendered an account of rent for Windsor. A distinction is made between the old and the new farm, referring, as it seems, to Old and New Windsor. William Fitz Walter rendered an account of the forest of Windsor, and was probably Constable of the Castle at this time.<sup>4</sup> There is a payment of thirty shillings and five pence by him to the park-keepers, and five shillings for the keep of birds in the park. This seems to be the earliest existing notice of a park at Windsor. The same document contains an entry of a payment of sixty shillings and ten pence to one Nicholas, the keeper of the king's apartments, or *domus regis*, and ten shillings to him for cloth.

<sup>1</sup> Holinshead.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Huntingdon.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshead.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 20.

The names of Ivo de Windsor, Reginald de Windsor, and Maurice de Windsor occur at this period.<sup>1</sup>

From the accession of Stephen, A.D. 1135, until after the Treaty of Wallingford in 1153, there is no mention whatever made of Windsor; and it may therefore be inferred that the Castle did not sustain any siege, or was otherwise affected by the wars between Stephen and the Empress Maud.<sup>2</sup> In the charter or declaration by Stephen, made in pursuance of the Treaty of Wallingford, by which the crown of England was settled upon him for life, and then upon Henry Duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry the Second), and his heirs, Stephen says, "And, by the consent of Holy Church, I have made unto the Duke such assurance of my castles and fortresses, that at my death the Duke may not suffer any damage or delay in acquiring possession of the kingdom. The Tower of London and the fortress of Windsor,<sup>3</sup> with the consent of Holy Church, are delivered to Richard de Lucy, safely to be kept; and Richard de Lucy has sworn, and has delivered his son in pledge, to remain in the hands and custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that after my decease he shall deliver the castles to the Duke."<sup>4</sup>

Richard de Lucy, to whom the Castle was given in trust by the treaty between Stephen and Henry the Second, exercised, during the latter reign, "the office of farmer of the revenue for the bailiwick of Windsor, and the directions issued to him by the king's writs, to supply money for the purpose of carrying on the repairs and other works at the Castle, furnish some information relative to this remote period, which is curious, though perhaps not very important. In the tenth year of the reign of Henry the Second, the sum of 30*s.* is ordered to be paid for the works of the kitchen.<sup>5</sup> In the nineteenth year, the expenditure on the Castle is set down at

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I. (See *ante*, p. 26, note 7.) Similar entries occur in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> *Mota de Windsor*. "The word *mota* is used in this instrument," says Ashmole, "for what the French call *mote* or *motte*, a little hill or high place, a seat for a fort or strong house." (Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 128, citing Spelman's 'Glossarium Archæologicum.') In Ireland the word *mote* is still applied in this sense, as 'Mote of Ards skull.'

<sup>4</sup> The Treaty, in Latin, is printed in the 'Fœdera.'

<sup>5</sup> Pipe Rolls, 10 Hen. II.

£73 7s. 6d., of which £50, to be paid out of the farm of the manor of Wargrave, is allotted to the walls.<sup>1</sup> In the following year the sums appropriated to the works amount to £128 9s. out of the bailiwick of Windsor, and £7 7s. 8d. out of the cess of the Forest. In the same year there is an order for £20 to be paid to Master Geoffry,<sup>2</sup> who, by the frequent connection of his name with the works, must have been either the superintendent or master builder; and in the next, £40 to Master Geoffry, together with £80 for the works in general, out of the farm of Wargrave, and £20 out of the farm of the county of Berks.<sup>3</sup> During the three following years the payments amount to £188 4s. 6d., out of which £20 is to be expended upon the repairs of the walls.<sup>4</sup> In the twenty-fifth year, £35 is ordered for the works of the Castle which were doing by Master Osbert;<sup>5</sup> and in the twenty-ninth, Osbert of Eton and Gerard of Datchet are charged with the expenditure of £8 8s. 6d.”<sup>6</sup>

After Henry the Second returned from Normandy, in 1170, he “held his Easter at Windsor,<sup>7</sup> whither William, the Scottish king, came with his brother David to welcome him home, and to congratulate his happy success in his business on the further side the seas. They were honorably entertained, and at their departure princely rewarded.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1175, Henry having received the homage of the King of Scotland at York, returned to London, and held a great council at Windsor on the octave of the feast of St. Michael. Among those present were the king’s son, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and a great number of earls and barons of England. At the same time the Archbishop of Tuam and the Abbot of St. Brandon, with Lawrence, the Chancellor of Roderic king of Connaught, came as ambassadors from Roderic to King Henry, “who willingly heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those savage people by some friendly order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them

<sup>1</sup> Pipe Rolls, 19 Hen. II.<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 20 Hen. II.<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 21 Hen. II.<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 22, 23, 24 Hen. II.<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 25 Hen. II.<sup>6</sup> Poynter.<sup>7</sup> Roger de Hoveden.<sup>8</sup> Holliushed.

seem to fish with an hook of gold.” A treaty of peace was effected, the King of Connaught engaging to render a tribute to Henry of every tenth hide of animals, “such as may be approved by dealers,” and to deliver hostages, who were to “do service unto our lord the king each year with their dogs and birds.”<sup>2</sup>

Henry held his following Christmas (1175-6) at Windsor, with his son, and proceeded to Northampton, where he held a great council or “parliament” of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

After Easter, 1179, upon the death of Richard de Lucy, who had shortly before resigned the office of Justiciary of England, the king held a great council at Windsor, and, by the common consent of the archbishops, bishops, earls and barons, and the king’s son,<sup>4</sup> England was divided into four parts, and over each of them wise men were appointed to administer justice throughout the land.<sup>5</sup>

In 1184-5 Henry held his Christmas at Windsor,<sup>6</sup> and there, on the last day of March following, he knighted his son John, who afterwards went to Ireland. The king sailed for Normandy, and kept his Easter at Rouen.<sup>7</sup> This is the last recorded visit to Windsor of Henry, who died in 1189.

The principal residences of the court during this reign were the palaces of Winchester, Westminster, and Woodstock.

There is an anecdote connected with Windsor, which, if true, shows the deep impression made on Henry by the rebellious conduct of his sons. “It is recorded, that in a chamber at Wyndesore he caused to be painted an eagle, with four birds, whereof three of them all rased (scratched) the body of the old eagle, and the fourth was scratching at the old eagle’s eyes. When the question was asked of him, what thing that picture should signify? it was answered by him, ‘This old eagle,’ said he, ‘is myself; and these

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Roger de Hoveden, who gives the treaty at length.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Plantagenet shared the throne with his father at this period.

<sup>5</sup> Roger de Hoveden. “Ranulph de Glanville was made ruler of Yorkshire, and authorised justice there, as he that best understood in those days the ancient laws and customs of the realm.” (Holinshed.)

<sup>6</sup> Roger de Hoveden.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.; Roger of Wendover.

four eagles betoken my four sons, the which cease not to pursue my death, and especially my youngest son John, which now I love most, shall most especially await and imagin my death.'"<sup>1</sup>

In the entries in the Pipe Rolls of the fourth year of the reign of Henry the Second, under the head of "Windsor," is the payment of nine shillings and eleven pence for justice done upon thieves—probably the expense of a gallows for their execution,—and in the fourteenth year of this reign we find Richard de Lucy, the farmer of Windsor, disbursing 3*s.* by the hands of Alan de Nevill, for making a ditch for "Juises."<sup>2</sup>

This entry is connected with the judgment of offenders by combat or by ordeal. The latter was occasionally used in this country until the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was wholly abandoned. It was founded upon the notion of a miraculous interposition of Providence on behalf of the innocent, and was of two kinds—fire ordeal and water ordeal; the former confined to persons of rank, the latter to the common people. The payment in question may refer to the preparation for that species of water ordeal consisting in casting suspected persons into a pond, when, if he floated without any action of swimming, his guilt was established, but if he sank (contrary to the law of gravitation), he was acquitted.<sup>3</sup>

Toll or custom was taken for vessels passing along the Thames at Windsor. In the nineteenth year of this reign, Osbert de Bray, the then "fermer" of Windsor, accounted for £4 6*s.* 6*d.* arising from this source.<sup>4</sup>

Among the appendages to the Castle at this period was the vineyard. The pay of the vintager and the expense of gathering the grapes, are among the regular annual charges relating to Windsor on the Pipe Rolls, from the commencement of the series in 1155.<sup>5</sup> Lambarde says that in the Records "it moreover appeareth that tythe hath bene payed of wyne pressed out of grapes that grewe in

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan.

<sup>2</sup> Madox, 'History of the Exchequer,' vol. i, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Blackstone's 'Comm.,' iv, ch. 27; Du Cange, *verb.* 'Juissum.'

<sup>4</sup> Madox's 'Exchequer,' vol. i, p. 771.

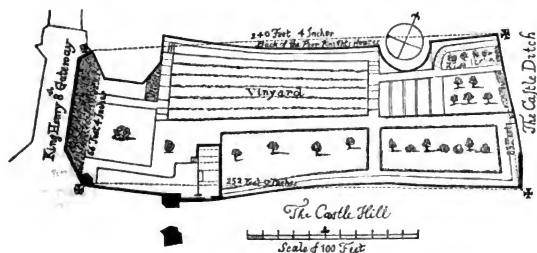
<sup>5</sup> Poynter.

the Little Parke theare, to the abbot of Waltham, which was parson bothe of the Old and New Wyndsore, and that accompts have bene made of the charges of planting the vines that grewe in the saide parke, as also of making the wynes, whearof somme partes weare spent in the householde, and somme solde for the kinges profite."<sup>1</sup> Stow gives a similar account. He says that in the Records of the Honor Court of Windsor Castle, held in the outer Gate-house, "is to be seene the yeerely account of the charges of the planting of the vines that in the time of K. Richard the Second grew in great plenty within y<sup>e</sup> Litle Parke, as also of the making of the wine it selfe."<sup>2</sup> Richard the Third, in the first year of his reign, granted to John Piers the "office of Master of our Vyneyarde or Vynes nigh unto our Castell of Wyndesore, and otherwise called the office of Keeper of our Gardyne called the Vyneyarde nigh unto our said Castell, to have and occupie the same office, by him or his deputie sufficient, for terme of his lyff, with the wages and fees of *vi. d.* by the day."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Dictionarium Angliæ Topographicum et Historicum.' The Hon. Daines Barrington doubted the correctness of Lambarde, as he did not give his authority for the statement. ('Archæologia,' vol. iii, p. 176.) Recent researches, however, prove Lambarde's accuracy.

<sup>2</sup> 'Annales,' by Howes, p. 143, edit. 1631. See Dissertations, by Samuel Pegge and Daines Barrington, on the former Cultivation of the Vine in England, 'Archæologia,' vol. i, p. 319, and vol. v, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Harl., No. 438, f. 135.



The "Vineyard" in the Castle Ditch, from a Lease in the possession of John Secker, Esq., of Windsor.

## CHAPTER III.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGNS OF RICHARD THE FIRST AND JOHN.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1190, HUGH PUDSEY; WILLIAM LONGCHAMP.

A.D. 1191, WILLIAM DE ALBINI; EARL OF ARUNDEL; WALTER, ARCHBISHOP OF ROUEN.

A.D. —, JOHN FITZ HUGH.

A.D. 1216, ENGELARD DE CYGONY.

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Grant of the Church of Windsor to Waltham Abbey—Custody of the Castle committed to Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham—His Imprisonment, and forced Surrender of the Castle to Longchamp—Subsequent Delivery to the Earl of Arundel in Trust—Longchamp regains possession of Windsor, assembles an Army, and encamps near Windsor—Withdraws to the Tower—Surrenders the Castle to Walter Archbishop of Rouen—Prince John levies an Army in 1193—Gains possession of Windsor, and places it in a state of Defence—Besieged by the Barons—Progress of the Siege—Arrival of the Bishop of Salisbury—Surrender of the Castle—Flight, Capture, and Execution of the Garrison—The Castle placed in the hands of Eleanor the Queen Dowager on behalf of the king—Family of Walter de Windsor—Visits of King John to Windsor in 1200 and 1201—Desires John Fitz Hugh to deliver the Castle to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Letters Patent for that purpose—John at Windsor in 1204 and 1205—Wine, &c., ordered to the Castle—Visits of the King to Windsor from 1206 to 1209—Assembles his nobles there at Christmas, 1209—Death of Lady de Braose and her Son, 1210—Visits of the King to Windsor from 1210 to 1214—Christmas Feast—Order to sell the King's Wine and Bacon there—Chapel of St. Leonard's in the Forest—The King at Windsor in 1215—Magna Charta—The King at War with his Barons—Preparations for an Interview—Letters of safe Conduct—Signature of Magna Charta—Description of Runnymede—The King's Head Quarters at Windsor—At Windsor in December following—Garrison of the Castle—Last Visit of the King in April 1216—Appoints Engelard de Cygony Keeper of the Castle—Philip of France assists the Barons—Windsor stands out for the King—Siege of the Castle under the Count de Nevers—The Siege raised—Windsor remains in the hands of the King's Forces—Order to Engelard de Cygony to liberate Hugh de Polested, a prisoner in the Castle—Death of the King—Subsequent Movements of the English and French Forces—Repairs of the Castle during this Reign—Traces of the Town at this period—Power and Jurisdiction of the Constable of Windsor Castle—Church of Eton.

RICHARD, in the first year of his reign (A.D. 1189-90), granted the church of St. John the Baptist at New Windsor, with its



chapels of Old Windsor,<sup>1</sup> to the Abbey of Waltham,<sup>2</sup> in whose hands it remained until the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

This is the first mention we find of a church at New Windsor. The Castle was within the manor,<sup>3</sup> and it is probable also within the parish of Clewer, of which Windsor was formerly a chapelry.<sup>4</sup>

Previous to the departure of Richard from England, in February 1190, for the crusade, the custody of Windsor Castle, together with the forest, and also the shrievalty of the county of Berks, were granted to Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, and at this time Chief Justiciar of England.<sup>5</sup> This was done in order to maintain a species of balance between the powers of Pudsey and his rival William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who had purchased the office of Chancellor, and in whose power Richard had openly placed the whole government, although Pudsey was still the nominal Chief Justice. The arrangement, however, was better calculated to enable both parties to annoy each other than to promote concord. It was extremely displeasing to Pudsey; and great dissensions arose between the nominal Chief Justiciar and his colleague, whose views seldom or ever coincided.<sup>6</sup>

Complaints having been addressed to the king of the overbearing conduct of Longchamp, who was now formally appointed Chief Justiciar, Richard, to satisfy the applicants, gave them answers

<sup>1</sup> "Ecclesiam sancti Johannis Baptistæ de nova Windleshora, cum capellis suis de veteri Windleshora," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ex Registro de Waltham, MS. Cotton, Tiberius, C. 9, fol. 62, a. 'Dugdale's Monasticon,' by Cayley, &c., vol. vi, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Lysons' 'Magna. Brit.,' vol. i, p. 416. "In the most early times parishes were of a large extent. Afterwards other churches were taken out of them by the lords of manors, and so the number of parishes increased as the lords of manors were willing to erect new churches; which liberty was so far indulged and allowed, as the lord took care to have a parochial minister settled, who should look after the souls of the people within the precinct as by this new foundation obtained the name of a parish. When lords of manors undertook such works of piety, all the lands, houses, and tenements belonging to such a particular manor were allotted to the new church, and made a distinct parish from the old one." (Hearne. 'Account of some antiquities between Windsor and Oxford.' Leland's Itin. Edit. 1744, vol. 5, p. 123.)

<sup>5</sup> Roger de Hoveden.

<sup>6</sup> Bromton; and see Sir F. Palgrave's 'Introduct. to the Rolls and Records of the Court of the King's Justiciars.' (1835.)

importing that Pudsey should be restored to his former authority. Longchamp, practising a deception towards his rival, promised to yield up his office, and for that purpose proposed that Pudsey should meet him in the Castle of Tickhill. As soon as Pudsey entered he was seized by the chancellor, and detained in custody until he surrendered the Castle of Windsor, and the custody of the forest, and his shrievalty, and the earldom of Northumberland.<sup>1</sup>

The chancellor could not have held the castle long, for in 1191, upon a settlement of disputes between him and John, then Earl of Moreton, the king's brother, it was delivered to the Earl of Arundel in trust for King Richard for life, and in the event of his death before his return home, to be afterwards delivered to John.<sup>2</sup>

The castle, however, fell once more into the hands of the ambitious chancellor.

During the prolonged absence of Richard in the East, in consequence of the alleged arbitrary conduct of Longchamp, John and the nobles and clergy of the kingdom met at Reading (September, A.D. 1191), and having in vain called upon the chancellor to take his trial, proposed to him that he should come to a conference at a safe place near Windsor Castle (Loddon Bridge, between Reading and Windsor), and gave him by the hands of the Bishop of London a guarantee for his safety.<sup>3</sup> The chancellor, however, declined to come, or even to send a message. "Upon this, Earl John, and the bishops who were with him, prepared to set out for London, that, being there met by a more considerable number of persons, they might enjoy the benefit of the advice of the citizens of London, what to do as to their chancellor, who had created this confusion in the kingdom, and refused to take his trial. On the chancellor hearing this, he left Windsor and hastened to London, and while on the road it so happened that his household and

<sup>1</sup> Bromton. Roger de Hoveden says Pudsey was seized at "Suwelle," *i.e.* Southwell.

<sup>2</sup> "And further, three castles which belong to the crown of our lord the king have been delivered in trust, as follows: the Castle of Windsor to the Earl of Arundel, the Castle of Winchester to Gilbert de Lacy, and the Castle of Northampton to Simon de Pateshull." (Roger de Hoveden, who gives the treaty at length.)

<sup>3</sup> Roger of Wendover.

knights met the knights of Earl John, on which a sharp engagement took place between them. In this affair one of the knights of Earl John, by name Roger de Planis, lost his life; however, the earl prevailed, and the chancellor and his men taking to flight, he entered London, and took refuge with his people in the Tower.”<sup>1</sup>

He was followed by John's army, deposed, and compelled to deliver up the Tower of London and the Castle of Windsor into the hands of Walter archbishop of Rouen, who had been sent over by the king to assist and advise in the settlement of the kingdom.

The chancellor also agreed to surrender certain other castles which remained in the hands of persons appointed by him, and he delivered hostages for the performance of his agreement.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishop of Rouen was made chancellor in his place; and Longchamp, after an unsuccessful attempt to escape in female disguise, was suffered to retire to Normandy, his native country.<sup>3</sup>

The castle remained in the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen for scarcely two years. In 1193, John, after an interview with Philip king of France (in which the latter undertook to cause the prolonged imprisonment of Richard by the Emperor of Austria), returned to England, assembled an army, principally of Welshmen and foreigners, and laid siege to several castles. Windsor was one of the first he succeeded in obtaining possession of, and he immediately placed it in a state of defence.<sup>4</sup>

The barons of England now rose in opposition to these unlawful proceedings. Under the Archbishop of Rouen, the chief justiciary, and the Council of Regency, they commenced their operations by laying siege to Windsor castle. It was not easily won. Moreover, the siege was not vigorously carried on, owing to the Archbishop of Rouen having numerous friends within the castle, and against whom, says the historian, he “was not very earnest.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roger de Hoveden; Walter de Hemingburgh or Hemingford.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. See also the ‘Chronicle of Richard of Devises.’

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed. Roger of Wendover says, “regardless of the hostages he had left, and the oath he had made not to leave the kingdom of England before the castles were surrendered, the said chancellor crossed the sea into Normandy on the 29th of October.”

<sup>4</sup> Roger de Hoveden.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed, citing Gervase and Polydore Virgil.

After considerable delay, "and great trouble to the realm," on the arrival of the Bishop of Salisbury (who was sent by the king to raise the amount required for his ransom), more effectual measures were adopted, and preparations made for bringing a larger force to bear upon the castle. This so alarmed the besieged that they yielded, and endeavoured to secure their safety by flight, some into one place and some into another, but being apprehended, were "put to worthy execution."<sup>1</sup> John, immediately after the surrender of the castle, proceeded to France.<sup>2</sup>

A cessation of hostilities throughout the kingdom was subsequently arranged, to last until the Feast of All Saints, and it was agreed that the Castle of Windsor, together with those of Wallingford and the Peak, should remain in the hands of Eleanor the dowager queen, on behalf of her son Richard.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of Richard the First, the name of "Walter de Windeshore" occurs in the Rolls and Records of the court held before the king's justiciars.<sup>4</sup> This Walter was a great grandson of Walter Fitz Otho, the constable of the castle during the reign of the Conqueror.<sup>5</sup> The barony of Windsor was in this reign (Richard I) divided between Walter and William Fitz Other. Walter had Burnham, Beaconsfield, and Eton.<sup>6</sup>

The first visit paid by John to Windsor, as king of England, was on the 3d of March, A.D. 1200.<sup>7</sup> He succeeded to the throne on the 27th of May, 1199, and soon after left England for Normandy, from whence he returned in the following February. He appears to have landed at Portsmouth on the 26th or 27th of that month. He was at Winchester on the 1st, and at Freemantle (in Hampshire) on the 2d of March, arriving at Windsor on Friday

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Bromton; Walter de Hemingburgh.

<sup>3</sup> Roger de Hoveden.

<sup>4</sup> Vide 'Rotuli Curie Regis,' vol. ii (1835).

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 20; and Dugdale's 'Baronage,' vol. i, p. 509.

<sup>6</sup> Lysons' 'Magna. Brit.,' vol. i, p. 688. The daughter and heiress of Walter married Ralph de Hodge, from whom the manor of Burnham appears to have reverted to the family of Windsor. Sir Miles Windsor died seised of that and the then adjoining manor of Huntercombe, 10 Richard II. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Hardy's 'Itinerary of King John,' printed under the direction of the Commissioners of Records (1835), furnishes us with the movements of that monarch

the 3d; and proceeding in two or three days to Westminster, where he was on the 6th of March. On the 16th and 17th of the following April he was at Windsor on his return from York and Worcester. On the 18th he was at Westminster, and did not visit Windsor for nearly a year, spending the summer in Normandy. He came from Westminster to Windsor on the 3d or 4th of April, 1201, and remained until the 6th or 7th, when he proceeded to Freemantle and Marlborough.<sup>1</sup> Upwards of three years then intervened before the king again came to Windsor. From May 1201 to December 1203 he was in Normandy. During the king's absence, he by letters patent directed Hubert de Burgh, his chamberlain (and to whom he had previously granted all the possessions of the late Walter de Windsor<sup>2</sup>), to deliver the castles of Dover and Windsor to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury; and, probably finding that the Chamberlain had no authority to carry out his wishes,

throughout his reign. The following table will show at a glance the periods and duration of his visits to Windsor:

A.D.		A.D.	
1200 an. 1	March 3, 4	1209 an. 11	December 24, 25
	April 16, 17	1210 an. 11	February 1, 22
1201 an. 2	April 4, 5, 6	an. 12	October 18
1204 an. 6	July 28, 29	1211 an. 12	January 25
	October 29, 31	an. 13	December 25
1205 an. 6	January 15, 16, 22	1212 an. 14	May 17, 18
	April 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,		November 2, 3
	29, 30	1213 an. 14	March 5
	May 2, 3, 4, 13	an. 15	December 25, 26
an. 7	July 23, 24, 25	1214 an. 16	October 27
	November 1, 2, 3, 4	1215 an. 16	March 1
1206 an. 7	March 17, 18, 19, 20, 21		April 15
	May 1, 2		May 10, 22, 23
1207 an. 8	April 13, 14	an. 17	May 31
an. 9	October 24, 25, 26		June 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13,
	December 25, 26, 27		14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
1208 an. 10	July 13, 14		21, 22, 23, 24, 25
1209 an. 10	March 1		December 16
an. 11	October 2	1216 an. 17	April 4, 5, 19, 20

<sup>1</sup> Fines were levied at Windsor on occasion of this visit. There is no reason to suppose that in any former year the court in which fines were levied, moved with the king as it undoubtedly did this year and subsequently. . Fines, 17 Ric. I, 16 Johann. ed. J. Hunter, vol. i (1835), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. R., 3 Johann., m. 2.

he subsequently, by letters patent, bearing date at Orival, 4th May, in the third year of his reign (A.D. 1202), in like manner directed John Fitz Hugh to deliver up the Castle of Windsor, with the forest and its appurtenances, to the custody of the Archbishop.<sup>1</sup> John Fitz Hugh appears to have neglected or refused to obey this order, for other letters patent were directed to him, stating that he had been commanded to deliver the castle to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had replied that he had not delivered it, because he was coming himself to the king; but that he had neither delivered it according to the precept nor had he afterwards come to the king, and commanding him to do so immediately on sight of these letters.<sup>2</sup>

Geoffrey Fitz Pierre, Earl of Essex, the king's justiciar, had also been directed to the same effect, and had not complied; for letters patent, dated at Cailly, in Normandy, 11th June, 1202, directed to him, recited that he had been enjoined by the king while in Normandy, and afterwards commanded by letters, to cause the Castle of Windsor to be delivered, that John Fitz Hugh had also been commanded to deliver it, and he had replied that he had not done so because he was going to the king. The letter then expressed the surprise of the king that neither of them had complied on receipt of the writ, and commanding Geoffrey Fitz Pierre to deliver the castle without delay.<sup>3</sup>

John Fitz Hugh was the constable of the castle and forest, and farmer of the bailiwick, at this period.<sup>4</sup> Whether the Castle was eventually intrusted to Hubert the archbishop does not appear. His appointment is somewhat singular, as he was not a favorite of the king's, and had, a few years before, been compelled by the Pope to relinquish the secular offices he had held, and to confine himself to his archiepiscopal duties.<sup>5</sup> He died in 1205. Robert de Vipont was constable of the castle in 1204, apparently in place of Fitz Hugh;<sup>6</sup> but the latter seems to have subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat., 3<sup>o</sup> Johann., m. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 4 Johann., m. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Rot. Cancellarii, 3 Johann., m. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Lingard.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Lib., 5 Johann., m. 2. In 1204 Robert de Vipont was commanded to send Abraham Fitz Muriel, then in the king's prison at Windsor, to the Justices of London.

regained the office of constable of the castle, and probably held it until his death in 1216.<sup>1</sup>

It is not until the 28th of July, 1204, that we find King John again at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> Within two or three days afterwards he removed to Oxford, where he was on Sunday the 1st of August. On the 28th of October he came to Windsor from Wycombe, was at Westminster on the 30th, and again at Windsor on Sunday the 31st, returning to Westminster the following day.

In 1205 the king spent more time at Windsor than during any other year of his reign. He was there on the 15th and 16th of January, and again on the 22d, proceeding thence to Reading and Winchester. From the 21st of April to the 4th of May, Windsor was his chief residence, and he appears to have occupied part of his time in study. A mandate to Reginald de Cornhill, dated April 29th, 1205, requires him to send five small casks of wine to Northampton, on account of the barons and knights whom the king had summoned there, and two small casks of good wine to Windsor; and also to send him immediately the 'Romance of the History of England.'<sup>3</sup> Considerable quantities of wine and provisions were transmitted to and from Windsor and the other royal residences at various periods of this reign. The mode of transit for wine and merchandise between London and Windsor at this time was by boats on the Thames.<sup>4</sup> In October 1205 there was an order for payment to John Fitz Hugh of seven shillings and eight pence for the conveyance of the royal jewels from Windsor to Freemantle.<sup>5</sup> On the 13th of May the king was again at Windsor, and also from the 23d to the 25th of July, and again from the 1st to the 4th of November.

In 1206 he was at Windsor twice, namely, from the 17th to

<sup>1</sup> In 1205 we find Fitz Hugh making payments for repairs in the castle; and Sir Ernold Emeric, who was taken in the Castle of Brough, in Westmoreland, is described in 1213 as in the custody of John Fitz Hugh at Windsor. He gave a hundred marks and two horses for his ransom, and thereupon the constable of Windsor was by letters patent directed to deliver him.

<sup>2</sup> Letters of safe conduct to various persons to come to the king, bear date at Windsor the 28th and 29th of July.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus. an. 6 John; and see 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus. 7 John.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

the 21st of March, and on the 1st and 2d of May. Warrants and orders still exist for the payment of the price and carriage of various articles conveyed to Windsor this year, as wine, gold plate, almonds, saffron, &c. During the summer and autumn he was in Normandy, and was not at Windsor until the 13th and 14th of April, 1207. He was there again from the 24th to the 26th of October, on his way from Marlborough to Westminster, and the Christmas of this year he spent at Windsor, arriving there from Odiham on or after the 22d of December. At this feast he distributed dresses amongst his knights.<sup>1</sup> The sheriff of Wiltshire was ordered to send one thousand ells of woven cloth to Windsor by Christmas day.<sup>2</sup> On the 27th of December the king moved from Windsor to Guildford, on his way to Farnham and Winchester. In 1208, the only visit he paid to Windsor, although he was in England the whole of the year, was in the middle of July.<sup>3</sup> In 1209 he was there on the 1st of March, 1st of October (when he gave nine shillings and fourpence halfpenny in alms to one hundred poor persons<sup>4</sup>), and at Christmas from the 22d or 23d of December to the 26th, and on this occasion "all the nobles of England were present and conversing with him, notwithstanding the sentence (of excommunication) under which he was bound, a rumour of which, although it had not been published, had spread through all parts of England, and come to the ears of everybody; for the king endeavoured to work evil to all who absented themselves from him."<sup>5</sup>

The king did not prolong the entertainment of his subjects, for on the 26th of December he moved to London.

On the 1st of February, 1210, he was at Windsor. In June following he went into Ireland, and a painful incident connected with that expedition is, according to some authorities, associated with Windsor Castle. A dispute arose between king John

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lit. Claus., 9 Johann.

<sup>3</sup> Fines were levied in the king's court at Windsor in this month. Fines, 7 Ric. I.—16 Johann. ed. J. Hunter, vol. i (1835), p. 56. (Vide *ante*, p. 41, note 1.)

<sup>4</sup> Mise Roll, 11 John.

<sup>5</sup> Roger of Wendover; see also Matthew of Westminster.



and William de Breose, respecting a claim by the king for the rent of lands in Ireland. After various attempts at an amicable settlement, De Braose, availing himself of his possessions and influence on the Welsh border in right of his wife, Maud of Hay, proceeded to retake his castles of Hay, Bredwardine, and Radnor, which appear to have been previously delivered to the king, and also partially destroyed the king's town of Leominster. Gerard de Athyes, the king's bailiff of the Welsh border, collecting forces to oppose him, De Braose conveyed his family to Ireland, where he was followed by the king.<sup>1</sup> The son had married a daughter of the Earl of Clare, and his sister, Margaret, had married one of the De Lacys, and with them the Braoses seem to have taken refuge for a time; but ultimately Maud de Braose and her son William, together with his wife and his two sons and his sister, were taken prisoners, and by the king's orders were subsequently sent as prisoners, first to Bristol and afterwards, according to some chroniclers, to Windsor Castle, and there Maud de Braose and her son were starved to death.<sup>2</sup> According, however, to an anonymous but contemporary writer, Corfe Castle, and not Windsor, was the scene of this tragedy. That chronicler says the king ordered the mother and son to be inclosed in a room in Corfe Castle, with a sheaf of wheat

<sup>1</sup> See the king's letter in the 'Fœdera,' i, 107 (u. e.); Roger of Wendover. The 'Annals of Waverley,' 'Annals of Margam,' and other chronicles, give different accounts of the origin of the dispute; but the king's letter is the more reliable document in this respect, whatever may have been the merits of the question.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Margam. Roger of Wendover includes the son's wife. Other authorities include William de Braose himself and five children among the victims. This is evidently incorrect. The Annals of Margam state that William de Braose the younger, with his wife, several sons, and Matilda his mother, were captured by John in Ireland, and first imprisoned at Bristol, and afterwards at Windsor. Fifty thousand marks were fixed as the price of their redemption. William the father being allowed his liberty in order to obtain the ransom, fled to France, and thereupon the king starved his wife and son to death. The Annals of Waverley say that William her husband changing his apparel, passed over the sea at Shoreham, in the dress of a mendicant, and shortly after died at Paris; and the continuator of Florence of Worcester fixes his death in 1211. Stow says he died at Corboile, and was buried at Paris. Such are the discrepancies of the chroniclers in the accounts of this transaction. The 'Annals of Margam' are, however, partially confirmed in the preliminary steps by the king's letter already cited. That letter, although bearing date in 1212, does not refer to the death of Lady de Braose, but seems to be put forth as a justification of the king for having outlawed her husband. The letter was attested by a great number of the barons of the kingdom. It is evident that there

and a piece of raw bacon for their only provisions. On the eleventh day their prison was opened, and they were found both dead; the mother was sitting upright between her son's legs, with her head leaning back on his breast, whilst he was also in a sitting posture, with his face turned towards the ground. Maude de Braose, in her last pangs of hunger, had knawed the cheeks of her son, then probably dead, and after this effort she appeared to have fallen into the position in which she was found.<sup>1</sup>

The king was at Windsor in the middle of October, 1210, after his return from Ireland, and again on the 25th of January following. From that time until Christmas there is no trace of him there. He was a great part of this year engaged in fighting with his Welsh subjects. He kept Christmas day, 1211, at Windsor.

In the following year (1212) John was at Windsor on the 17th and 18th of May, and on the 2d and 3d of November. On the latter occasion he appears to have been on his way from London to Marlborough and the west of England. He was next at Windsor

was, whether well or ill founded, a strong public prejudice against the king for his conduct in this business. Whether it was the daughter or the daughter-in-law of de Braose who was taken with his wife, there is some evidence that she did not suffer the alleged fate of the mother. In 1216 the king granted to Margaret de Lacy a piece of land in the forest of Acornbury, on which to found a religious house for the souls of her father William de Braose, Maud her mother, and William her brother. (Rot. Lit. Patent., an. 18 Johann., m. 2.) In 1215 the town of Buckingham was delivered to the Earl of Clare as being the dowry of his daughter, formerly the wife of William de Braose the younger. (Ibid., an. 17 Johann., m. 23.) Maud, daughter of the Earl of Clare, was in 1213 delivered to her father from Corfe Castle, where she was confined (Ibid., an. 15 Johann., m. 3). There is an order of the king's, in 1214, for the transfer of John and Egidium, the sons of Walter de Braose the younger, from the custody of Engelard de Cygony (Constable of Windsor Castle) to that of William de Harcourt. (Ibid., m. 5.) In the *Prestitia Roll* of the 12th of John there is the payment of half a mark to Roger de Stratton for conveying hostages from Ireland to Windsor.

This occurrence forms the most remarkable incident in Robert Davenport's play of 'King John and Matilda,' which appeared in 1655, and was originally acted at the Cockpit in Drury Lane.

<sup>1</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre' (Société de l'Histoire de France), 8vo, Paris, 1840. Mr. Thomas Wright, a high authority (to whom I am indebted for calling my attention to the work), has adopted this version in his 'History of Ludlow and its Neighbourhood,' p. 63. Wherever the event really happened, the confusion between Corfe and Windsor may be attributed to the fact of members of the family of De Braose having been imprisoned in both those castles, as appears from the documents cited in the preceding note. [J. E. D.]

on the 5th of March, 1213, on another western excursion. He came from London to spend Christmas day of this year at Windsor, and on that occasion distributed dresses to a number of his nobles.<sup>1</sup> The large scale on which these festivities were usually celebrated, appears from directions issued on this occasion. The king, by a writ dated at Guildford, on the 17th of December, commanded Reginald de Cornhill to send to Windsor twenty tuns of good and new wine for the household, as well Gascoigny as French wine, and four tuns of best wine for the king's own use,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, two of white and two of red wine, to be delivered before the day of the Nativity. Reginald de Cornhill was also directed to purchase two hundred head of swine, one thousand capons, five hundred pounds of wax, fifty pounds of white bread, two pounds of saffron, one hundred pounds of good and fresh almonds, two dozen towels, one thousand yards of wove cloth to make table napkins, fifty yards of fine cloth of Rheims (?), and a sufficient quantity of spices for seasoning. These things were ordered to be at Windsor the Sunday before Christmas day. He was also ordered to send fifteen thousand herrings, and other fish and provisions, such as Philip de Langeburgh should tell him on the king's behalf.

The sheriff of Buckinghamshire was in like manner directed to purchase five hundred capons and twenty pigs, and Mathew Mantell was directed to purchase two hundred head of swine and one thousand capons. John Fitz Hugh was commanded, as he loved the king, to have at Windsor a sufficient supply of wood, coal, pitchers, cups and dishes, and five hundred capons; and the sheriff of Kent was ordered to purchase one thousand salted (?) eels.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that at this period the whole of the civil and privy purse expenditure must have passed through the Chancery, as the

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Wendover; Matthew of Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> "Et iijj dolia optimi vini ad os nostrum."

<sup>3</sup> "Anguillar salatar." Rot. Lit. Claus., an. 15 Johann., m. 4. Salted eels formed a part of the enthronisation feast of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry VII. "De anguillis sals. ij barel, le barel xlvj.s. viij.d.—iijj.li. xij.s. iv.d. De anguillis recent. vj C., prec. C. xl.s.—xij.l." (Battely's 'Cantuaria Sacra,' Append., pp. 27, 28.)

most minute expenses and allowances were never satisfied until the order for payment had issued under the Great Seal. In process of time, however, when the business transacted by the Chancery Court became more important and defined in its nature, the execution of this species of business was transferred to other departments.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the price of commodities at this period, it may be observed that Gascony wine was 30*s.* the tun, and French wine 2½ marks the tun. Fat hogs varied from 2*s.* to 4*s.* each; wax, from 5*d.* to 7*d.* per lb. From what can be collected with respect to the price of corn, wheat seems to have varied from 2*s.* to 9*s.* per quarter; flour from 5*s.* to 8*s.*, and barley from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 5*s.* per quarter. Money then bore a value, according to the best calculations, about fifteen times greater than it does at present.<sup>2</sup>

John, on his accession to the throne, had endeavoured to regulate the price of wine by enacting that the highest price of wine of Poitou should be 20*s.* the tun, or 4*d.* the gallon; wine of Anjou, 24*s.* the tun; and French wine, 25*s.* the tun; "unless the said wine was so good that any one would be willing to give for it as much as two marks at the highest." The highest price for white wine was to be 6*d.* the gallon. However, this, the first ordinance of the king, had hardly been enacted when it was done away with, and leave was given to the merchants to sell a gallon of white wine for 8*d.*, and a gallon of red wine for 6*d.*; "and so," says the Chronicler, "the land was filled with drink and drinkers."<sup>3</sup>

On the day after the feast, the king returned to the Tower of London. The greater part of 1214 he spent in Normandy. He was at Windsor on the 27th of October, on his way from Reading to Westminster. On the 26th of October a mandate was issued from Reading to Reginald de Cornhill, to send all the fish he could procure to Windsor, to be there in time for the king's

<sup>1</sup> Hardy's 'Introd. to the Close Rolls.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Roger de Hoveden.

dinner on the following day, it being the vigil of the Apostles Simon and Jude.<sup>1</sup>

It was probably in consequence of the very few royal visits to Windsor at this period, that an order was issued in the same year (1214) to the constable of the castle and to William Barbet, keeper of the royal apartments, commanding them to sell the king's wine at Windsor, and the bacon that appeared likely to spoil by keeping.<sup>2</sup>

By letters patent, bearing date the 9th of February, 1215, the king presented Geoffrey de Meysi to the Chapel of St. Leonard in the Forest, vacant by the resignation of Robert Mansell, the right of presentation belonging to the king by reason of the possessions of William de Braose being in his hands.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of Edward the Second, the chapel is described as in the Forest of Windsor. By letters patent of the 13th year of that king's reign, license was granted to John, the hermit of the Chapel of St. Leonard of Loffield, in Windsor Forest, to inclose some land, parcel of the forest.<sup>4</sup>

There can be little doubt that this chapel was not far from Windsor, and that St. Leonard's Hill, in the parish of Clewer, the seat of the late Earl Harcourt, derives its name from it.<sup>5</sup>

The Countess of Hartford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset), in one of her letters to the Countess of Pomfret, after stating that the site of a green-house at Richings, in Buckinghamshire, about three miles north-east of Windsor, was formerly occupied by a chapel dedicated to St. Leonard, adds that St. Leonard was "certainly esteemed as a tutelar saint of Windsor Forest and its purlicus, for the place we left (St. Leonard's Hill) was originally a hermitage founded in honour of him." Her ladyship dates an earlier letter from the "Hermitage on St. Leonard's Hill."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Claus., an. 16<sup>o</sup> Johann., m. 19.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rotuli de oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, Tempore Regis Johannes,' by Hardy, 8vo, 1835. In 1205 bacon was also ordered to be conveyed from Windsor to Guildford. The vicinity of the forest, where large herds of swine were kept, probably occasioned the superabundant supply of that food in the castle.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Patent., an. 16 Johann., m. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Pat. 13 Edward II., m. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Lysons, *ut supra*.

<sup>6</sup> 'Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hartford and Henrietta Louisa

On Sunday, the 1st of March, 1215, the king was at Windsor, and a supply of wine was sent to him there.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless he appears to have removed the same day to the Tower of London. On the 15th of April he was at Windsor, on his return from Oxford to London, and again, on the 10th of May, on his way from London to Reading and Marlborough. He was also at Windsor on the 22d and 23d of the same month, making a rapid movement from Winchester and Odiham to Windsor, and back again to Winchester. The king was garrisoning his castles with the assistance of the foreigners who had entered his service. A body of Flemings, proceeding to London, found on their approach that it was in the possession of the barons; they left the town to their right and went to Windsor, and thence to Freemantle, "a house in the heart of the forest,"<sup>2</sup> where John was from the 17th to the 19th of May.<sup>3</sup>

We now approach an important event in history—the grant by King John at Runimede, between Old Windsor and Staines, of the Charter of Liberties known to us as Magna Charta. The king was at this time at open war with his barons. He granted them an armistice at Windsor on the 10th of May, until an award of their differences should be made by the eight barons, four selected on each side, with the Pope at their head.<sup>4</sup>

Before the end of this month arrangements were made for a meeting at Staines or its neighbourhood. On the 27th the king issued letters of safe conduct to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and all those whom he should bring with him to Staines to treat of a peace between the king and his barons.<sup>5</sup>

Countess of Pomfret, between the years 1738 and 1741,' 3 vols., 2d edit., 1806, vol. i, pp. 30, 271.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. Claus. 16 Johann., m. 7.

<sup>2</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Hardy's Itinerary of King John.

<sup>4</sup> *Fœdera*; and *vide* Rot. Litt. Patent., accurante T. D. Hardy, vol. i, 1835, Introd.

<sup>5</sup> 'Fœdera.' Holinshed, citing Polydore Virgil, says the king assembled a considerable force at Windsor towards the end of May, intending to lead it forth against the barons. Hearing, however, that London was in their hands, "he changed his purpose, and durst not depart from Windsor, being brought in great doubt lest all the other cities of the realme would follow their example." The last sentence is evidently incorrect, as the king certainly did not confine himself to the castle.

The king was at Windsor from the 31st of May until the 3d of June.<sup>1</sup> On that day or the following he went to Odiham and from thence to Winchester, where he remained until the 8th, on which day he was at Merton. From thence the king issued letters of safe conduct to those who should come on behalf of the barons to Staines on Tuesday in Pentecost week, to make and establish peace between him and them. The safe conduct was to be in force until the close of the following Thursday; that is to say, from the 9th to the 11th of June.<sup>2</sup> From Merton the king again returned to Odiham on Tuesday the 9th, and on the following day to Windsor. He then issued his letters, directed to the Earl of Salisbury and other adherents, informing them that the truce stood adjourned from Thursday in Pentecost week (*i. e.*, the following day) to Monday the morrow of Trinity; that is to say, from the 11th to the 15th of June, and commanding them to observe the peace in the mean time.<sup>3</sup>

The Charter bears date in the field called "Runimede," between Staines and Windsor, on the 15th day of June, in the seventeenth year of the king's reign.<sup>4</sup> Runimede is situated between Old Windsor and Staines, within the limits of Surrey. The road from Windsor to Staines passes over it. It is still a fine level open meadow on the banks of the Thames, and within sight of the towers of Windsor Castle. Egham races are now annually held on the adjoining land. The cause of the selection of this particular spot for the meeting does not exactly appear, but may be readily inferred. The name of "Runimede," which the field then bore and still retains (although sometimes varied in the spelling), is evidently derived from *Rún* and *mede*, signifying in Anglo-Saxon the Council Meadow.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During this visit the king made a present to Alan de Galweye of two geese, in return for which Alan de Galwey subsequently presented the king at Northampton with a good hound. ('Rotuli de oblatis et Finibus Tempore R. Johannis,' accurate T. D. Hardy, 1935.) The exchange was no doubt in favour of John, but this does not exhibit such a striking disparity in value as when the Earl of Chester gave the king one good palfrey for one lamprey the king had given him. *Vide Ibid.* Lampreys, however, were considered a great delicacy in this king's reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Fœdera*; and Mr. Hardy's 'Introduction to the Patent Rolls.'

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Rot. Litterarum Patent.*, accurate T. D. Hardy, vol. i, 1535.

<sup>4</sup> "Dat per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Runnimed, inter Windelshor, et Staines, quinti decimo die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo decimo."

<sup>5</sup> See Lye's 'Dict. Saxonicæ;' and Bosworth's 'Anglo-Saxon Dict.,' citing Hoffman.—

It is probable, therefore, that Edward the Confessor occasionally held his "witan" there during his residence at Old Windsor,<sup>1</sup> and that the Barons chose the spot as well on account of its previous association with those very rights they met to assert, as because it was a convenient distance from Windsor; sufficiently near for the king, but far enough removed to prevent any treacherous surprise by his forces. The early historians, indeed, expressly assert that the spot was chosen by the barons; the king, according to some, having suggested Windsor as the place of meeting.<sup>2</sup>

According to local tradition the conference took place and the charter was signed on a little island in the river near Ankerwyke and opposite the meadow, and now called Magna Charta Island.<sup>3</sup> The charter itself, however, bears date, as already stated, from the "field."

The names of John's supporters and attendants on this occasion are given by Roger of Wendover. "Those who were on behalf of the barons," he adds, "it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were now assembled together in numbers not to be computed."

Although the charter is dated on the 15th of June, the first day of the meeting, there is little doubt that it was not actually signed on that day. The preparation of a formal instrument of that nature must have required some time after the terms were agreed upon.

The principal heads of the charter were first settled in articles of agreement.<sup>4</sup> This was probably effected early in the week.

Sir F. Palgrave, however, says "Runnymede, the field of council, where, in times of yore, the Anglo-Saxons were wont to meet and consult on the welfare of the state, may also be interpreted the field of mystery." (*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, p. 140.) It may be observed that *council* is but a very secondary meaning of *run*. *Run* means properly a letter, and, as letters were chiefly used for magical purposes among the Anglo-Saxons, it also means a charm or magical operation. Runa-mede would be the "meadow of runes," or of magical charms. It may have been a sacred spot before the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity; and it is not unlikely that in the popular belief promises made there were peculiarly solemn.

<sup>1</sup> "Runemede, id est, pratum consilii inter Stanes et Windelshore, eo quod antiquis temporibus ibi de pace regni sæpius consilia tractabant." (Leland, Coll., i, 281.) See also Matthew of Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> See Roger of Wendover.

<sup>3</sup> Manning and Bray's 'Surrey,' vol. iii, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> An original schedule of these articles is preserved in the British Museum with the seal of King John attached. 'Fœdera,' vol. i, p. 129, new edit.



On Thursday, the 18th of June, the king issued his letters patent from Runimede, directed to Stephen Arengod and others, making known that a firm peace had been concluded between the king and his barons from Friday the following day, and commanding all prisoners and hostages taken in the war to be given up. Writs for electing the twelve knights who were to rectify the forest laws and customs bear date on the 19th of June.<sup>1</sup>

The king was at Runimede every day between Monday the 15th and Tuesday the 23d, and during that time issued various orders for the surrender of castles and lands, and the delivering of hostages, in pursuance of the agreement with the barons. It is probable that John and his attendants went to the conference from Windsor in the morning of each day, and returned to the castle at night.<sup>2</sup> It may be also inferred that the charter, formally engrossed, received his signature on or before the 23d, and was dated the day of the commencement of the meeting.

The king remained at Windsor until the 26th of June, when he proceeded to Odiham and Winchester.<sup>3</sup>

In a few weeks, owing to the want of good faith on the part of John, hostilities recommenced between him and the barons. William D'Albiny, on the part of the latter, took forcible possession of the castle of Rochester. The king laid siege to the castle, which withstood his assaults for seven weeks, from the middle of October to the end of November, when the garrison was forced to surrender.

<sup>1</sup> *Fide* Rot. Litterar. Patent.

<sup>2</sup> Various letters patent of the king bear date at Windsor during this week, among others, orders to "John of the Tower," constable of Marlbridge, commanding him to send William de l'Isle with six hundred marks to Windsor. (Rot. Patent., 17 Johaun., m. 23.) There are several entries of treasure received by John, at Windsor, from time to time during his reign.

<sup>3</sup> The statement of Roger of Wendover, adopted by Matthew Paris (which has been followed by Rapin, Hume, Henry, and others), that the king, after sealing the charter, remained one night at Windsor and then removed to the Isle of Wight, is evidently erroneous. See Hardy's 'Itinerary of King John.' The barons, after the completion of the treaty, agreed to hold a tournament at Stamford, but fearing the city of London might be taken out of their hands if they moved so far, the tournament at Stamford was adjourned, and another held "in Staines wood at the town of Hounslow." The nobles of the land were encouraged to attend by the promise that "whoever performs well there, will receive a bear which a lady will send to the tournament." (See Roger of Wendover's 'Chronicle'.)

John left Rochester on the 6th of December, and proceeded by Guildford to Winchester. From Winchester he returned eastward to Farnham, and on the 16th of December he was at Windsor. On the 17th and 18th he was at Iver,<sup>1</sup> proceeding on the latter day to St. Albans. At St. Albans he divided his army into two parts. The command of one was given to his brother, William earl of Salisbury, and with the other he marched northwards.

Windsor in the meantime was garrisoned with the king's forces. The Earl of Salisbury and Foulques de Breauté ordered the castellans of Windsor, Hertford, and Berkhamstead, with a strong body of troops, to pass and repass to and from London, to watch and harass the barons, and to endeavour to cut off their supplies.<sup>2</sup>

John returned in the spring of 1216 from the north, which he had ravaged with fire and sword. On the 4th of April he arrived at Windsor from Berkhamstead, and on the following day went to Reading, returning to Windsor again on the 19th of April.

The whole country was now in the hands of the king. The wretched condition of the inhabitants and the cruelties exercised towards them by John, are depicted in strong terms by the contemporary chroniclers. The barons at last procured the assistance of Philip king of France, by offering the crown to Louis, his eldest son.

John was at Windsor when he received intelligence of the intended invasion,<sup>3</sup> and immediately proceeded to Guildford on his way to Dover. He never again set foot within his castle of Windsor.

At Guildford, on the 22d of April, he, by letters patent, appointed Engelard de Cygony, keeper of Windsor Castle and of the forest, during his pleasure.<sup>4</sup> This appointment was a direct

<sup>1</sup> The manor of Iver, in Buckinghamshire, about six miles N.E. of Windsor, belonged at this time to Robert de Claving. Brien Fitz Count, the brave defender of Wallingford Castle, was the owner in the reign of Henry the Second, and kept his Christmas at Iver in 1143. Having afterwards entered into a religious order, Henry seized on all his estates. Richard the First gave the manor to Robert de Claving. In the reign of Edward the Second, Sir John Claving, having no male issue, gave it with other estates to the king and his heirs. (Lysons' 'Magna Brit.', citing Dugdale's 'Baronage'.)

<sup>2</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>3</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> "The king to all the foresters, verderers, and other officers of the forest of Windsor. Know that we have committed to our beloved and faithful Engelard de Cygony the custody

violation of the provisions of Magna Charta, granted only ten months before. By the 50th clause of the charter, the king stipulated to "remove from their bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so that, for the future, they shall have no bailiwick in England; Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyone de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin and his brothers, Philip Mark and his brothers, and Geoffrey his nephew, and all their followers."<sup>1</sup>

The occasion of the appointment of Engelard de Cigony was probably the resignation of John Fitz Hugh, the former constable.<sup>2</sup>

The French prince landed at Sandwich on the 30th of May, and was received in London by the barons. Among those who joined his standard was the Earl of Salisbury, the king's brother. John retreated westward to Winchester and Bristol.

All the castles in the counties surrounding the metropolis submitted to Louis, except the castles of Windsor and Dover, which being well garrisoned, awaited the prince's approach.<sup>3</sup> Louis, in person, besieged Dover. The barons laid siege to the castle of Windsor, which was defended by Engelard d'Athies and Andrew de Chanceaux,<sup>4</sup> attended by sixty knights, with their retainers. The command of the besieging force was given to Count de Nevers,

of the castle of Windsor, with the forest, and all its appurtenances, during our pleasure, and therefore we command you that you assist and obey the said Engelard in all things; and in testimony whereof we send you, &c. Witness ourself at Geldeford, on the 22d day April, in the 17th year of our reign." (Rot. Patent., 17 Johann., m. 2.) The king, on the same day, granted to Engelard de Cygony the custody of the county of Surrey. (Ibid.)

<sup>1</sup> History appears to be nearly silent as to the particular reason why the dismissal of those persons named in chapter 50 was considered so essential as to be made an article of the Great Charter. It may, with great probability, be supposed that they were all foreigners, since the next clause relates to the sending of the foreign soldiers out of the kingdom. The only information which can be procured of them is collateral, and more from the evidence of national records than from actual history, by which they are shown to have been in possession of considerable wealth, being probably great favorites of the king. (Thomson's 'Essay on Magna Charta,' p. 242.)

<sup>2</sup> This assumption is made on the following grounds: the evidence mentioned at p. 43, *ante*, that Fitz Hugh was constable in 1213, and on the fact that in May 1216, the king, by letters patent directed to Engelard de Cigony, commanded the latter to deliver to John Fitz Hugh, seisin of the manor, castle, and park of Odilham during the king's pleasure (Rot. Patent., 18 Johann.), proving that Fitz Hugh was then alive and in the king's favour.

<sup>3</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>4</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 181.

assisted by Robert de Dreux.<sup>1</sup> The besiegers, having arranged their engines, made a fierce assault on the walls. The castle was stoutly defended, and the barons gained little or no advantage.<sup>2</sup> "They were long there, but did little, and were in great jeopardy. The besieged made many fierce sallies, twice cutting the beam of their *perriere* (the name given to the engine for throwing large stones, the greater part of which consisted of a long *beam*). A knight of Artois, called William de Ceris, was killed, lamented by few, for he was hated much."<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, the king, finding his enemies occupied with the sieges of the two castles of Windsor and Dover, availed himself of the opportunity to pillage and lay waste the estates of the barons. He was at Reading on the 7th of September, and came so near Windsor that the besiegers expected a battle. The Welshmen, approaching by night, shot at them with their arrows. The besiegers remained armed a long time, prepared for the fight, but none occurred, the king withdrawing.<sup>4</sup> After remaining a week at Sonning, he proceeded to Wallingford and Cambridge. The barons, hearing of the king's movements, and not making any progress at Windsor, determined, under the advice of the Count de Nevers, to raise the siege, and cut off the king's retreat. They left their tents at night, and marched with all haste towards Cambridge. The king, being apprized of their movements, moved to Stamford and Lincoln.<sup>5</sup>

It was rumoured that the Count de Nevers had been bribed by presents from John to raise the siege of Windsor.<sup>6</sup> Be that as it may, the barons did not return to the siege, but finding the king had escaped them, returned to London, and then joined Louis at Dover.<sup>7</sup> Windsor consequently remained in the hands of the king's friends.

On the 25th of September, John sent orders from Scotter, in Lincolnshire, to Engelard de Cigony, to deliver Hugh de Polested forthwith, in prison at Windsor, to John de Warfield, brother

<sup>1</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>3</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

of Elye de Warfield, unless he should be ransomed in the meantime.<sup>1</sup>

This is the last event relating to Windsor in King John's reign. In three weeks after the above order he lost his treasure and jewels in crossing the Wash, and died at Newark on the 19th of October.

Notwithstanding the frequent visits of this king to Windsor, he added nothing to the building of the castle as far as can be known.

The accounts during his reign are scanty, and refer only to ordinary and unimportant repairs.<sup>2</sup> In 1204 an order was issued to the Exchequer to pay the Constable of Windsor what should appear, on the inspection and testimony of lawful men, to be reasonable for the repair of the chapel and *domus regis*.<sup>3</sup> In 1205 an order was made for payment to John Fitz Hugh, of eighteen shillings and sixpence for the repair of the great chamber at Windsor, while the queen was staying there, and in 1215 a payment for the reparation of the walls is mentioned among the sums expended on the royal castles.<sup>4</sup> It may well be supposed, however, the castle had not borne the brunt of war unscathed. The walls remained in a state of dilapidation, and partly broken down, as late as the fifth year of Henry the Third.<sup>5</sup> There is no doubt, however, that attention was paid to the defence of the Castle. We find in the fifth year of this reign directions issued to the Constable to pay Gerald the Bowman his wages of fourpence halfpenny a day, and also yew, cords, and horn for making bows.<sup>6</sup>

Faint traces of the existence of a town at Windsor may be discovered from the records of the period. Among the pleas in the king's court of Easter and Trinity term in the first year of King John's reign, Juliana, the daughter of Achard, appears as the claimant, against Wigot de Shaw and John his son-in-law, of a house and three acres of land in Windsor.<sup>7</sup> In the sixth year of

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Patent., 18 Johann., m. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the Hist. of Windsor Castle,' citing Pipe, R., 3 John, Claus. R. 6, 15, 16 John.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Lib., 5 Johann., m. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus. an. 6 & 15 John.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, m. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Lib., 5 Johann., m. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Curie Regis, ed. by Sir F. Palgrave, vol. ii, pp. 173, 174.

John, William the son of Alexander acknowledged a fine of a messuage and its appurtenances in Windsor, in favour of Robert of the Brick Bridge and Alice his wife.<sup>1</sup> In the eighth year, Alveva, the widow of Simon the Saddler, and William her son, sought to recover, as her dower, from Hugh le Draper, a house in the town of Windsor, the property of Simon in his lifetime. The claim was settled by Alveva and her son agreeing to lease the house to Hugh and his heirs at a yearly rent of two shillings; for which grant and agreement, Hugh gave Alveva two silver marks, and agreed for himself and his heirs to pay the said rent to Alice during her life, and after her decease to William her son, and his heirs.<sup>2</sup>

Indirect evidence of the growth of the town of Windsor is to be found in a licence of King John, 1205, to William Fitz Andrew, to have one vessel to ply on the Thames between Oxford and London, without any impediment to him or his men on the part of the bailiff of Wallingford or the bailiff of Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

There is no doubt that the "Bailiff of Windsor" refers to the person who farmed the bailiwick of Windsor, paying a fixed rent to the king, and making what profit he could by receiving and exacting tolls and dues. The rent of towns formed an important part of the royal revenue at this period. The office of Bailiff of Windsor was distinct from that of Constable of the Castle, although sometimes united in the same individual. The privilege granted to Fitz Andrew was to pass by the town and under the bridge without paying pontage, or toll claimed by the king's bailiff. The right to levy pontage was at a subsequent period, as will be seen hereafter, granted to Windsor from time to time.

In 1212 the bailiff and faithful men of Windsor were ordered to furnish ten men, horses, and arms, to be ready to serve the king when and where required.<sup>4</sup>

Another indication of the town is that the village in the vicinity of the old Saxon palace of Windsor is described in this reign as

<sup>1</sup> Fines, 7 Ric. I.—16 Johann., ed. J. Hunter, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Patent., an. 6 Johann.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus., 14 John. A similar order was made on Wallingford. London furnished 100 men.

Old Windsor, evidently to distinguish it from the Windsor close to the Norman castle.<sup>1</sup>

The most positive testimony to the existence of a town, is the fact of the rent yearly received for the farm of Windsor in common with most of the towns in England. In the third year of this reign we find John Fitz Hugh accounting for twenty-six pounds, the rent of the "Ferm" of Windsor.

Out of this rent he was allowed various sums disbursed by him, among others, to William Barbett, sixty shillings and ten pence, for the custody of the king's houses at Windsor, and to the chaplains of the chapel, thirty shillings and five pence, and to infirm persons of Windsor, seven shillings and two pence half-penny.<sup>2</sup>

The names of William de Windsor, and Walter de Windsor, occur frequently in the records of this as of the preceding reign. We have also "Hugh de Windsor," "Richard of Windsor,"<sup>3</sup> "Richard of Datchet," "Adam of Burnham," "Ralph of Burnham," "Robert of Burnham," &c.

Illustrations of the nature and extent of the powers and jurisdiction of the constable of Windsor Castle may be found at this period. In A.D. 1200, the inhabitants of Bray alleged in the king's court that the constable took and exacted services, customs, debts, and tolls, contrary to usage. The constable was directed to take the accustomed talliage, and the inhabitants to render the other services and customs as they were wont.<sup>4</sup>

In 1205 the constable of Windsor was directed to give possession to Adam de Burnham of a hide and five acres of land in Cookham, with one mill dam in the water of Lulle brook, which the king had given him.<sup>5</sup>

It was probably as bailiff of Windsor that the constable of

<sup>1</sup> Fines, 13 Johann.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Cancellarii, 3 Johann., m. 15.

<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 1201, William, the son of Richard de Windsor, gave two marks to the king in order that the pool and fishery in Boveney might be in the state it was wont to be during the reign of Henry the Second. (Rot. de oblatiis, an. 3 Johann.)

<sup>4</sup> Rotuli Curie Regis, ed. Sir F. Palgrave, vol. ii, pp. 278, 279.

<sup>5</sup> "Cum j gurgite in aquam de Lullebroc," &c. (Rot. de Finibus, an. 6 Johann., m. 2.) *Gurges* signified, in medieval Latin, a part of the stream dammed up for a mill or other purpose.

Windsor exercised such duties as those above mentioned. Bray and Cookham were within the then limits of the bailiwick.

In this reign we find notices of Eton. In 1204 a charter was granted to Roger de Cauz for a market at Eton, to be holden on Mondays.<sup>1</sup> In the same year the manor of Eton was granted to William de Cantelupe.<sup>2</sup> Among the fines of the twelfth year of King John, there are proceedings between William de Cantelupe and Walter prior of Merton, relative to the advowson of the church. William de Cantelupe released for himself and his heirs, in favour of the prior and his successors and the church of St. Mary of Merton, all his right and claim to the advowson of Eton Church. In consideration of this, the prior granted to William and his heirs the right of having a chapel and a chaplain to serve it, who should swear to the prior and convent of Merton to protect the mother church of Eton, and not to withdraw its revenues, neither in tithes, nor in oblations, nor in confessions, nor in readings, nor in purifications, nor in any other things appertaining to the said church, except all oblations of the aforesaid William, and his wife and children and household, coming to his hands during the year, except on six yearly festival days, that is to say, the Nativity, the Purification of the Blessed Mary, Easter Day, Pentecost, the Assumption, and All Saints, on which six days the mother church of Eton should have all oblations and offerings in the chapel, from whatsoever source.<sup>3</sup>

Of the precise period when, or the mode in which the illustrious Norman family of Cantilupe acquired possessions in Eton, we have no record. William de Cantilupe was the father of Thomas de Cantilupe, the Chancellor of Henry the Third, and the subsequent canonised bishop of Hereford.

The old parish church of Eton, of which no trace now remains, appears to have stood on the site of King's Stable Street, where until lately a malt-house stood. After the church fell into decay, the inhabitants were permitted to attend divine service in the chapel of the College, and a chapel of ease was built by William

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Lib., 5 Johann., m. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., m. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Fines, 12 Johann., edit. J. Hunter, vol. i, p. 247.



Hetherington, the munificent benefactor to the blind and poor of other descriptions, who had been one of the Fellows of Eton.<sup>1</sup>

There is a grant of the third year of this reign to Richard de Muntfichet of a hundred bucks and does out of Windsor Forest, to stock his park at Langley.<sup>2</sup> That this was Langley Maries, near Windsor, is clearly shown by the fact that the manor of Langley Maries came to the crown in the reign of Edward the First, by reason of the minority of Ralph Plaiz, cousin and heir of Aveline Mountfichet.<sup>3</sup> In 1551 Edward the Sixth granted the manor as parcel of the honor of Windsor, together with the park and bucks and does therein, to his sister, the Princess Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lit., 3 Johann., m. 3, *in dorso*.

<sup>3</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 590.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Pat., 4 Edw. VI.



Ranimede, with the Towers of Windsor Castle in the distance.

## CHAPTER IV.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD.

#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1217, ENGELARD DE CYGONY.	A.D. 1242, BERNARD DE SAVOY.
A.D. 1225, RALPH TYRELL.	A.D. 1259, AYMON THURUMBURD.
A.D. 1233, WILLIAM DE MILLARS.	A.D. 1264, HUGH DE BARANTIN.
A.D. 1267, NICHOLAS DE YATINGTON.	

Events at Windsor before the Treaty of Peace with Louis—Taste of Henry the Third for building—Improvements in Windsor Castle—Their progress and character—Confirmation of Windsor Church to Waltham Abbey—Custody of the Castle committed to Hubert de Burgh—Progress of the Works—The Chapel—Poverty of the King—Pawns the Image of the Virgin Mary in the Chapel—Locality, and vestiges of the Chapel—Bernard de Sabaudia appointed Keeper of the Castle, A.D. 1242—Progress of the Works—Their suspension in 1244—Park at Windsor—Hospital for Lepers—Storm on St. Dunstan's Day, 1251—Operations in the Castle—Revenues of the Bishopric of Winchester appropriated to defray the expenses—Charges against the Citizens of London found on a Roll in the King's Wardrobe—Visit of Alexander of Scotland to Queen Eleanor at Windsor, in 1256—By Treaty between Henry and his Barons, in 1258, Windsor remains in the King's hands—Progress of the Works—Summons in 1261, of Knights from every Shire, to attend the King at Windsor—Prince Edward removes Treasure and the Queen's Jewels from the Tower to Windsor—The Queen escapes from the Tower—Agreement to intrust Windsor and the other Royal Castles to the Barons—Reluctance of Prince Edward to surrender Windsor—He assembles Forces—The Barons march from London—Capitulation and Surrender of the Castle—Safe Conduct and Departure of the Foreigners—Renewal of the War between the King and the Barons—Prince Edward regains possession of Windsor—The King, under the restraint of the Earl of Leicester, orders the Princess Eleanor, her Family, and others, to leave the Castle—Hugh de Barantin Governor of the Castle—The King at Windsor with an Army after the death of the Earl of Leicester, in 1265—Alarm of the Citizens at Windsor—Deputation to the King—and subsequent attendance of the Mayor and principal Citizens at Windsor—They are imprisoned in the Castle—Release of part of their number and their return to London—Fine imposed on the Citizens—Final adjustment, and Release of the Prisoners, in 1269—Insurrection of the Earl of Gloucester in 1267—The King marches to Windsor—Preparations for an Engagement at Hounslow—The King leaves Windsor—Surrender of the Earl of Gloucester—Grants of Windsor Castle, Tower, and Forest—Appointment of Adam de Gordon to an office in the Castle—Works during the last years of Henry's Reign—Notices of the Neighbourhood of Windsor—Palace at Crippenham—Imprisonment of the Earl of Derby—Burnham Abbey.

ON the 22d of January, A.D. 1217, a few months after John's death and before Henry the Third was firmly established on the

throne, "the wicked robber, Falkasius," says Roger of Wendover, "assembled a force of knights and robbers from the garrisons of the castles of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windsor, and went to St. Albans, it being the night of St. Vincent's day, at dusk, and making an unexpected attack on the place, pillaged it, and made prisoners of men and children, whom he committed to close confinement."

Foulques de Breauté, who is described by the monkish historian as a wicked robber on account of his plunder of the abbey of St. Albans, was a favorite of the late King John, and the above passage shows that the castle of Windsor remained in the hands of his adherents. It appears, indeed, to have been the head quarters of the young king's forces until peace was effected with Louis. On one occasion we are told that the people of Windsor pursued the forces of the French prince from Farnham to Winchester, but did not dare to approach so near as to be seen by their rear guard.<sup>1</sup> At another time, the forces of the English marched to Windsor, and proceeded thence to Staines and Chertsey.<sup>2</sup> The pope's legate, alarmed one day at the intelligence that the French had left London, mounted his horse at Kingston, where he was staying, and "forgetting not his spurs," did not stop until he reached Windsor.<sup>3</sup> The terms of peace were discussed there in the presence of the dowager queen Isabella, the legate, barons, and a great host. The final arrangement was made "on an island in the Thames, beyond Kingston and towards Windsor;" Louis was on one side the river and the royalists on the other; Louis got into a boat and crossed to the island where the queen and the legate were.<sup>4</sup>

Engelard de Cygony continued to hold the office of constable of the castle during the early part of this reign. The inhabitants of Windsor in 1220 complained that he had done them serious injury, by inclosing their pastures, contrary to the charter of Henry, the king's grandfather. The king thereupon directed Hugh de Nevill

<sup>1</sup> 'Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre,' p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 196

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 203, 204. The articles of peace, however, bear date at Lambeth the 11th September, 1217. See the *Fœdera*, new edit., vol. i, p. 148.

and John Fitz Hugh to proceed together to Windsor to view the inclosures, and restore the inhabitants to their rights, so that there should not be any more cause of complaint.<sup>1</sup> Engelard de Cygony, who was directed to attend and assist the commissioners, appears to have farmed the revenues of the bailiwick of Windsor, and collected the rents and dues in kind, for in 1224 we find the king purchasing Cygony's stock of corn at Windsor, Cookham, and Bray, for the sum of sixty pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence. With an apparent inconsistency, indicating the jobbing carried on, the king at the same time made a present to him of a heap of corn in the Castle wherewith to feed his horses.<sup>2</sup> A year later we find Ralph Tyrell filling the office of constable.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps no English sovereign ever paid so much attention to architecture, sculpture, and painting, as Henry the Third.<sup>4</sup> Besides the ecclesiastical edifices which rose through his munificence or under his influence, the royal houses throughout the kingdom were greatly extended and embellished during his reign. Although Windsor does not appear to have been a favorite residence of this king, yet the castle benefited by his taste for architecture in a degree which totally changed the aspect of at least the lower ward, where his works may still be traced to a considerable extent, and identified by the unerring test of their architectural character.<sup>5</sup>

The improvements of Henry the Third were begun as early as the fifth year of his reign and the fifteenth of his age. In that year orders were issued for payment of money to Engelard de Cygony for the works of the castle and for the repairs of the broken walls.<sup>6</sup> In the following year the constable was ordered not to take the toll called *cheminage* from persons conveying timber for the works of the castle.<sup>7</sup> In the seventh year of this

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Claus., 4 Hen. III, m. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 8 Hen. III, p. i, m. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 9 Hen. III, m. 6 and 18.

<sup>4</sup> Hardy's Preface to the Liberate Rolls of John.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the Hist. of Windsor Castle,' prefixed to Sir J. Wyatville's Illustrations. Some of the details of the works in the reign of Henry the Third are taken from this essay.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Claus., 5 Hen. III, m. 9, 10, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 6 Hen. III.

reign, when out of several sums of money, amounting in the whole to upwards of 800 marks, paid to Engelard de Cygony, the constable, to John le Draper and William the clerk of Windsor, *custodes operationum*, Master Thomas the king's carpenter, and others, on account of the repairs of the *domus* within the castle, a considerable portion is specifically allotted for the works of the hall;<sup>1</sup> which were so far advanced in the eighth year, that the sheriffs of London are then commanded to deliver one hundred of fir to Master Thomas, for the purpose of making the doors and windows.<sup>2</sup> It is not made perfectly clear in these orders, whether they refer to a hall already existing, or to a new and more stately edifice, but collateral evidence enables us to decide upon the latter. In the twenty-fourth year of Henry the Third, the bailiffs of Windsor are commanded, on the Nativity of our Lord, to fill the *great* hall of the castle with poor people; and the *lesser* hall is likewise to be filled with poor on the day of St. Stephen, the day of St. John, and the day of the Epiphany; and on the day of St. Thomas the same hall is to be filled with poor chaplains and clerks, and on Innocents' day with poor boys, who are all to be fed and clothed on the days aforesaid to the honour of God.<sup>3</sup> By the above order it appears that the lesser hall, mentioned again as the *old* hall in a later writ, was in the upper baily, while the great hall is fixed in the lower ward, both by its position with reference to the chapel, presently to be noticed, and by a grant of Henry the Fourth of a plot of ground, for the houses of the vicars and other ministers of St. George's Chapel, "near the great hall."<sup>4</sup> In the centre of the table, at the upper end of the great hall, was a throne, painted and gilt with the figure of a king in his regalia, on either side of which the windows were filled with "images" in stained glass, but these decorations were not completed until several years after the erection of the building.<sup>5</sup>

In the tenth year of Henry the Third, the keep seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Claus., 7, 8 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 8 Hen. III, m. 4.

<sup>3</sup> R. Liberati, 24 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, chap. iv, sec. 2.

<sup>5</sup> R. Lib., 34, 45 Hen. III.

undergone some alteration or repair, £67 sterling being paid to the mayor of London for thirty *carrates*,<sup>1</sup> of lead sent to Windsor, for the purpose of covering it.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, an entry occurs of 40*s.* to Master Nicholas and Master Simon, the king's carpenters at Windsor, on account of their wages, and 30*s.* to buy themselves dresses, the gift of the king, and 15*s.* to Matilda the wife of Master Thomas, the carpenter, to buy her a gown,<sup>3</sup> by which it would appear that the carpenters were maintained on the royal establishment. Master Jordan, also designated the king's carpenter, and retained on a salary, was employed upon the construction of the military engines, and occupied about this time in making a *trebuchet*,<sup>4</sup> an engine for casting stones and demolishing walls, to be placed in the Castle. The same Jordan is charged with the repair of the ditch in the great baily,<sup>5</sup> between the hall and the tower of the Castle.

The king was at Windsor for about three weeks at one time, in September 1229, probably inspecting the works. He came there from Wallingford, and proceeded to Guildford.<sup>6</sup>

By a charter of the eleventh year of the king's reign, the church of Windsor, which had been granted by Richard to Waltham Abbey, was re-granted or confirmed to that monastery.<sup>7</sup> The abbot about the same time complained, that although his tenants of the property of Windsor church had always been exempt from tallage or taxes, yet that the king's officers of the exchequer had assessed them in common with the other inhabitants of Windsor, and refused to make restitution. The king thereupon directed inquiry to be made into the truth of the abbot's allegation of previous exemption, and commanding that, if found to be true, the tenants

<sup>1</sup> Carrada, carrata, onus carri, quantum carro villi potest. (Du Cange.)

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, m. 29. There was a payment in the preceding year of £11 for the works of the "tower of Windsor." (Ibid., 9 Hen. III, m. 11.)

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, m. 26, and 9 Hen. III, m. 10; R. Lib., 10 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, m. 3; *ibid.*, an. 10, m. 13; R. Lib., 11, 12 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Claus., 10 Hen. III, m. 21, 22; R. Lib., 10 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Claus., 11 Hen. III.

<sup>7</sup> 'Calendarium Rot. Chart. et Inquis ad quod Damnum.' (1803) Chartæ 11 Hen. III, m. 13.

should be exempt from payment.<sup>1</sup> The king also, in 1231, sent instructions to the constable of the castle, that the church should have tithes of the royal garden at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> Two years previously permission was given to the abbot to inclose his burial ground at Old Windsor, through the middle of which lay the king's high way, provided that he substituted another sufficient road near it.<sup>3</sup>

In the sixteenth year of Henry's reign (A.D. 1232) the custody of the castle of Windsor, as well as of the tower and of the castle of Odiham, were committed to Hubert de Burgh,<sup>4</sup> who administered the affairs of the state after the death of the Earl of Pembroke. Hubert de Burgh was not, however, strictly speaking, constable of the castle, for in 1233 we find William de Millars filling that office. The former constable, Engelard de Cygony, appears to have continued keeper of the forest of Windsor for several years afterwards.<sup>5</sup> In 1235 the manors of New and Old Windsor, and of Cookham and Bray, were committed to Walter de Bine and Simon de Brakel.<sup>6</sup>

From the twelfth year of Henry the Third the works of the castle proceeded with more or less activity, as appears from the different sums paid on that account, until the seventeenth year, when the constable of the castle, William de Millars, is ordered to build a new kitchen.<sup>7</sup> In the twenty-first year the works were placed under the direction of William de Burgh, who was engaged at the same time upon the works at other of the royal houses. One of his first acts was a repair of the bridges of the castle, for which he was allowed to have timber from the forest. The great bridge and two others above it are specified.<sup>8</sup> Two breaches in the castle wall

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Claus., 11 Hen. III, m. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Selden's 'History of Tythes,' chap. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III, m. 5 and 16.

<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth year of Henry's reign, the forests of Windsor and Odiham were committed to his care. (Patent, 19 Hen. III, m. 19.) The park or forest of Odiham, however, seems to have been taken from him in the following year, as the patent rolls contain an order to demand it of him; and soon after a notice that both the forests of Odiham and Windsor, with the manor and castle of Odiham, were committed to Reginald de Whitchurch. (Thomson's 'Essay on Magna Charta,' p. 243.)

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Chart., 16 Hen. III, m. 5; Rot. Pat., 21 Hen. III, m. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Originalia, 20 Hen. III.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Lib., 17 Hen. III.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 21 Hen. III.

toward the garden were repaired at the same time. In the twenty-second year the fortifications were surveyed, especially the state of the *crenelles*, and a general order given to repair the *crenelles* and the drains.<sup>1</sup> This order is repeated in the following year, specifying more particularly the *crenelles* of the wall of the upper baily between the gate and the chamber of Prince Edward, and those of the lower gate of the castle. An order is also issued to the bailiffs of Windsor to paint the chamber of the queen, to line<sup>2</sup> (probably either with plaster or wainscot) the chamber of Edward the king's son, to make a private chamber convenient to the same, and to put iron bars to the window.<sup>3</sup> The bailiffs are further commanded to form a floor in the turret of the gate, so as to divide it into two stories, and to cover it with lead.<sup>4</sup>

A considerable quantity of wine was supplied at the Castle from time to time. In a writ of the 24th year of his reign, the king expressly orders the keepers of his wines to deliver a cask of it "for the use of Edward our son."<sup>5</sup>

Prince Edward was brought up at Windsor, as appears from various writs. For example, in the 26th year of this reign, the sum of £200 was ordered to be paid out of the Treasury, to Hugh Giffard and Master William Burn, "for the support of Edward our son, and his attendants residing with him, in our castle of Windsor."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Lib., 22 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Lambruscare, lambriper, lambris, the interior lining of a wall with marble, wainscot stucco, or lath and plaster.

<sup>3</sup> There are frequent orders at this period for iron bars to the windows at Windsor and others of the royal houses, which, as Mr. Poynter suggests, may, perhaps, be traced to the adventure which befel the king in this year (A.D. 1238) at Woodstock. "About this time," says Holinshed, who condenses the narrative of Matthew Paris and the contemporary chroniclers, "a learned esquire, or rather cleark of the Universitie of Oxenford, bearing some malice toward the king, fained himself mad, and espieing thereby the secret places of his house at Woodstoke where he then laie, upon a night by a window he got into the king's bed-chamber, and coming to the bedside, he threw off the coverings, and with a dagger strake divers times into a pillow, supposing the king had beene there; but as God would, that night the king lay in another chamber with the queene." The assassin was taken, and torn to pieces by wild horses at Coventry.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Lib., 23 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Claus., 24 Hen. III, m. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Lib., 26 Hen. III. See this and many other writs of the period, in Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' 4to, 1837.



In A.D. 1240, Thomas Count of Flanders, the queen's uncle, came to England with great pomp, and, after being entertained and loaded with presents in London, he proceeded to Windsor to visit his infant nephew Edward, the king's son.<sup>1</sup>

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Henry the Third (A.D. 1242), Bernard de Savoy was appointed keeper of the castle and forest of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

Some idea of the military defence of the castle may be formed from an order of this year for the payment monthly, during the king's pleasure, to Bernard de Savoy, of £25 15s. 8d., "for the use of four knights in our aforesaid castle, each of them taking 2s. per day; and for the use of eleven soldiers there, each of them taking 9d. per day; and for the use of seven watchers there, each of them taking 2d. per day; and for the use of Burnell, the carpenter, and certain cross-bowmen, each of whom takes 6d. per day." Also, the treasurer was ordered to pay to the same Barnard, "for the use of the aforesaid seven watchers, 70s., to wit, to each of them 10s., for their stipends for one year."<sup>3</sup> A few days later another order occurs, for paying 12d. per day, arrears of wages, to "our ten soldiers dwelling in Windsor Castle."<sup>4</sup> The constable was also paid 40s. "for the livery of Geoffrey de Laundele, our servant dwelling in our castle of Windsor, who receives daily 7½d."<sup>5</sup> There is an order of an earlier date for payment of £7, the wages of six servants and one bowman, for twenty days, at 12d. each.<sup>6</sup>

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Henry the Third began his most important additions to the *domus regis*. Walter de Burgh is commanded to make a certain apartment for the king's use in the castle of Windsor, near the wall of the said castle, sixty feet in length and twenty-eight feet wide, and another apartment for the queen's use, which shall be contiguous to the king's, and under the same roof, and a chapel seventy feet long and twenty-eight feet wide along the same wall, so that a sufficient space shall be left between the aforesaid apartments and the said chapel to make a

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Patent., 26 Hen. III., m. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Lib., 26 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Claus., 9 Hen. III.

grass plot.<sup>1</sup> As a preparatory step to these alterations, thirty oaks were delivered out of the forest to John Andrew, to make and inclose a place for the royal works, and to pale and inclose the garden of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

Of this royal habitation nothing can now be known more than the dimensions given in the above order. But of the chapel there are other notices, which prove it to have had the appendages of a galilee, or porch, a cloister, and a bell-tower. In three years the walls of the chapel were ready for the roof, and a pressing order was addressed to the Archbishop of York, charging him to see the works completed. The roof is described as a lofty wooden roof, after the manner of one then building at Lichfield, to be lined and painted so as to appear like stone, and to be covered with lead. The same writ orders the bell-tower to be erected in front of the chapel, to be built of stone, and of a size to hold three or four bells. Four gilt images are also to be provided, and placed where the king had previously determined.<sup>3</sup> Some images had been made before this period, for in the 25th year of this reign the constable of Windsor was directed to distrain John Fitz Andrew and his sureties for 30 marks, part of 50 marks due to the king at the feast of St. John the Baptist, and take security for the remainder; and to give Thomas the painter, who made the images for the king's chapel, 10 marks of it, and the residue to the keepers of the king's works. The extreme straits to which the king and his queen were at times reduced for the money lavished in various ways, may be gathered from the fact, that in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, Henry, being without the means of paying the officers of the chapel royal at Windsor, issued an order to John Mansell, directing him to pawn the most valuable image of the Virgin Mary for the sum required, but under especial condition that this hallowed pledge be deposited in a decent place.<sup>4</sup> This image was, probably, one of those only a short time before provided for the chapel, as above mentioned.

The cloister seems to have been partially completed about this

<sup>1</sup> 'Pratellum,' R. Lib., 24 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Claus., 24 Hen. III, m. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 27 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Madox's 'Hist. of the Exchequer.'

time;<sup>1</sup> but some portion was not carried up to the roof until five years later, when six carrates of lead for covering it are to be provided by the sheriffs of London.<sup>2</sup> The final completion of the chapel appears to have been deferred to the same period, since, on the 18th of March, 1248, Peter of Geneva was commanded, out of the issues of the lands of aliens in his custody, to pay Brother William the Painter, monk of Westminster, ten marks, to buy colours to paint the king's chapel of Windsor.<sup>3</sup> This probably had reference to a previous order to the keepers of the works at Windsor, in 1242, to have the Old and New Testament painted in the king's chapel.<sup>4</sup>

In June 1248, Godfrey de Lyston was commanded, out of the issues of his bailiwick, to pay the same Master William one hundred shillings for painting the same chapel, and to furnish scaffolding for the pictures.<sup>5</sup> In the month of August following, John Silvester and Master Simon the carpenter, keepers of the works at Windsor, were commanded to pay Master William the painter his wages weekly, as they were accustomed to be paid.<sup>6</sup> In 1249, the Barons of the Exchequer were commanded to allow to Godfrey de Lyston, in his accounts, among other things, two marks paid by him to Master William the painter, for painting the chapel at Windsor, and forty shillings to buy colours, and eighteen shillings which he had paid to John Sot the painter for his wages.<sup>7</sup>

The galilee is mentioned incidentally in a writ of the thirty-fourth year of this reign, to inclose the space from the door of the great hall to the galilee with a wall ten feet high, with a small door near the wardrobe, and also to make a wooden barrier round the galilee to prevent horses from approaching it.

"There can be no doubt," observes Mr. Poynter, "that this chapel is the same which Stow calls the Old College Church, taken down, by

<sup>1</sup> Madox's 'Hist. of the Exchequer.'

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 32 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 32 Hen. III, m. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus., 27 Hen. III, p. 1, m. 10. See 'Vetusta Monumenta,' tom. vi; Roke-wood's 'Mémorial on the Painted Chamber,' p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Lib., 32 Hen. III, m. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Claus., 32 Hen. III, m. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Lib., 33 Hen. III, m. 1.

Henry the Seventh, for the purpose of erecting the *tomb-house*; and its position may be determined with certainty, independently of this evidence of the historian, by the remains of the architecture of the thirteenth century in the south ambulatory of the dean's cloister, at the door of the same age behind the altar of St. George's, central both to that edifice and the tomb-house. That the latter was the principal entrance to the old chapel will scarcely be doubted. It exhibits one of the most beautiful specimens which time and innovation have respected of the elaborate ornamental iron work of the period. If this marks the western extremity of the old chapel, the space behind the altar of St. George's will be the site of the galilee; a space necessarily left, when the new chapel of St. George was built by Edward the Third, for light to the east window, and preserved at the erection of that now existing for the same reason. As long, therefore, as the chapel of Henry the Third afterwards stood, the principal entrance opened immediately from St. George's Chapel, and at the erection of the tomb-house, the separate passage was made to the cloister. The old chapel must, however, have been somewhat longer than originally intended, since the whole work extends a few feet further to the eastward than the dimensions specified in the writ."<sup>1</sup>

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the alterations of Henry the Third reached the outworks of the castle, and it is not difficult to recognise in the existing bell-tower, that which the clerks of the works are ordered to build at the northern angle.<sup>2</sup> The same order provides for two other towers adjoining toward the east, and in the next year the clerks of the works are commanded to restore the chamber of the almoner, which, together with the wall of the castle, lately fell down.<sup>3</sup> This latter order identifies these three towers with those called Clure's Tower, Berner's Tower, and the Almoner's Tower, removed by Edward the Fourth, in order to enlarge the space for his new buildings.<sup>4</sup> Reference is subsequently made to another new tower near the keep,<sup>5</sup> and if it be allowable to con-  
ject-

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay,' &c., where see a woodcut of arches in the cloisters.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 25 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 26 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, chap. iv, sec. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Lib., 31 Hen. III.

ture that this may have occupied the same site as the Winchester Tower, the line of defence on the north side of the lower bailey will be completed, the towers standing at nearly the same distances apart as those of the same period (which the character of the architecture unequivocally proves them to be) on the west side toward the town, now known as the Garter Tower, and the Salisbury or Chancellor's Tower. Following the external wall of the castle from the Salisbury Tower eastward, the same character, construction, and materials may be traced (with the interruption of the great gateway, rebuilt at a later date), as far as the Store Tower, now called Henry the Third's Tower, thus identifying the works of this king throughout the whole outward inclosure of the lower bailey. Some indications may also be discerned, that the inner wall of the houses of the military knights is originally of the same period, and, consequently that the buildings on this side of the court have for six centuries occupied the same site. On their ancient destination it would be idle to speculate.<sup>1</sup>

These works upon the walls and towers were followed up by an extension of the castle ditch on the side toward the town, as appears by an order for £7 5s. to be paid out of the treasury to Rylwin de Twyle, bailiff of Windsor, for the good men of Windsor, in recompense of the damages they had sustained in taking down their houses, for a foss, ordered by the king to be made round the castle.<sup>2</sup> Another enlargement is subsequently ordered, but only so far as the houses of the town will admit without their destruction.<sup>3</sup> The same writ orders a cistern to be constructed for the purpose of collecting all the rain-water falling about the castle. The sums allotted for the works during two years, at this time amount to £673 sterling,<sup>4</sup> besides a sum of £200 or not exceeding 400 marks, to be laid out upon the fortifications at discretion, which latter sum is to be borrowed, if needful.<sup>5</sup> Master Simon, the carpenter, is also to have six good oaks either out of the bishoprick of Winchester or the manor of Wargrave.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 26 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 27 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Lib., 26 Hen. III.; Lib. R., 27 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Claus., 27 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

The following curious writ, dated the 24th of November, occurs in the clause roll of the twenty-eighth year of this reign. "The clerks of the works, at Windsor, are ordered to work day and night, to wainscot<sup>1</sup> the high chamber upon the wall of the castle near our chapel in the upper bailey, so that it may be ready, and properly wainscoted on Friday next when we come there, with boards *radiated* and coloured, so that nothing be found reprehensible in that wainscot, and also to make at each gable of the said chamber, one *glass* window, on the outside of the inner window of each gable, so that the inner window shall be closed, the glass windows may be seen outside." The 24th November, 1243, was a Tuesday. The workmen, therefore, had but two clear days between the date of the writ and the arrival of the king.

A council, or parliament, as the chronicler calls it, was held at Windsor in 1244, on the morrow of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.<sup>2</sup>

In the twenty-ninth year of Henry the Third, the works at the Castle were entirely suspended,<sup>3</sup> probably for want of funds, since the supplies which had hitherto been provided for the most part out of the bailiwick of Windsor, seem in the following year to be drawn from some unusual sources. Sixty marks are to be paid out of the lands of Baldwin, the late Earl of Devon, and Bernard of Savoy, the constable of the castle, is directed to provide with all speed 200 marks out of the lands of the Countess of Eu, the Bishoprick of Chichester, and others, which had been assigned for the use of Edward, the king's son, and if perchance he has not these monies ready, he is to lend them upon the revenue of the ensuing quarter (Lady-day), so that the works may not remain unfinished for want of money.<sup>4</sup> The constable is further ordered to crenellate the keep, to make a chimney in one of the rooms there, to provide ropes and buckets for the well within the same, and to fix a stone bench in the wall of the castle near the grass plot by the king's

<sup>1</sup> Lambruscare.

<sup>2</sup> Dunstaple, edit. Hearne, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> No entry for the works at Windsor, either on the Liberate or Clause Roll, this year (Poynter.)

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Lib., 30 Hen. III.

chamber. He is also to buy two painted tablets to be placed in the queen's chapel, one in front of the altar, and the other over it, and to repair the images of the Crucifixion, and Mary and John, at the said altar. The house of the king's gardener, and the hedge about the garden, are to be repaired, and a certain plantation made.<sup>1</sup> The king's garden was outside the walls of the castle, with which it had a direct communication by a bridge,<sup>2</sup> and was inclosed by a ditch and paling.<sup>3</sup> In the thirty-third year a barbican was erected.

In 1852, the workmen engaged in removing the houses which have for centuries occupied the place of the ancient castle ditch formed by Henry the Third, on the south-west side of the castle, discovered, between the Garter and Bell-towers, a passage and flight of stone steps cut through the chalk rock, and arched over with massive stone-work—evidently the remains of a former communication between the interior of the castle and the bottom of the foss or ditch outside the walls. There can be little doubt that this was the barbican erected by Henry the Third.<sup>4</sup>

In the 35th year of this reign (1251), Simon the chaplain, and other masters of the works, were ordered to have the king's cloister in the castle paved and wainscoted, and the Apostles to be painted there, as the king had enjoined him and Master William, his painter.<sup>5</sup>

By a writ for painting and other repairs, and building a chimney, there appears to have been at this time a royal lodge or house in the Park, and two chapels.<sup>6</sup> In the same year (35 Hen. III) the king endowed Ankerwyke Priory with the tithe or tenth of the mill in Windsor park.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Lib., 30 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 44 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 23, 24 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> A woodcut of this sallyport, as it is termed, appeared at the time of the discovery in the 'Illustrated London News,' with a short description. It is scarcely necessary to say that the notion there put forth, that it formed part of a subterranean communication between the castle and Burnham Abbey, has no foundation in fact.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Claus., 35 Hen. III, m. 5. See Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting,' by Dalloway, vol. i, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Lib., 35 Hen. III. Poynter.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Pat., 35 Hen. III, m. 3. Ankerwyke lies on the Buckinghamshire side of the Thames, about three miles from Windsor, and opposite to Runnymede. The Priory

A hospital for leprous persons existed at Windsor at this period, as is evidenced by the grant from the king, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, of one hundred and twenty acres of inclosed land in the forest of Windsor to the sisters and brothers of the leprous hospital of Windsor.<sup>1</sup> The king gave them seven shillings out of the yearly rent of the farm of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

Tanner describes it as an hospital for leprous men and women, dedicated to St. Peter, as ancient as King Henry the Third's time, but given to Eton College in the first year of Edward the Fourth.<sup>3</sup>

The site of this hospital seems to be still retained in the name of "Spital," an outlet and scattered district lying south of Windsor, on the road to St. Leonards.<sup>4</sup>

A great storm which occurred on St. David's Day, A.D. 1251, is described as having done some damage to Windsor Castle. The chimney of the chamber "wherin the queen and her children then were was beaten down to dust, and the whole building sore shaken." In the park "oaks were rent in sunder, and turned up by the roots, and much hurt done; as mills with the millers in

was founded in the reign of Henry the Second for Benedictine nuns, by Gilbert de Montfichet and his son Richard, in honour of St. Mary Magdelene. (Lysons' 'Magna Brit.') Henry the Third, in the 26th year of his reign, granted to the monks of Ankerwyke, mastage (acorns) and pasture for sixty hogs in Windsor Forest (Chart., 26 Hen. III, m. 3); and in the same year the king ordered £8 6s. 8d. to be paid to his almoner, to feed 2000 poor persons, one half at "Ankerwicke" and the other half at Bromhal, "for the soul of the empress, formerly our sister."

<sup>1</sup> Charter, 85 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Testa de Nevill.

<sup>3</sup> 'Notitia Monastica,' edit. 1744, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Rawlinson, in his additions to Ashmole's 'Antiquities of Berkshire' (vol. i, p. 64), says—"About half a mile from Windsor, towards the forest, is a mineral purging spring, formerly much frequented, and known by the name of 'Elias's Spittle,' now St. Peter's Well, where is also said to have stood a small religious house, perhaps an hermitage, for the entertainment of travellers. It is now part of the possessions of the provost and fellows of St. Mary's College at Eton, in Buckinghamshire." Gough observes upon this passage, that "Dr. Rawlinson seems to confound what is now called the Spital, in New Windsor parish, about half a mile from New Windsor towards the forest, and where the hospital mentioned by Tanner was situated, but where there never was a mineral purging well that I can hear of, with a well of mineral purging water about a mile and a half from Windsor, in the long walk in the Great Park, which was called 'Jessop's Well,' and which has been filled up within these few years." ('Gough's Camden,' 2d edit. vol. 1, p. 237.)



them, sheepfolds with their shepherds, and ploughmen, and such as were going by the way were destroyed and beaten down."<sup>1</sup>

From the thirty-fifth year to the fortieth, the operations at the castle seem to have been principally confined to finishing the new buildings, since the most important writs during that period relate to large supplies of boarding, partly for making wainscots, amounting in the whole to seven thousand boards, a portion of which are described as Norway boards, half a hundred *great* boards, and a thousand laths. Within the same period 140*s.* are appropriated to Friar William to buy colours. There is also an order to the constable to make an additional story to the tower allotted to the king's seneschals, with a chimney, and to cause that tower to be crenellated and covered with lead in the same manner as the other new towers.<sup>2</sup> The bishoprick of Winchester being at this time vacant, the expenses of the works were partly provided for out of the revenues of the see.<sup>3</sup>

By a writ dated 22d January, in the fortieth year of the king's reign, Godfrey de Lyston, the keeper of the king's forest of Windsor, was commanded to give from out of that forest to Gilbert, the king's carpenter at Windsor, as much timber as he will require to repair the halls and chambers in the upper castle of Windsor, where the king's children were nursed.<sup>4</sup>

In March of that year, Gilbert de Tile, bailiff of the town, was commanded to pay to Brother William the painter, of Westminster, five marks out of the town, for repairing certain pictures in the king and queen's chambers and the royal chapels at Windsor; and in May following the bailiffs of Windsor were ordered to pay the same Master William forty shillings to buy colours for painting in the castle; and Godfrey de Lyston, keeper of the manor of Cookham and Bray, was commanded that, from the octave of Easter then last, and so long as he overlooked the painters of the king's castle at Windsor, he should pay to the king's beloved Master

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 37, 38, 39, 40 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 36 Hen. III. Poynter.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus., 40 Hen. III.

William the painter, monk of Westminster, two shillings per day for his wages.<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning of the forty-first year of Henry the Second (A.D. 1256), "was found in the king's wardrobe at Wyndesore, a bill or roll closed in green wax, and not known from whence it should come; in the which roll was contained divers articles against the mayor and rulers of the city of London, and that by them the commonalty of the city was grievously tasked and wronged, which bill was presented at length to the king; whereupon he anon sent John Mansell, one of his justices, unto London; and there in the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, by the king's authority, called at Paul's cross a folkmot, being there present Sir Richard de Clare Earl of Gloucester, and divers others of the king's council, where the said John Mansell caused the said roll to be read before the commonalty of the city, and after showed to the people that the king's pleasure and mind was, that they should be ruled with justice, and that the liberties of the city should be maintained in every point; and if the king might know those persons that had so wronged the commonalty of the city, they should be grievously punished to the example of others."<sup>2</sup>

In 1256, during the absence of Henry in Germany, Alexander the Third, king of Scotland and his consort Margaret, the daughter of Henry and Eleanor, were entertained by the Queen at Windsor. The queen of Scotland gave birth to a daughter there.

We are told that about May, 1257, Queen Eleanor was confined to her bed, at Windsor, by an attack of pleurisy, while the king was detained in London by a tertian fever.<sup>3</sup> It seems to have been in consequence of vows made during this illness that she went, in the following October, to St. Albans, to return thanks to the martyr, and also to make a handsome offering at his tomb. She was accompanied by Prince Edward's wife and several other ladies, and made an offering at the altar of a costly cloak, commonly called a "bandkin."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Vetusta Monumenta,' tom. vi. Rokewood's 'Memoir on the Painted Chamber,' p. 22, and writs there cited.

<sup>2</sup> Fabian.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Paris.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

In pursuance of the agreement effected between the king and the barons in the great council, or "mad parliament," as it was called, assembled at Oxford in June 1258, the governors of the principal castles belonging to the king were removed, and their places supplied by persons in the interests of the barons. Windsor, Wallingford, and a few others, still remained in the king's possession.<sup>1</sup>

During the forty-first year of the king's reign (A.D. 1256-7) some considerable alterations were undertaken in the old buildings of the upper bailey, for the purpose of fitting them for the occupation of the queen. The old chamber was repaired and two new ones built, with an oriel, a private chapel, and an oratory, and a wardrobe, with a press to lay by the queen's clothes. The old kitchen was taken down, and a new one erected in a more convenient situation, communicating by a passage with the great chamber. A salting-house and other offices were built, and a chamber fitted up for the nurses.<sup>2</sup> It was not, however, till the fifth year that these works had been in hand that ten glass windows were ordered for the new rooms,<sup>3</sup> and they were not finished in the year following, as appears by an order for one thousand boards to make the wainscot.<sup>4</sup> It was not even till three years later that the new passage from the kitchen was covered with lead.<sup>5</sup> These tedious delays are easily explained by the financial difficulties in which the king was at this time involved, and which had their effect upon the progress of the works at Windsor.<sup>6</sup> In the forty-second year of his reign, the operations were again totally suspended. In the forty-fourth, the sum of £410 was delivered to Master John of Gloucester, the king's mason, to be distributed to the workmen, whose wages were two years in arrear.<sup>6</sup> In August of that year (1260), Edward de Westminster was specially required

<sup>1</sup> Lingard. The royal castles were those of Dover and the other Cinque Ports, Northampton, Corfe, Scarborough, Nottingham, Hereford, Exeter, Sarum, Hadleigh, Winchester, Porchester, Bridgenorth, Oxford, Sherburn, the Tower of London, Bamborough, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Rochester, Gloucester, Horestan, and Devizes. (Lingard, citing Brady and Ann. Burt., 416.)

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 40, 41, 43, 44 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 46 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 45 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 48 Hen. III.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Lib., 44 Hen. III.

by the king to provide William, monk of Westminster, the king's painter, with colours and other things necessary for renewing the paintings at Windsor; and it appears from an order addressed to Richard de Freemantle, keeper of the manors of Cookham and Bray, that the paintings to be renewed were those in the king's chapel and chamber.<sup>1</sup> In the next year, however, Friar William complains that he and his men have not been paid for the repair and renovation of certain paintings in the chapel and in the king's chamber.<sup>2</sup> The frequent repetition of writs for the same works, year after year, is a further proof of the want of means to execute them. The orders are, therefore, for the most part, confined to repairs and works necessary for the defence of the Castle, such as repairing the masonry of the keep, and the chimney in the tower towards the town, which was occupied by Grey de Lusignan,<sup>3</sup> repairing the great bridge and defending it by a strong iron chain, repairing and fixing a similar chain across the bridge at the foot of the keep,<sup>4</sup> and making a portcullis to the barbican.<sup>5</sup> Previously to the suspension of the works, an order had been given to rebuild the engine-house and engine, and to conduct the water from the spring near the keep into the cloister in the lower bailey, and thence to the door of the hall, and to make a lavatory at the upper end of the hall on the east side; and if the water of the aforesaid spring shall not be sufficient for these purposes, that of the spring within the keep is to be taken in aid of it.<sup>6</sup> A fountain of freestone is also to be constructed in the garden.

In the forty-fifth year of Henry the Third, Augustine bishop of Laodicea, originally a friar minor of Nottingham, having been driven from his see by the Saracens, the king granted him a yearly pension of sixty marks, and received him at Windsor, allotting for his residence the apartments of the domestic chaplains and clerks of the chapel, which Richard de Freemantle, the *custos* or bailiff of the manors of Cookham and Bray, with the seven hundreds and the forest of Windsor,<sup>7</sup> is ordered to prepare for his recep-

<sup>1</sup> Rokewood's 'Memoir of the Painted Chamber,' cited *ante*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 45 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 40 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 44 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 45 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 40 Hen. III.

<sup>7</sup> Richard de Freemantle, or Freimantell, as he is described in the writ, was appointed *custos* two years before. (Rot. Pat., 43 Hen. III.)

tion by building a chimney of French plaster therein, and making a gate with a wicket between those apartments and the chapel. This arrangement, however, was but temporary, as the same Richard de Freemantle is ordered to build, between the almonry and the turret in which John Maunsell was lodged, an apartment for the use of the bishop, fifty feet in length, with a chimney of plaster, and a wardrobe fifteen feet long.<sup>1</sup> This building was merely a pent-house<sup>2</sup> against the castle wall, and, as it was very shortly completed and ready to be whitewashed,<sup>3</sup> it might be no more than a light erection of timber. That such structures existed within the Castle seems to be indicated by a writ, ordering the Constable to remove the chamber in which Robert de Muscegros had lodged, and to put it in the upper bailey of the Castle, in the place of the building for the king's mill, lately destroyed by fire.<sup>4</sup> For the new mill the Sheriffs of London are ordered to send four grindstones. In the same year (the forty-eighth) the Sheriffs are to send to the Castle one hundred of tin for the works, and the *custos* of the manors of Cookham and Bray is to repair the kitchens and the stone walls and palings by which they are inclosed, to turf the *herbarium*, to complete the drains, to fix staples and iron chains before the door of the hall, and to make a well in the garden.<sup>5</sup>

At this time also Aymon Thurumburd, the then constable of the castle, was ordered to sell wood in Windsor Park, and out of the proceeds to inclose the park and make the necessary repairs of the house and pool of the king's mill in the same park.<sup>6</sup>

In 1261, the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, with the bishop of Worcester, had summoned three knights from every county south of the Trent to meet them at St. Albans; but a temporary reconciliation was effected between them and the king, and the latter, by his writs, annulling the previous summons, ordered the same knights to repair to him at Windsor, that they might be

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Lib., 44 Hen. III.

<sup>2</sup> Apentitum.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Lib., 45 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 46 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Original., 45 Hen. III, v. 14.

present at his intended conference with the barons, and to treat of the common concerns of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

In June 1263, Henry, who two years before had reserved to himself the custody of the royal castles, and was now at open war with the barons under the Earl of Leicester, was in possession of the Tower. His son, Prince Edward, after taking by force one thousand marks out of the Temple, carried them, together with the queen's jewels, to Windsor, which he garrisoned with a large body of foreigners, consisting of about one hundred knights and a much larger number of guards.<sup>2</sup>

Windsor is described by a contemporary chronicler as the most magnificent palace then existing in Europe.<sup>3</sup> The foreigners fortified and strengthened this already strong hold in an admirable manner, but plundered and devastated the adjoining country in all directions.<sup>4</sup>

The king was willing to effect a peace with the barons, but the queen, irritated by womanly feelings of annoyance, strove with all her might in the opposite direction. In endeavouring to make her escape from the Tower to Windsor by water, she was intercepted by the citizens of London, and driven back, when under the bridge, by stones and mud thrown at her.<sup>5</sup> Under the protection of the mayor, she was conveyed to the Bishop of London's palace, near St. Paul's.<sup>6</sup>

Henry's brother, Richard, king of the Romans, acting as mediator, effected an arrangement, by which it was agreed amongst other things, that the royal castles, including Windsor, should once more be intrusted to the custody of the barons, and the foreigners banished. It was not easy to appease Prince Edward, who was reluctant to abandon the castle of Windsor, which he had fortified,

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing Brady, ii, App. No. 202, 203. Dr. Lingard considers this to have been a real parliament. The interviews that followed appear to have taken place in London.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard; Matthew of Westminster.

<sup>3</sup> "Windsor, quo non erat ad id tempus splendidius infra fines Europæ." (Matthew of Westminster.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. See also the continuator of Matthew Paris.

<sup>6</sup> 'Chron. Dunst.,' &c.

or to remove the foreigners whom he had placed within its walls. The prince did not surrender the castle at once, but went to Bristol. Finding that city took arms against him, he obtained the escort of Walter, bishop of Worcester, who was on the barons' side, to convey him to Westminster, where the king and his court then were. The prince, as soon as he got near Windsor, left the bishop's protection and returned to the castle. In the meantime the barons were on their way to Windsor to compel its surrender. The prince met them near Kingston; and the result was that Windsor castle was surrendered to the barons, on the condition that those who were within it should be allowed to depart in safety, with their horses and arms uninjured. By letters patent, bearing date 20th July, A.D. 1263, all foreigners who guarded the castle were ordered to depart;<sup>1</sup> and six days afterwards letters of safe conduct were granted them.<sup>2</sup> They were conducted to the coast by Humphrey de Bohun the younger.<sup>3</sup>

The award of Louis king of France, to whom the differences between the king and his barons were referred, having been treated by the latter as a nullity, the civil war broke out anew.

The king well knowing that the city would take the barons' part, succeeded, by means of Prince Edward, his son, to regain possession of the castle at Windsor. The prince accomplished this by a train. When the king ascertained that the castle was in the hands of his son, he left Westminster,<sup>4</sup> and rode to Windsor,

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat., 47 Hen. III, m. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., m. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew of Westminster and the continuator of Matthew Paris. See also Holinshed, citing Abington and Nic. Trevet. Matthew of Westminster says—"Edward, departing from the castle as if for the purpose of treating about peace, met his father and the barons about halfway between Windsor and London; and when, after the discussion was over, he was preparing to return, he was detained by the cunning of the Earl of Leicester and the Bishop of Worcester, who suspected sinister designs on his part; and so he was prevented from re-entering the castle. And so that noble castle was surrendered to the king and the barons," &c. Fabian says the barons put the aliens out of the castle; that they went to the king at Fulham, complaining that all their goods were taken. The king deferred their complaint until Michaelmas, when a parliament was holden at Westminster, and the barons ordered to make restitution; but they refusing to comply, the war between them and the king was renewed.

<sup>4</sup> Fabian says, "early in the morning, a little before Christmas;" but it must have been after Christmas, as the award of Louis was not until the 23d of January, 1264.

where soon afterwards arrived many of the chief of the king's party, and on the other hand the barons and knights who sided with the Earl of Leicester, drew towards London; so that on either side there was a considerable army assembled.<sup>1</sup>

From Windsor the king went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Oxford, having a large force with him.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently to the battle of Lewes, on the 14th of May, 1264, in which the king was defeated, Henry became, in fact, the prisoner of the Earl of Leicester, who, although he treated the king with every exterior demonstration of respect, never suffered him to depart out of his custody; and, without consulting him, affixed his seal to every order which was issued for the degradation of the royal authority.<sup>3</sup>

On the 17th of May, Hugh de Barentin, constable of Windsor, was commanded, in the king's name, to release without delay Simon de Montfort, son of the Earl of Leicester, and Peter de Montfort, who by the command of Prince Edward, the king's eldest son, the constable had detained in custody;<sup>4</sup> and on the 4th of June, Hugh de Barentin, in common with many of the constables of castles, was commanded to enforce the king's orders, that no one should be permitted to bear arms without special permission; and at the same time he was ordered to release William de Furnival, and all other prisoners, either by way of exchange with prisoners taken by the barons, or upon sufficient bail without exchange.<sup>5</sup>

By letters patent bearing date at St. Paul's, 16th June, Hugh de Barantin and many other knights in care of the castle were commanded to come to the king on certain weighty affairs;<sup>6</sup> and on the 18th, letters patent, also bearing date at St. Paul's, were issued in the king's name, commanding Eleanor, the wife of Prince Edward, without delay to quit the castle of Windsor with her children; John de Weston, her seneschal; William Charles, her

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard, citing Brady.

<sup>4</sup> 'Federa,' A.D. 1264. Acta Simonis de Monteforti, sub nomine et sigillo Regis Rege captivo.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Pat., 45 Hen. III, m. 11.



knight; two domestics, and her furniture.<sup>1</sup> Joan, the wife of William de Valence, the king's brother, was ordered to withdraw from the castle to some religious house or some other fit place.<sup>2</sup> It appears that Joan did not obey the command promptly, as it was followed in a few weeks by another to the same effect.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time letters of safe conduct were granted to Geoffrey de Langel, who had lately fortified the castle of Windsor against the king,<sup>4</sup> and a pardon was subsequently granted to Jordan de Tankavill and other principal persons, for the same act.<sup>5</sup>

The contents of the letters patent bear evidence of the restraint imposed upon the king.

In November, 1264, Henry was at Windsor. Letters from him to his queen Eleanor, who was abroad, bear date from Windsor, the 18th of November, 1264.<sup>6</sup>

After the parliament holden at Winchester in September 1265, subsequent to the defeat and death of the Earl of Leicester at Evesham, "the king came to Wyndesore with a great power, intending, as the fame then went, to destroy the city of London, for the great ire and displeasure he had unto it."<sup>7</sup>

The citizens, to avert the king's anger, despatched eight of their number who had friends in the king's court, with an instrument,

<sup>1</sup> "Rex Alienor consorti, Edwardi primogeniti sui, salutem. Quia volumus modis omnibus quod à castro nostro Windes', ubi nunc moram trahitis, recedatis, vobis mandamus quod unà cum filiâ vestrà, Johanne de Weston senescallo vestro, Willicmo Charles milite vestro, duabus domicellis, et alia fam' hernesio, et rebus vestris castrum predictum exeatis, et usque Westm' veniatis, moram ibidem, facture donec aliud indè ordinaverimus. Et hoc sicut nos et honorem nostrum et vestrum diligitis, nullatius omittatis. Quia manucapimus quod vos erga prefatum Edwardum dominum vestrum excusabimus, et indempnes conservabimus. Nos autem vos, predictam filiam, Johannem, Willielmum, duas domicellas, familiam, una cum hernesio vestro, presentibus hiis litteris nostris patentibus ad hoc recipimus in saluum et securum conductum nostrum." In ejus, &c. T. R. apud Sanctum Paulum, London., xviii. die Junii. (Pat., 48 Hen. III, m. 11.) The writ is printed in the *Fœdera*.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 48 Hen. III, m. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., m. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Pat., 48 Hen. III, m. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 49 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> 'Fœdera.'

<sup>7</sup> Fabyan.

under the seal of the city, submitting both their lives and goods to the king's mercy. This deputation left London on the 6th of October. At Colnbrook they met Sir Roger Leyborne, one of the king's knights, who persuaded them to return to London, whither he accompanied them. At a meeting of the citizens at Barking Church on the following day, it was resolved to send the instrument of submission to the king by Sir Roger Leyborne, who was earnestly entreated to be a mediator with Henry for the citizens. The next day Sir Roger accordingly returned to the court. After a lapse of six days he again proceeded to London, and informed the citizens that the king had received their writing, and required forty of their number to attend at Windsor on the following day to confirm the surrender, and in the meantime to remove the chains from the end of every street in the city. The citizens complied, and, having received the king's letters of safe conduct for four days, "the mayor, with the aforesaid persons, was ready at Wyndesore upon the morrow, being Sunday, by one of the clock, and there tarried till four of the same day; at which season the king, coming from his disporte, entered the castle without countenance or once casting his eyes upon the Londoners; and when the king and his people was entered the castle, the Londoners would have followed, but they were warned to abide without. Then, in short time after, the king caused a proclamation to be made that no man of high or low degree to the Londoners should make any sayings of displeasure, or make to them any quarrel. And in the evening came unto them the aforesaid Sir Roger, and Sir Robert Waleys, knights, and brought them into the castle, and said that the king's pleasure was not to speak with them that night; and after, the said knights delivered them unto the constable of the castle, which closed them all in a large tower, where, that night, they had small cheer and worse lodging.

"Then upon the morrow, being Monday, towards night, they were taken out of that tower, and delivered unto the bailiff of the said castle, and lodged by his assignment, except five persons; that is to mean, Thomas Fitz Thomas, then mayor, Mychiell Tony, Stephan Bukkerell, Thomas Pywellisdon, and John de Flete; the which five persons the king had given to his son, at whose com-

mandment they remained still in the said tower long after, notwithstanding the king's safe conduct to them."<sup>1</sup>

By "great labours and suit," thirty-one of the thirty-five remaining citizens were liberated, and returned to London on the 21st of November. The four detained were Richard Bonaventure, Symon de Hadisstok, Wylliam de Kent, and William de Gloucester. These, with the other five already mentioned, were confined in the castle, no doubt as hostages for the good faith of the others.

The king at first asked £40,000 as the fine of the City for its rebellious conduct, but afterwards diminished his claim to 50,000 marks. The citizens alleged their poverty; that the crimes laid to their charge were committed by the poor commons of the city; that the best of the inhabitants had themselves been spoiled and robbed of their substance; and prayed the king to accept from them such a fine as they were able to bear. At Christmas the matter was settled by the king agreeing to take twenty thousand marks. The five persons first above mentioned were excepted from the indemnity, and remained as prisoners of Prince Edward at Windsor. The four others were liberated. The Charter of Pardon is dated at Northampton, on the 10th of January, in the forty-ninth year of the king's reign (A.D. 1266).

Thomas Fitz-Thomas, the ex-mayor, one of those who remained in confinement at Windsor, appears to have been a favorite of the people. At the election of a Lord Mayor, in 1266, there was an outcry for him, and many persons were apprehended and sent to prison by Sir Roger Leybourne, for this manifestation of opinion. At length, after the lapse of four years, the five prisoners at Windsor, namely, Thomas Fitz-Thomas, Michael Tony, Stephan Bukkerell (?), Thomas Pywellisdon,<sup>2</sup> and John de Flete, by arrangement with Prince Edward, "for great sums of money, were set free in September, 1269."<sup>3</sup>

At the time of the Insurrection of the Earl of Gloucester, in

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan.

<sup>2</sup> This "Thomas Pywlesdon" was "a captain, and a great stirrer of the commons of the city for to maintain the barons' party against the king." In the 14th year of the reign of Edward the First he was again charged with creating disturbances in the city, and with others, to the number of fifty, were banished the city for ever. (Fabyan.)

<sup>3</sup> Fabyan.

1267, Henry was at Cambridge, and was there joined by Prince Edward, with thirty thousand men from the north. Leaving a sufficient force to defend Cambridge, the king marched from thence to Windsor, where Eleanor then resided.<sup>1</sup> After his arrival, his army daily increased. The Earl of Gloucester, who was supported by the factious inhabitants of London, made overtures of peace, which were rejected. Preparations were made for an engagement on Hounslow Heath, but upon the king's proceeding there with his army from Windsor, about Easter, he found no one to resist him. He proceeded to Stratford, leaving his army encamped at Ham and the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Gloucester soon yielded, on condition of receiving a pardon.

Henry, in the fiftieth year of his reign, granted the castle, town, and forest of Windsor to Euboloni de Montibus (?).<sup>3</sup> Two years afterwards it was granted to Hugh de Dyne, at an annual rent of seventy-seven pounds.<sup>4</sup>

Hugh de Dyne did not hold the castle long, for in the fifty-third year of the king's reign the castle and forest of Windsor, with other manors, were granted to Nicholas de Yatington.<sup>5</sup>

It has been already observed that these grants must not be confounded with the appointment of keeper or constable of the castle.<sup>6</sup> They were evidently grants of the honour or manor of the castle and town, and of the forest, to farm at a yearly rent. They appear, however, to have been occasionally held with the constablership. Nicholas de Yatington, or Satington, is described in the Hundred Rolls of the next reign as having been the constable of the castle and farm bailiff. He was at that time out of office, and seems to have been succeeded by Geoffrey de Picheford.<sup>7</sup>

The rent of the farm of Windsor was charged with the following payments about this period :—Twenty shillings and ten pence

<sup>1</sup> Stow.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Pat., 50 Hen. III, m. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 52 Hen. III, m. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 53 Hen. III, m. 23.

<sup>6</sup> See *ante*, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> See *post*.

for the keepership of the king's houses; the chaplains of the king's chapel, thirty shillings and five pence; and the keeper of the vineyard the same sum; the keepers of Windsor, seven shillings, as has been already mentioned. Richard de Sifrewast received twelve shillings, the rent of his land, on which some of the royal houses stood; and William de Windsor five shillings, for land where the vineyard was. The monks of Bromhal, situated in the forest, about six miles south of Windsor, received eight shillings and two pence halfpenny, granted them by Henry, and forty pence of the gift of King John.<sup>1</sup> The latter sum, although converted into a payment, was originally merely a release by John of a rent of forty pence paid by the monastery for a virgate of land.<sup>2</sup> In the ninth year of this reign, however, the gift to the monks of Bromhal out of the Windsor rent was one halfpenny per day, and two years afterwards it was raised to two pence.<sup>3</sup> In 1226 there is a curious order to the bailiffs of Windsor, to pay Nicholas, the king's approver, then being in the king's prison at Windsor, one penny daily, out of the rent of the town, for his support until he gave the evidence he promised.<sup>4</sup> In the following year, this person, with another approver named Spindlewright, were sent from Windsor to Newgate, to be safely kept there until the king should otherwise order.<sup>5</sup> The nature of the crime in respect of which Nicholas had turned approver, or "king's evidence," does not appear; but about this time the sheriff of Bedford was ordered to receive and keep in his custody a number of persons, whose names are given, and who had been kept in confinement by the prior of Dunstable, on the information of an approver in prison at Windsor.<sup>6</sup>

It was towards the close of this reign that Adam de Gordon, or Adam Gordon, received an appointment in Windsor Castle. He was a renowned bandit and outlaw, and considered the most athletic man of the age. With his followers he ravaged Berkshire, Hamp-

<sup>1</sup> Testa de Nevill, or 'Liber Feodorum in curia Scaccarii,' compiled near the close of the reign of Edward the Second or the commencement of that of Edward the Third, from inquisitions in the time of Henry the Third and Edward the First.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Chart., 6 Johan., m. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 9 and 11 Hen. III.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 11 Hen. III.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10 Hen. III.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

shire, and the adjoining counties. Prince Edward marched to attack them, and surprised them in Alton Wood, in Buckinghamshire. The prince engaged in single combat with their leader, wounded and unhorsed him; and then, in reward for his valour, spared him his life. He was taken to Guildford, pardoned by Henry, and Queen Eleanor soon after gave him an office at Windsor Castle.<sup>1</sup>

No event of moment occurs connected with Windsor during the remaining years of Henry the Third's reign, which terminated by his death at Westminster, on the 16th of November, 1272.

After the occurrences narrated above, it is no matter for surprise that during the last ten years of the reign of Henry the Third, nothing new seems to have been undertaken in the Castle of Windsor. The few writs which appear with reference to the works there, are principally for repairs and the supply of materials, and offer nothing of interest. A general order in the fifty-second year, to complete such works as might be then in progress, is almost the last notice connected with the subject during this reign, although at some other of the royal houses and castles the improvements were going on with unabated activity.<sup>2</sup>

Windsor was the favorite residence of Eleanor, the wife of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the First. There her eldest child, John, was born, in 1265; her second child, Eleanor, in 1266; and the third, Prince Henry, in the following year.

By the inquisitions taken before the Justices in Eyre, in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Henry the Third, it appeared by verdict found, that William Blundell, the king's chancellor, held the manor of Eton, the gift of Thomas de Lascelles, and paid yearly for hidage,<sup>3</sup> with the villages of Wexham and "Huggel" (?), twenty-one shillings, and for suit fourteen shillings yearly, and for view of frank-pledge ten shillings.<sup>4</sup> Eton had been previously held

<sup>1</sup> West.; Dunst.; Wikes.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> A sum paid in lieu of a tax formerly imposed on every hide of land. (Cowel's 'Law Dictionary'.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Rotuli Hundredorum,' temp. Hen. III and Edw. I, vol. i, p. 33. See also 'Rot. Chart.', 39 Hen. III, m. 5.

by Thomas de Lascelles and Ralph de Hodenge of the king, by the tenure of ward of Windsor Castle.<sup>1</sup>

At the same period, the manors of Datchet and Fulmer were held by Henry de Pynkeny, in demesne of the king;<sup>2</sup> Langley, by Richard de Muntfichet; Stoke was in the keeping of Humbert de Pugeis, from whom it derives its name of Stoke Poges. The prior of Merton held Upton in free gift of the grant of Pagan de Warfield; Geoffrey Cumberland held part of Chalvey;<sup>3</sup> Richard de Oxeye held the village of Horton of William de Windsor and Walter de Willelsdern, who held it of the king in capite.<sup>4</sup>

Henry the Third held the manor of Farnham Royal, but gave it to Bertram de Verdun for his services.<sup>5</sup>

The king appears to have had a fortified house or palace at Cippenham, in Buckinghamshire, where he occasionally resided.

To proceedings instituted early in the reign of Edward the First by Robert de Ferrers, who had lost his title of Earl of Derby in consequence of his treason in the previous reign, to recover his castles and lands, which were held by Henry the Third's son, Edmund, Earl of Leicester and Lancaster, the latter alleged that Robert de Ferrers had, in the previous reign, pledged them to him as security for the sum of £50,000, covenanted by a deed of Robert de Ferrers to be paid for his release from prison and for the redemption of these possessions, and that he failed to pay that sum, which then became forfeited. The earl replied, "that this deed was by him so made and sealed at Cyppeham, upon the feast-day of the Apostles Philip and James, 53 Hen. III, at such time as he was a prisoner there; and that, being before in the king's prison at Windsor,<sup>6</sup> he was carried thence to Cyppeham, when he so sealed the same as a prisoner, and for fear of corporal mischief; and moreover, that, when he had so done, he was taken thence by armed men, and conveyed with a strong guard to the castle of Wallingford, where he remained for three weeks after in restraint, until Prince Edward (afterwards king) did procure his liberty."

<sup>1</sup> Testa de Nevill.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> The Dunstable 'Chronicle' mentions the fact of the capture and imprisonment of the earl in Windsor Castle.

To this Edmund rejoined, "that this allegation of his being a prisoner was not of any validity, in regard that, after he had sealed that deed, he came before Mr. John de Chishull, then King Henry's chancellor, and, acknowledging what he had done, caused it to be enrolled in the rolls of the Chancery; so that, it being thereby done as in the presence of the king, his chancellor representing the king, or in the court before his officers, who made record thereof, it could not be said to be done as a prisoner, every man being there free to express his mind fully." But Robert again replied, "that, though he did not deny the sealing of that deed in the presence of John de Chishull, it ought not to prejudice him any more than his doing thereof in prison; for he said that the very day he so sealed it at Cyppeham, John de Chishull came thither to him with that writing, he then being in a certain chamber there in strict custody, and, demanding of him whether it was his act and deed or not? he then, for fear, acknowledged it to be so; and that, further asking him whether he was willing it should be enrolled in the rolls of the Chancery, he did, by reason of the like fear, assent thereto; and moreover added that, as to his being then a prisoner, he referred himself to the trial of the country, or to the testimony of the same Mr. John de Chishull (then chancellor), affirming that he did thenceforth continue a prisoner until the king caused his enlargement as above said, offering to stand or fall by the king's testimony therein. And he further alleged that his acknowledgment of that deed ought not to have the force of a record, and consequently to oblige him, in regard it was not made in open court, but in the presence of the chancellor only, who was then at a great distance from the court, and had neither roll nor clerk there to record the same; for that he came to him in his chamber, where he was a prisoner, and not as the king's chancellor, but as a private person." Edmund rejoined that the acknowledgment that the deed was executed in the presence of the then chancellor was sufficient; and the court gave judgment against the applicant, dismissing his suit.<sup>1</sup>

In the reign of Edward the First, the village of Cippenham

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's 'Baronage,' vol. i, p. 264, citing 'Plac. coram Rege,' 2 Ed. 1.



was held by the Abbot of Westminster, who had withheld the accustomed hidage of one mark.<sup>1</sup>

There is a curious grant in the fifty-sixth year of this king's reign, to Thomas of Windsor, of an island formed in the Thames, near Old Windsor, by the deposit of gravel in the bed of the river, to hold to the said Thomas as part of his freehold in Wraysbury.<sup>2</sup>

In 1265, Henry the Third's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, founded the abbey and convent of Burnham, for nuns of the order of St. Augustine. It was situated about a mile from the village of Burnham, south of the Bath road and Great Western Railway, and about three miles west of Windsor. The present remains are small. The cloister and chapel were supposed by Cole to have been destroyed at or very soon after the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 54 Hen. III.

<sup>3</sup> See the 'Monasticon,' where the charter of foundation, dated at Cippenham, is printed. Out of the grants of land, &c., for its support, the right of wardship of Windsor Castle was expressly reserved to the Crown.



Remains of Burnham Abbey, near Windsor

## CHAPTER V.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1273, GEOFFREY DE PICHEFORD.

A.D. 1299, JOHN DE LONDON.

A.D. 1305, ROGER LE SAUVAGE.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR WINDSOR.

A.D. 1301, THOMAS DE SHAWE AND HENRY DE BEDEFORD.

A.D. 1305, THOMAS DE SHAWE AND EDMUND DE BRUMPTON.

A.D. 1306, JOHN GOLDE AND HENRY DE BEDEFORD.

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Improvements and Repairs in the early part of this Reign—Inquisitions in 1273—Return relative to Windsor—Tyranny of the Constable—Notice of Eton—Claim of the Prior of Merton to privileges in Windsor—Notices of Burnham, Dorney, &c.—Charter to Windsor in 1276—Petition for and Grant of Pontage—Inquisition as to Eton Bridge—Tournament in Windsor Park—Grant of Windsor to the Burgesses at a yearly rent—Taxation of Pope Nicholas—Manor of Windsor Underoure—Death at Windsor of Prince Alfonso—Fire in the Castle in 1295—Illustrations of the Forest Laws—The Queen at Windsor at Christmas, 1299-1300—Offerings of the King in the Chapel—The Cross of Gneyth—The King's Wardrobe Expenses—Conveyance of Treasure to Windsor—The Queen's Expenditure—Grant of the Manor of Datchet and Eton to the Earl of Cornwall—John of London—Members of Parliament for Windsor—Grants of Land to Alexander de Wyndesore in this Reign—Petition of John of Lincoln—Richard de Windsor.

EDWARD THE FIRST, on his accession to the throne, committed the custody of the Castle and Forest of Windsor to Geoffry de Picheford. He had also a grant of the town of Windsor and the manors of Braye and Kenyngton, together with the "seven hundreds" appurtenant thereto, to hold during the king's pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Originalia,' 1 Edw. I, Ro. 23. The appointment of Geoffry de Picheford as keeper of the castle and forest of Windsor was by a distinct instrument from the grant of the castle, town, and forest of Windsor, with their appurtenances, and the manors of Bray and Kennington, with the seven hundreds. The former was the appointment of constable, and the latter seems to have been the grant of the bailiwick and the town at a rent payable to the king. (See *ante*, p. 83.) In the last reign, the constable of Windsor Castle

The king's children resided at Windsor in the commencement of this reign; for among the payments in the first year is £60 to Thomas de Pampleworth, clerk of Geoffrey de Picheford, constable of the castle, and keeper of the king's boys in the same castle, for the expenses of the boys aforesaid;<sup>1</sup> and in the fourth year £77 8s. was paid to Adam de Bradenham, chaplain, the amount paid by his own hands to divers creditors of John and Henry, the king's late children at Windsor, deceased, during the time they lately lived with the king's most dear mother, Eleanor.<sup>2</sup> In the same year £1 0s. 8½d. was paid to Master Conard, maker of cross-bows, for repairing with horn six cross-bows, delivered to him by the constable of Windsor Castle, and again returned to the aforesaid constable to the said Conard, by the king's command, to be kept in the castle of the king at Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

Vigorous measures appear to have been adopted to improve the royal property in the vicinity of the castle. All the inclosures made in the forest in previous reigns, and let at will, were ordered to be got in without delay, and cultivated and sown. The lands let by deed were ordered to be examined and measured, and any excess taken in hand; waste spots were also ordered to be reduced into cultivation.<sup>4</sup> A few years later the constable was directed, with the assistance of the verderers and foresters, to sell the old dead oak trees<sup>5</sup> in the forest, as well without as within the park of Windsor, and also to sell the grove of alders and other trees in the park.<sup>6</sup>

In the fourth year of this reign, £200 were ordered to be paid out of the Treasury to Geoffrey de Picheford, constable of the castle at Windsor, and custos of the king's manor of Kenington, to

was commanded to take into the king's hands and safely keep the manors of Cookham and Bray, which were in the hands of the inhabitants of those manors, so that the king might be answered in the Treasury of his rent. The constable was also ordered to distrain on the inhabitants for the rent due in Easter Term. (Madox, 'Firma Burgi,' pp. 34 and 64.)

<sup>1</sup> Devon's Issue Roll, 1 Edw. I.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 4 Edw. I.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> 'Originalia,' Ro. 21.

<sup>5</sup> "Robora folia non portantia."

<sup>6</sup> 'Originalia,' 8 Edw. I, Ro. 13.

expedite the works by view of the surveyors of the same works there.<sup>1</sup>

The inquisitors under the special commission, issued under the Great Seal, in the second year of the reign of Edward the First (A.D. 1273), made the following return relative to Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

“BOROUGH OF WINDSOR.

“Of the farms of the hundred, &c.

“They say that Geoffrey de Picheford holds the borough of Windsor, with the manor of Old Windsor, to farm, for twenty-five pounds, and it is worth thirty pounds per annum.

“Of antient suits and other things withdrawn from the lord the king :

“They say that the men of the townships of Over Hucham [Hitcham], Dorney, Chalvey, Boveney, Burnham, and the town

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, 4 Edw. I.

<sup>2</sup> “The Rolls, officially denominated ‘The Hundred Rolls,’ contain inquisitions taken in pursuance of a special commission, issued from the Great Seal, dated the 11th day of October, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the First.

“These inquisitions originated thus : It was a function of the justices in eyre, as well to inquire of knights’ fees, escheats, wardships, marriages, presentations to churches, and usurpations of the rights of the crown (in order to preserve the profitable tenures of the king, and that he might be duly answered of the fruits of such escheats, wardships, &c., which formed a material part of his revenue), as to inquire of oppressions and frauds of the king’s ministers and officers.

“During the turbulent reign of King Henry the Third the revenues of the crown had been considerably diminished by tenants in capite alienating without license ; and by ecclesiastics, as well as laymen, withholding from the crown, under various pretexts, its just rights, and usurping the right of holding courts and other *jura regalia*. Numerous exactions and oppressions of the people had also been committed in this reign, by the nobility and gentry claiming the rights of free chase, free warren, and fishery, and demanding unreasonable tolls in fairs and markets ; and again, by sheriffs, escheaters, and other officers and ministers of the crown, under colour of law.

“King Edward the First, who was on his return from the Holy Land on the death of his father, did not reach England till towards the latter end of the second year of his reign, and these abuses remained uncorrected till his return. One of the first acts of his administration, after his arrival, was to inquire into the state of the demesnes and of the rights and revenues of the crown, and concerning the conduct of the sheriffs and other officers and ministers who had defrauded the king, and grievously oppressed the people.

“The *Capitula Itineris* would have nearly embraced the consideration of all these abuses ; yet as the circuit of the justices itinerant, who went it generally but once in seven years, would not return till the sixth year of this king’s reign, it was necessary in the interim to afford a speedy remedy to the crown and to the subject. Before, however, any specific remedy could be provided for the correction of the abuses above described, evidence was

of Beckenesfend [Beaconsfield?], in the county of Bucks, are always accustomed to give toll at Windsor of all their merchandise, and all which are withdrawn by the King of Almaine and William Pasket his bailiff, and the Earl of Cornwall continues all these things to the present time. Item, the township of Eton, from Baldwin Bridge to Windsor Bridge, of the tenure of Hugh de Averang' and Thomas de Lathes, and all the tenements of the Earl of Cornwall there, of the barony of Burnham, were always accustomed to be at scot and lot, and at all royalty with the burgesses of Windsor. Item, the whole township of Eton was accustomed to give toll of fuel in vessels,<sup>1</sup> and all royalties appertaining thereto, which are withdrawn by the said King of Almaine and the Earl of Cornwall. Item, the lord king was accustomed to receive amerciaments of the same, and to have the fines of broken assize, all of which are withdrawn by them beyond the limits of Berkshire, into Buckinghamshire. Item, the king was accustomed to have suit of court, toll and tallage, with other royalties of Windsor, issuing from six houses in the town of Windsor, which John de Averang' sometime held, and all which are withheld by the King of Almaine, and William Pasket his bailiff, for sixteen years past, to the damage of the lord the king of one hundred shillings yearly, and more, all which the Earl of Cornwall permits to the present time. Item, the lord king is accustomed to take in Windesor of tenements formerly of Jordan Clot, Anastasius de Windesor, Walter the Clerk, Roger Vintdeners, and Roger le Brus, suit of court, toll, tallage, pannage, and every royalty, all which are withheld by the

requisite of their peculiar nature and extent. The king, therefore, on the 11th of October, in the second year of his reign, appointed special commissioners for the whole kingdom.

"After the commissioners had, in the third year, returned their Rolls of Inquisition in obedience to the commission, it was necessary for the Court of Exchequer to have in one view such parts of the returns as affected the rights of the crown and the abuses of its officers. To this end certain rolls were drawn up, containing a selection, under the denomination of 'Extents,' by which the crown was at once furnished with evidence, upon the oath of a jury of each hundred and town in every county, of the necessary particulars. These extracts constitute the 'Hundred Rolls.'

"The Statute of Gloucester was enacted in the sixth year of this king's reign, and the first chapter, relating to liberties, franchises, and quo warrants, was founded upon the previous inquiries under this commission. Immediately after the passing of this statute the stated period of the circuit in eyre returned; and on the justices going their iter, writs of right and quo warrants issued very generally against such persons as claimed manors, liberties, &c., where the jurors had previously said upon oath before the inquisitors, An. 3 Edw. I, 'Nesciunt quo waranto,' the parties held or claimed." (Illingworth's 'Introd. to the Hundred Rolls,' vol. i, p. 9.)

<sup>1</sup> *Busta*, in the original, appears to have been wood cut down in the forest for firing, with which the boats or ships were laden.

Prior of Merton for twenty-five years past, to the yearly damage of the king of half a mark and more.

"Of those, besides the king, who claim to have return or estreat of writs, &c. :

"They say that the Prior of Merton has of late assize of bread and ale, and tasters of ale in the said borough, and holds pleas of *nameo vetito*,<sup>1</sup> and claims to have the right of trying thieves, but they know not by what warrant. Item, the Abbess of Burnham has raised a certain market at Bekenefeld for sixteen years, they know not by what warrant. Item, that the said [abbess] has raised another market at Burnham, in prejudice of the lord the king and of the market of Windesore.

"Of all purprestures :<sup>2</sup>

"They say that Geoffry de Denne, *paneter*<sup>3</sup> of the queen the mother of our lord the king, holds one hundred and ten acres of *purpresture* [inclosure] of free pasture of the lord the king and of his men of Windesore, whence he yearly pays, by the writ of King Henry the Father, &c., to the hospital of Windsor, two marks and a half, and to the king's exchequer, four shillings and two pence. Item, Thomas Burnel holds thirty-nine acres of purpresture, and pays yearly thereout to the king's exchequer half a mark. Item, Richard, the son of Richard Batayll, holds of the gift of Alice de Luton fifty acres, and pays for it yearly to the exchequer, half a mark. Item, William de Mardy holds one acre and a half without warrant, and pays thence to the bailiffs of Windsor, six pence from the time of N. de Satingden, the then constable, who received for the same purpresture half a mark; to the damage of the king's way and of the whole country.

"Item, Andrew the Tiler holds half an acre in the same way from the same period, and pays thence to the said bailiffs three pence. Item, Adam the Tiler holds in the same way one shop,<sup>4</sup> and pays thence four pence yearly to the same bailiffs. Item, Robert Lithfote holds thirteen acres in the same manner, from the same period, and pays yearly to the said bailiffs, four shillings and three pence. Item,

<sup>1</sup> *Namium vetitum* is an unjust taking the cattle of another, and driving them to an unlawful place, pretending damage done by them. In which case the owner of the cattle might formerly have demanded satisfaction for the injury, by a writ called *Placitum de namio vetito*. (Blount.)

<sup>2</sup> *Purpresture* here signifies land inclosed from the waste, and seems to include not only land wrongfully so inclosed, but such as was separated with the consent of the king or owner.

<sup>3</sup> The *paneter* (*pannetarius* in the original) was an official who had the direction of the baking and distribution of the bread in the great baronial households.

<sup>4</sup> *Boticium* in the original, identical with the *boutique* of modern French.

Simon de Sawe holds in the same manner, from the same period, one shop, and pays one halfpenny. Item, John Baldewyn holds one acre and a half in the same manner and from the same time, and pays thence to the same bailiffs, five pence.

"Item, the keepers of the king's castles or manors, &c. :

"They say that Nicholas de Satingden,<sup>1</sup> constable of Windsor Castle and farmer of the bailiwick, had an allowance of ten marks out of his farm for inclosing with a ditch a certain field of the king's outside Windesore, which is called '*Snaghesrudel*,' and that he expended only four shillings and six pence in the said inclosure. Item, Geoffry de Picheford, constable and farmer, kept the same field uninclosed in order that the work horses<sup>2</sup> of Windsor, in going towards their pastures and returning home, should not avoid it, but should be taken and impounded, and so Geoffry unjustly extorted great sums of money from the whole country, levied as his dues, to the great damage and destruction of the whole country. Item, the said Geoffry receives ten pounds yearly for the pasture of Windsor Park, which herbage does not belong to his farm."<sup>3</sup>

The above inquisition furnishes some facts and particulars of interest in the researches into the state of Windsor and Eton at this period.

Geoffrey de Picheford, as we have seen, succeeded Nicholas de Yadington as constable of the castle.

The tyranny of the constables of the king's castles was a common subject of complaint and remonstrance to the king, and it is evident that Geoffrey de Picheford formed no exception. In addition to the instance of his illegal conduct mentioned in the return for Windsor, another occurs in the returns under the same commission for the hundred of Cookham.

"They say that when Joan, who was the wife of John de Wiveley, complained of Isabella of Suninghill, Geoffrey de Picheford came and took ten beasts of the said Isabella, and detained them for a fortnight against sureties and pledges, until upon petition to the queen they were returned, and nevertheless Phillips, the porter of the Castle of Windsor, took seven shillings from the said Isabella for the keep of the said beasts."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yalington (?). See Pat., 53 Hen. III, cited *ante*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Averia*.

<sup>3</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum, 4 Edw. I, nu. 2, m. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 19.

Although the earliest written charter of Windsor is supposed to be one granted in the fifth year of Edward the First's reign, these returns show that the town was previously denominated a borough, and the inhabitants burgesses. This, however, might well be the case, as burgh was the Anglo-Saxon name for a town, the inhabitants being called burgh-ware men, or burgesses of the town, and as this was the way of speaking before the Norman Conquest, so it continued in use long afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Markets were held at Windsor, and toll was payable by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The burgesses, however, do not appear to have received the benefits of their privileges, the borough being let to farm by the king, in this instance to the governor of the castle, who made a profit of about five pounds a year.

"From the time of the Norman Conquest downwards," says Madox, "the cities and towns of England were vested either in the crown or else in the clergy, or in the baronage or great men of the laity; that is to say, the king was the immediate lord of some towns, and particular individuals either of the clergy or laity were immediate lords of other towns."<sup>2</sup> The lord, whether the king or a subject, was as such entitled to certain tolls and dues.

At the time of the Conquest, Old Windsor was vested in the king, but New Windsor was not then in existence. The land on which it stands was apparently in the hands of Ralph, the son of Seifride, as part of Clewer.<sup>3</sup> As the town grew up under the castle, it was probably held as forming part of the royal possessions, and let to farm, which was the case with most of the numerous towns and boroughs in the hands of the king at this period.

"Baldwin's Bridge," also known as Barnes Pool Bridge, is familiar to every inhabitant of Eton and Windsor; but probably there are few persons who regard the name as a vestige of the thirteenth century. Baldwin's Bridge is erected over what was apparently an old channel for a part of the River Thames, and now serves as an outlet for the overflow of that river during floods. In

<sup>1</sup> Madox, 'Firma Burgi,' p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 16.



the thirteenth century, it seems to have marked the extent of the town in one direction, and it now connects the High Street or town with the precincts of the college.<sup>1</sup>

It may be here observed, that the town of Eton, consisting of one long street, has evidently arisen from houses erected from time to time by the side of the main road leading from Windsor to London.<sup>2</sup>

The hospital of Windsor, mentioned as entitled to two marks and a half out of the inclosed lands of Geoffrey de Denne, is doubtless the hospital for lepers noticed in the preceding reign.<sup>3</sup>

The claim of the Prior of Merton to the assize of bread and ale, and to the exercise of the other privileges in Windsor, mentioned in the returns, became the subject of legal proceedings at the suit of the crown, in the nature of a *quo warranto*.

At the Berkshire assizes, held at Windsor before the itinerant justices, at Michaelmas, A.D. 1283, the Prior of Merton was sum-

<sup>1</sup> The following extract from 'Matthew Day's Book,' in the Ash. MSS., No. 1126, relates to this bridge:

*"Concealed landes that belonged unto the maintenance of two bridges in Eaton, redemed in anno 1592.*

"Mem<sup>d</sup>. that my father, Wm. Day, gent., in his life time, compounded with one that had gott a patten for concealed lands in Queene Eliz. raigne, amongst which there was land that belonged to the maintenance of the two bridges in Eaton; one whereof was called Barns Powle Bridge, alias Bawldwin's Bridge, and a house that belongeth unto the maintenance of the aforesaid two bridges standeth the next unto the bridge cauled Barnspowle Bridge, or Bawlden's Bridge; and the land lyeth in the feilds in the parish of Eaton, and is expressed in the conveyance that was made betweene my aforenamed father and several feoffees, whose names are mentioned in the said conveyance, which is dated the 4th day of June, in the foure and thirtieth yeaere of Queene Eliz., and in anno 1592.

"The names of the feoffees which are nominated in the aforesaid conveyance are,—John Parsons, John Bell, Tho. Kene, Henry Bell, Robert Payn, Matthew Bell, Adam Draper, Robert Kene, Wm. Dee, Tobey Maidman, Emen. Robinson, Benjamin Owttered, and Matthew Day.

"Memorand. That the bridge called Barnspowl Bridge, alias Bawldwin Bridge, was plucked upp and new built in anno 1658."

Baldwin's Bridge is still sustained by the trust fund above mentioned, called "Baldwin's Trust." Square stones, built into the wall on each side of the bridge, describe it as having been widened and improved in the years 1830 and 1840, at the expense of the trust.

<sup>2</sup> In a legal document of this reign, Eton is described as "Eton juxta poutem de Wydsore." (Placita coram consilio Dni. Reg. apud West.)

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 76.

*as designed and described in the*

moned to show by what warrant he claimed to have the liberties of "Infangenethef," and to hold pleas "de namio vetito," and to have view of frankpledge, and to the assize of bread and ale, broken by the men of Windsor in the court of the said prior, in the king's borough of Windsor, which belonged to the king's crown and dignity.

The prior appeared by his attorney, and as to the plea "namii vetito," said he did not claim it. "Therefore it remained to the king." As to the privilege of "Infangenethef," the prior alleged that King Richard gave, and confirmed by his charter, to God and the Church of the blessed Mary of Merton and the canons there serving God, that they should have "Infangenethef," and that King Henry, the present king's father, confirmed that grant: of which confirmation the prior made profert (that is, he produced it), and was therefore adjudged to go thereof without day, or, in less technical language, he established his claim.

As to the view of frankpledge and the assize of bread and ale, the prior said that King Richard granted to God and the Church of the blessed Mary of Merton and the canons there serving God, that they and their men should be free of pleas and complaints of the shire, hundred, or wapentake, which grant King Henry the Third confirmed by charter. The prior also alleged that Henry granted to the said canons and their successor for ever that they should have fines and amerciaments of their men, and should be free of the county and hundred courts of the king and the sheriff. He granted also to the said canons that if the foregoing liberties had not been always exercised, they should nevertheless enjoy them fully. The prior made profert of this charter (which was evidently the same mentioned in the first plea), and alleged that it warranted him to have claim of view of frankpledge and fines of assize of bread and ale, &c.

William de Gyselham prayed judgment for the king, because the charter made no express mention of view of frankpledge, &c.; and he prayed judgment if such privileges could be claimed by the general words of the charter. The court postponed the judgment until Hilary Term at Oxford.<sup>1</sup> What that judgment was, or whether it was ever given, does not appear.

<sup>1</sup> Placita de quo warranto, 12 Edw. I, r. 20.

The Prior of Merton made a similar claim to the view of frank-pledge, &c., in the manor of Upton, under a charter of Henry the Second, which seems to have been tried, but no judgment given.<sup>1</sup>

The villages of Hucham, now called Hitcham,<sup>2</sup> and Dorney,<sup>3</sup> the inhabitants of which are mentioned as liable to pay toll at Windsor, were given by Henry the Third to his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was elected King of the Romans in 1257, and in that right claimed the imperial crown of Germany, whence the description of him as 'King of 'Almaigne.'" These possessions were held of the King of England as of the honour of Wallingford.<sup>4</sup> Richard died at Berkhamsted, in 1271, and these estates descended to his son Edmond, the Earl of Cornwall mentioned in these returns.

The manor and village of Burnham, also originally granted to the King of the Romans, was at this time held by his son Edmond, the present earl, who continued to withhold the accustomed suit due to the county and hundred.<sup>5</sup>

The Earl of Cornwall held other lands in the neighbourhood, and returns are made by the inquisitors of encroachments by Richard the late earl, and turning of water-courses, and obstructions of roads; for example, that he had stopped up and obstructed a road through the middle of Cippenham Park for twenty years past; turned the course of water from the middle of the village of Cippenham to the Convent of Burnham; inclosed twenty acres of wood, and gave the inclosure to the Abbess of Burnham; and had diverted to the Convent of Burnham a road which led from Burnham to Dorney.<sup>6</sup>

It is probable that the prolonged absence of Richard in Germany, during the reign of his brother Henry the Third, and the large sums expended by him in supporting his claim to the empire, had led to the various irregularities complained of by the inquisitors as created by him and continued by his heir.

<sup>1</sup> Placita de quo warranto, 14 Edw. I, r. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Situated near Burnham, in Buckinghamshire.

<sup>3</sup> Near Eton.

<sup>4</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum, 4 Edw. I, No. 2, m. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Among the lands formerly belonging to the crown, in the hundred of Benerste (subsequently called Barnesh) in Berkshire, the same inquisitors returned "that Henry Luvell holds at Cruchefeld a certain piece of land which was formerly the *vaccary* of the king's castle of Windsor, and pays yearly twenty-five shillings at Windsor Castle for the said land, but they know not by what warrant or from what time."<sup>1</sup>

A vaccary or vachary was a field or place to keep cows in.<sup>2</sup>

At Michaelmas, in the third year of his reign, the king was at Windsor, and the legal proceedings of the kingdom were conducted in his court there, from whence they bear date.<sup>3</sup>

The first charter on record granted to Windsor, is one of the fifth year of the reign of Edward the First (A.D. 1276), and is as follows :

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, to our archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, appointed officers, and all our bailiffs and faithful people, greeting, know ye that we have granted for ourselves and our heirs that our town of New Windsor from henceforth be a free borough ; and that good men of our said town, and their heirs and successors, shall be free burgesses, and have a merchants' guild, and shall use the same liberties and free customs in the said borough as other the burgesses of our other boroughs in our kingdom are reasonably accustomed to use, and that they shall be quit of paying toll<sup>4</sup> in all our boroughs, towns, or demesnes, throughout our whole kingdom aforesaid. And that their own proper hogs shall be quit of the pannage which is called *fentak* in the borough aforesaid. And that our itinerant justices in the county of Berks, as well of Common Pleas as of the Pleas of the Forest, from henceforth hold their eyres in the said borough, and also that the chief gaol of our said county be in the same borough ; and the delivery of the said gaol be made there. Therefore we will and command for ourselves and our heirs, that our said town from henceforth be a free borough, and the good men of our town and their heirs and successors shall be free burgesses, and have a merchant's gild and use

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Hundredorum, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Cowel's 'Law Dictionary.'

<sup>3</sup> See the Abstracts of Pleadings, printed by the Commissioners of Public Records, *olio*, A.D. 1811.

<sup>4</sup> The Saxon as well as the Norman kings claimed tolls upon transport by roads and by navigable streams, and in harbours, and which they either remitted altogether in favour of certain favoured persons, or empowered them to take ; thus, in the first instance, creating for them a commercial monopoly of the greatest value, by enabling them to enter the market on terms of advantage. (Kemble's 'Saxons in England,' vol. ii, p. 75.)

the same liberties and free customs exercised in the same borough, as other the burgesses of our other free boroughs in our kingdom, are accustomed to use; and that they shall be quit of paying toll in all our boroughs, towns, and demesnes, throughout our whole kingdom aforesaid. And that their own proper hogs shall be quit of the pannage which is called fentak in the borough aforesaid, and that our itinerant justices in the county of Berks, as well of Common Pleas as of Pleas of the Forest, from henceforth hold their courts in the same borough; and also that our chief gaol of the said county be in the said borough, and the delivery of the said gaol be always made there, as before mentioned. With these witnesses, the Venerable R. Bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor, William of Vallence, our uncle Roger Mortimer, Antony Bek, Robert de Tybelot, Hugh son of Otho, Master Thomas Bek, Master Geoffrey de Haspal, Geoffrey de Picheford, and others. Given under our hand at Windsor, the 28th day of May, in the fifth year of our reign.”<sup>1</sup>

The kings of England made their towns free boroughs, not to release or defeat their claim to the yearly rent or *ferme*, but to amend and improve the town, that is to say, to enable the townsmen to live comfortably, and to pay with greater ease and punctuality their tolls and duties to the king, or other person to whom the town was let at a yearly rent.<sup>2</sup> The grant of this charter to Windsor did not therefore relieve the inhabitants from such payments, which they had to pay to the constable of the castle as the farmer of the borough, until a few years later, when the borough was let to them at a yearly rent.

In the same year (A.D. 1276), “the poor inhabitants” of Windsor presented a petition to the king in Parliament at Carlisle, praying his Majesty to allow them to take *pontage* at Windsor, for eight years, to enable them to repair and amend the bridge, which was much dilapidated, so that no carriages or horses were able to pass over it without great damage, and stating that there was no rent or other means to keep the bridge in repair; and upon this petition a grant of pontage for five years was allowed.<sup>3</sup>

This grant was renewed in the thirty-fifth year of the king’s reign (A.D. 1306.)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chart. 5 Edw. I, num. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Madox’s ‘Firma Burgi,’ p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. i, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> Patent., 35 Edw. I, num. 35.

Pontage, as is implied from this petition and grant, was the right to levy tolls, not only of persons passing over the bridge, but of boats and barges passing along the river.

It is probable that a bridge, connecting Windsor with the Buckinghamshire side of the Thames, existed at least as early as the erection of the Castle. Between the Saxon palace of Old Windsor and London, the communication by road was no doubt through Staines, where there was a bridge as early as the occupation of the island by the Romans; but when the royal residence was transferred to the castle, a road appears to have been formed connecting Windsor with the London and Henley road at Slough. The town of Eton, as has been already mentioned, grew up on the sides of this ancient highway.

The dilapidated state of the bridge over the Thames was not the only impediment of the same kind existing in this reign to the traveller journeying between Windsor and Slough. In the thirty-first year of Edward's reign, an inquisition was issued in his name to the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, reciting that Eton Bridge was broken down and destroyed, to the injury of the adjacent country, and to the manifest danger of travellers, and assigning Roger de Southcote and Robert Pugeys<sup>1</sup> to inspect the bridge, and inquire by the oath of true and lawful men of the county, into the extent and cause of the damage, and ascertain upon whom the duty of repairing the bridge lay. The inquiry accordingly took place at Eton, before the two commissioners and a jury of twelve persons of the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> They made their return upon oath and under seal, that the bridge in question was one half in Eton, and the other half in Upton, and that one Walter le Teb, of Eton, had fifty years before, with the aid of voluntary gifts collected in the autumn and at other times of the year, from merchants and other persons, built the

<sup>1</sup> Robert Pugeys was no doubt one of the family from whom the adjacent parish of Stoke, in Buckinghamshire, acquired its distinctive name of Stoke Pugeys or Stoke Pogis.

<sup>2</sup> The jurors were: John Miller, of Horton; John Adam, of Horton; John Martell, of Langley; Walter Goisun; Hugh Browne, of Horton; Hugh Elys, of Chalvey; John de la Merk, of Farnham; Lawrence Miller, of Chalvey; William Cawe, of Dorney; Ralph atte Barde, of Horton; John de Dene, of Ditton; and William Nermys (?), of Hughenden.

bridge of wood over the rivulet (no bridge having been there previously), and maintained it in repair during his life. A flood in the Thames had so deepened the stream, that in the spring no persons on foot or on horseback could pass over the bridge, but there was no obligation to rebuild or sustain it; the only mode being by such voluntary gifts as before mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The bridge referred to in these proceedings was evidently over Chalvey Brook at Southwell, on the north corner of the Eton "Playing Fields." The brook there divides the parishes of Eton and Upton. The bridge is commonly called "Beggar's Bridge," possibly from its origin in the manner described in the return.

On the 9th of July, in the sixth year of Edward's reign, a splendid tournament was held in Windsor Park. This tournament appears to have been one of those termed "peaceable jousts." Accoutrements were provided for thirty-eight knights, the greater part of whom were of high rank and distinguished for their martial exploits, many of them having been with the king in the Crusades. Several of them were nearly allied to the king, including the Earl of Cornwall his cousin, Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester (who subsequently married Joan of Acre, the king's daughter), John Earl of Warren (married to Alice, sister by the mother's side to King Henry the Third), and William de Valence Earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle.

Articles were purchased in England and Paris by the hands of Adinett the tailor, whose account is still preserved.

Armour was provided for all the knights. It appears to have been of leather gilt; and various sums, from 7*s.* to 25*s.*, were paid for making and gilding each suit to the three persons employed, Cosmo the tailor, Salvag' the tailor, and Reymunde de Burdieus. At the end of this item of the account, there is a memorandum, stating that each suit of armour consisted of a tunic, a surcoat, a pair of ailettes (appendages to the shoulders), a crest, a shield, a helmet of leather, and a sword of "balon," supposed to be a sword wrapped round with woollen list or cloth, for the purpose of blunting its edge.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bodl., Dodsworth, 114, f. 177.

The sum of three shillings was paid for the carriage of the armour from London.

The shields were of wood, and provided by Stephen the joiner, at 5*d.* each. Peter the furbisher provided the thirty-eight swords, made of balon and parchment, at 7*d.* a piece, and was paid 25*s.* for silvering them, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for gilding the pomels and hilts with pure gold. Rûph de la Hay received 12*s.* for gilding with pure gold twelve helmets for the knights of the highest rank; and for silvering the remainder, 17*s.* 4*d.*, being after the rate of 8*d.* each. Milo the currier furnished thirty-eight head pieces of leather, resembling horses' heads, at 2*s.* each; and thirty-eight pair of little wings of leather, at 8*d.* the pair. Richard Paternoster provided eight hundred little bells, sixteen skins for making bridles, and half a horse's skin for cruppers, and twelve dozen silken cords for tying on the ailettes. Seventy-six calf-skins were provided for making the crests. The articles provided in England amounted to £80 11*s.* 8*d.* Those procured from Paris consisted chiefly of furs, of various kinds, for the use of the royal family, the king's couch, the queen's mantle, &c., amounting in the whole to £608 18*s.* 6*d.* of Paris money. Canvass, fine linen, towels, &c., amounting to £130 18*s.* 6*d.* Saddles, richly embroidered with gold and silver, eight of them with the arms of England, and others with those of the knights, and two for the king's mule, amounting to £280 14*s.* 2*d.* Among the minute articles are half a dozen pair of double gloves, which cost 35*s.*, and the same quantity of buckskin gloves for the king, 60*s.* Two ivory combs for the king, 32*s.* 8*d.* Four green and three red carpets, for the king's chamber, £28. A velvet covering for the head of the king's bed, 100*s.* A cloth dyed in grain for the Lord Alphonso (the king's eldest son, who died soon after), £40. Two tire-teyns mixt in grain, £78 15*s.* For Robinet's expenses with the king's robe from Paris to Glastonbury, with the hire of his horse, 20*s.* The total expended at Paris was £1429 5*s.* of Paris money, or £447 12*s.* 5*d.* sterling.<sup>1</sup>

By letters patent, bearing date the 1st of January, in the eighth year of his reign (A.D. 1279), Edward granted Windsor, with its

<sup>1</sup> See 'Archæologia,' vol. xvii, p. 297.



appurtenances, to the burgesses and good men of the town, to hold to farm to them and their heirs for ever, on payment of the sum of thirty pounds to the king's treasury yearly.<sup>1</sup> But in the following year the rent was reduced to seventeen pounds, payable half-yearly, provided the inhabitants conducted themselves well and faithfully, and did full justice to all merchants, strangers as well as residents, and to the poor of the town.<sup>2</sup> The last-mentioned grant is dated at Windsor, the 10th day of September, and was subsequently confirmed by letters patent of the 6th of August, in the twenty-first year of this reign.<sup>3</sup>

The charter of 1276 did not, as has been already stated, give any right to the inhabitants to take toll or other dues appertaining to the royal prerogative. They acquired this right, for the first time, by the subsequent demise of the town to them at a yearly rent. As Geoffrey de Picheford paid twenty-five pounds, it may be inferred that the reduction from £30 to £17 was considered no slight boon to the town.<sup>4</sup>

By a writ dated at the Tower of London, 4th January, in the ninth year of this reign, the Constable of Windsor Castle was ordered to receive the ambassadors of Llewellyn Prince of Wales, coming into England to treat with Alianor the daughter of Simon de Montfort.<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1288, Pope Nicholas the Fourth granted the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices to Edward the First for six years, towards defraying the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land; and that they might be collected to their full value, a taxation by the king's precept was begun in that year, and finished as to the province of Canterbury in 1291, and as to that of York in the

<sup>1</sup> Originalia, 8 Edw. I, Ro. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 9 Edw. I, m. 7; Originalia, 9 Edw. I, Ro. 14.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Ashmolean, No. 1126, f. 70 b.

<sup>4</sup> There is a certificate existing of J. de Kauncy, Treasurer, and the Barons of the Exchequer, that during the time Geoffrey Picheford, Constable of Windsor, farmed the manors of Bray and Kennington, and the seven hundreds and a half in the forest and town of Windsor, the expenses exceeded the proceeds by the sum of £56 16s. 3½d. (See the 'Inventory of Records in the Tower,' Sixth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, Appendix II, p. 94.)

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Wallis, an. 9 Edw. I, Mem. 12, dorso.

following year; the whole being under the direction of John Bishop of Winton, and Oliver Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

Under this taxation, New Windsor is inserted in the diocese of Salisbury, in the archdeaconry of Berkshire, and deanery of Reading; and in respect of the temporalities of "New Windsor," the Abbot of Reading is taxed at £5 6*s.* 8*d.*,<sup>2</sup> and the Prior of Merton is taxed at 13*s.* 4*d.* The Abbot of Waltham was, in the first instance, assessed at 3*s.* 2*d.* in respect of New Windsor, and at 12*s.* 8*d.* in respect of Old Windsor; but a line is drawn across both entries. "Wyndlesore Underore" is described as being (with several other places) in the hands of Reading Abbey. In the "spiritualities" of the deanery, Windsor Church is not mentioned by name, but the Church of Waltham Abbey, with the vicarage, in respect of tithes, is assessed at £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, referring probably to the Churches of Old and New Windsor, both of which were, as has been already stated, in the hands of the abbey. Clewer, or "Clifware" Church, is assessed at £10.

On the other side of the river we find, in the deanery of Burnham, in the archdeaconry of Buckingham, and diocese of Lincoln, the Church of Eton taxed at £10 13*s.* 4*d.*; Datchet, with the Chapel of Fulmer, at £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; Upton, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; Stoke, £12; Dorney, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*; Wyrardesbury and Langley, £33 6*s.* 8*d.*; Burnham, £30; and the vicarage, £10. The temporalities of these parishes were principally in the hands of the Abbess of Burnham, the Prior of Merton, and the Abbot of Messenden.

It may be observed, that the taxation of Pope Nicholas is a most important record, because all the taxes, as well to our kings as to the popes, were regulated by it, until the survey made in the twenty-sixth year of Henry the Eighth; and because the statutes of colleges founded before the Reformation, are also interpreted by this criterion, according to which their benefices, under a certain value, are exempted from the restriction in the statute, 21 Henry VIII, concerning pluralities.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prefatory notice to the '*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291*,' fol. A.D. 1802.

<sup>2</sup> The amount paid for the tax was one tenth of the sums here stated.

<sup>3</sup> Prefatory notice to the '*Taxatio Ecclesiastica, &c.*, P. Nicholai IV.'

"Windsor Underowre" mentioned in this document, was a manor lying between the castle and Eton, comprising the low ground under the north-west side of the castle, and extending to the River Thames. It appears to have remained in the hands of the abbey until the dissolution of the monasteries.

The "Testa de Nevill," compiled near the close of the reign of Edward the Second, or the commencement of that of Edward the Third, and containing the result of inquisitions taken in the time of Henry the Third and Edward the First, speaks of a hide of land in Windsor, formerly the property of Geoffrey Purcell, but held by the abbot and monks of Reading, the gift of the Empress Maud, the daughter of Henry the First, and confirmed by that king.<sup>1</sup> It appears that King Stephen also confirmed the grant, with a reservation of twenty shillings yearly to his brother Ralph; and in addition, confirmed to the abbey another hide of land in Windsor, given, together with houses and lands in London, by Algarus, the priest, and Baldwin his brother.<sup>2</sup> A confirmation charter of Richard the First, describes it as "the hide of Underore, with its appurtenances."<sup>3</sup>

In a survey of the manor made by "Roger Amyce," in the sixth year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, it is described as "Windesor Underowre, parcell of the possessions of the late Monastery of Reading."<sup>4</sup>

In one of Ashmole's Manuscripts it is said to be "a little lordship, beginning at the north-west tower of the castle, and goes down toward the Thames, part in the parish of Windsor and [part in the] parish of Cleworth [Clewer]. Some will have the manor called Windsor under howre, because it lyes *under* the tower wherein is placed the greate clock which gives the *howers* of day and night."<sup>5</sup>

In another place, a derivation from the Greek, equally ingenious and equally improbable, is deduced.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Testa de Nevill, sive Liber Feodorum in curia Seaccarii, temp. Hen. III and Edw. I' (folio, 1807), p. 128. See also, Coates' 'History of Reading,' p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Coates' 'History of Reading,' p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> 'Monasticon,' vol. iv, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Blunt of Windsor.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmolean MS., No. 1115, f. 80.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., f. 25.

A solitary relic of this property of the Abbot of Reading still exists. The "Abbot's Pile" is the name retained for a wooden pile near the Eton bank of the River Thames, in the vicinity of Tangier Mill. It does not rear its head above the water, but may be traced when the river is low and clear, and it still forms a boundary mark of the right of fishery belonging to the borough of Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

In 1283, Alphonso, the eldest son of Edward the First, born at Maine, in Gascony, in 1273, died at Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

There is an appointment by Edward, in the twenty-first year of his reign (A.D. 1293), of Roger le Molis, Geoffrey de Picheford, Adam Gurdon, and Simon de Ellesworth, to take fines and redemptions from all those persons who had been adjudged guilty, before the said Adam Gurdon, of trespasses in the forest, and who for that cause were then confined in the prison of the castle.<sup>3</sup>

"The last of February (1295), there sodainely arose," says Stow, "such a fire in the Castle of Windsor, that many officers of the

<sup>1</sup> The following is the description of the Borough Fishery, taken from the existing lease, dated the 19th of December, 1835, and made between the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, of the one part, and Thomas Batcheldor, of Black Potts, in the parish of Eton, gentleman, of the other part, viz.: "All that their water of the River of Thames, and the fish and fishing of the same, commonly called the 'Bridge Water Fishing,' containing 18 feet above the bridge of New Windsor aforesaid, and 18 feet below the same bridge, together with the water, fish, and fishing of the piers and arches of the same bridge, from bank to bank upon the north and south parts of the said river, throughout so much of the said River of Thames as extendeth and lyeth 18 feet above and 18 feet below the said bridge, as aforesaid, as the same was formerly in the occupation of Richard Piper, afterwards of John Piper, since of Robert Boscawen, and now of the said Thomas Batcheldor. And also all the rest and residue of their water of the River of Thames aforesaid, and the fish and fishing of the same, which beginneth above the bridge at Beck's Cross, in the parish of Clewer, in the said county of Berks, and extendeth through and below the bridge, from bank to bank, to the Abbott's Pyle, from the bank in the county of Bucks throughout so much of the Thames as extendeth from Rotheram's Pyle to the Abbott's Water south, and so along by a ground called Rumney, from bank to bank to the upper end of a certain meadow, late an eyott belonging to the Provost and College of Eton, adjoining to the west end of a fence, dam, or jutty, sometime since erected and built in the River of Thames, called the 'New Works,' which meadow is now in the possession of the said provost and college, under a lease from the said mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, for a long term of years to come."

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Originalia, 21 Edw. I, Ro. 10.

same house were therewith consumed, and many goodly images, made to beautifie the building, were defaced and deformed.”<sup>1</sup>

The king was at this time in North Wales. The records, says Mr. Poynter, in which they might be expected to appear, are silent upon any circumstances likely to arise out of such a calamity.<sup>2</sup>

Striking illustrations of the strictness with which the Forest laws were enforced, occur at this period. By a writ, in the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, the sheriff of Worcester was commanded, in the name of Hugh Despencer, the justice of the forests on this side Trent, to distrain the Bishop of Worcester for trespasses committed in hunting in the Forest of Windsor. It appears that the bishop, by the medium of one Alured de Northgrave, made terms with the king, and the proceedings in the suit were stayed.<sup>3</sup>

The Bishop of Winchester also, by a letter to Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, dated at Bitem, 5th November, 1282, complained that Geoffrey de Picheford, the constable of Windsor, had compelled the woodward of the bishop's manor of Weregrave (Wargrave) to take an oath to preserve the king's hunting; and begging the Bishop of Bath and Wells to order Geoffrey to desist from such exactions in prejudice of the see of Winchester.<sup>4</sup>

On one occasion in this reign, William Brun, found in the act of hunting in Windsor Forest, was pursued to Reading, and imprisoned by the abbot, who refused to deliver him up to Geoffrey de Picheford, the constable of Windsor. The refusal was sanctioned by the king, as appears from a writ, dated at Caermarthen, July 18th, in the eleventh year of his reign.<sup>5</sup>

“Edward the First kept his Christmas of 1299-1300 at Berwick, and the queen at Windsor.”<sup>6</sup> The king kept his Christmas at various places during his reign; at London, Carlisle, Westminster, Lincoln, Conway, &c., but apparently not once at Windsor.

On the 2d of February, A.D. 1300, being the day of the

<sup>1</sup> Stow.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the History of Windsor Castle.'

<sup>3</sup> *Placita coram consilio D'ni Reg. apud Westm.*, Hilary Term, 27 Edw. I (Rot. 13).

<sup>4</sup> See the Inventory of the Records in the Tower; Seventh Report of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records, Appendix ii, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> Coates' 'History of Reading,' pp. 237, 238.

<sup>6</sup> Stow.

Purification of the Virgin Mary, the king gave seven shillings in oblations at the altar of his chapel at Windsor, and five shillings to the cross of *Gneyth*, and three shillings to the thorn of Christ's crown. And the same day the queen gave five shillings in offerings to the same cross and thorn.<sup>1</sup> To this cross of *Gneyth* more frequent offerings appear to have been made than to any other cross or relique. It was believed to be a piece of the holy cross, and was given to Edward the First, in the eleventh year of his reign, at Aberconway, in North Wales, by Avian ap Inor and other Welchmen, having been previously in the possession of Llewellyn, the son of Gryffith, Prince of Wales, and his ancestors, and called *Cresseneyet*. The bearer of this holy relic to the king had robes yearly allowed to him. It was at first carried in the progresses which the king made, and the same year that he and his queen made offerings to it in the chapel at Windsor, it appears to have been at Stratford and Holmcoltram. In the reign of Edward the Second, this cross was kept in the king's chapel in the Tower of London, with great care. Edward the Third, early in his reign, appears to have given it to the chapel at Windsor. It is mentioned among the relics of that church in the eighth of Richard the Second; and Henry the Fourth, on St. George's day (April 29th), in the fourth year of his reign, offered there 6s. 8d. to it. It is directed in the Pope's bull, 18 Hen. VII, to be kept at Windsor, and was then known by the name of *Crosse Neyth*. When Henry the Eighth introduced Philip King of Castile into the chapter-house, where lay, on a cushion of cloth of gold, the *very cross*, the latter king read and made his oath of knighthood in French, "sur le feust de la vraye croix," and kissed the book and the *very cross*.

<sup>1</sup> "2<sup>o</sup> die Februar', viz. die purificat' beate Marie in oblacionibus Regis ad altare in capella sua apud Windesore, 7s.—et ad crucem Gneyth, 5s.—et ad spinam de corona Christi, 3s. . . . . summa 15s."

"Eodem die in oblacion' Regine ad crucem Gneyth et ad spinam predictam in eadem capella . . . . . 5s."  
(*Liber Quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi vicesimo octavo, 4to, 1787, p. 28.) This was apparently the only visit the king paid to Windsor from November, 1299, to November, 1300. (*Ibid.* 'Observations on the Wardrobe Account,' p. lxxvii.) From Windsor the king went to Chertsey, between the 6th and 12th of February. (*Ibid.*)

According to tradition, it derived its name from Neyt, a native of Wales, who brought it from the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th of January, a few days before the above-mentioned oblation, there is a charge of 4*s.* 2*d.* shared at a mass celebrated in the chapel of Windsor Castle, for the soul of John Earl of Holland, in the presence of Prince Edward.<sup>2</sup>

Among the wardrobe expenses of Edward I, A.D. 1299-1300, there is an entry of three shillings paid to John de Swanlond, for money laid out by him for two hack horses, to convey two thousand pounds of pollards,<sup>3</sup> of Faldi Janiani, a merchant of the company of Friscobaldi of Florence, from London to Windsor, at twice, in the months of January and February.<sup>4</sup>

One of the items of petty expenses of the prince royal in the same account, is a payment of £1 2*s.* 10*d.* to Lord Walter Reginald, for one case bought to keep a silver cup in, the mending of a portiforium, and for two boxes, locks and keys, and tallow for cressets bought for the same, for the chapel and wardrobe of the king's son. And for boats' hire of the same son, and of his knights and clerks, removed by turns in boats by the Thames between Windsor and the Tower of London, in the months of January and February, and for divers carriages made in the negotiations of the prince.<sup>5</sup>

There is a payment of £2 on the 17th of February to John de Cotyng, relative to the passage by water of the queen from Windsor to London,<sup>6</sup> and of £1 on the 5th of February, at Windsor,

<sup>1</sup> See *Liber Garderobæ*, Edw. I, Glossary, p. 365, and authorities there cited.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Garderobæ*, 28 Edw. I, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Pollards "were coined in parts beyond the seas, and privately brought into the kingdom, and uttered here for sterling, though not worth above an halfpenny. For the better restoring the money to its ancient purity, Edward established a certain standard; and, in his seventh year, called in all the clipt money. But the greatest improvement seems to have been in his eighteenth year, when he sent for William and Peter de Turnemere, and other persons from Marseilles, and one Friscobald and his companions from Florence, and employed them in making of money, and buying and exchanging of silver." (*Ibid.* 'Observations,' p. xxii.)

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Topham, the editor of this account, cites this item as money lent to the king.

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Garderobæ*, 28 Edw. I, p. 56; and 'Observations,' *ibid.*, p. xxxix.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

to Andrew de Chaunceux, to whom the king had delivered two sparrow-hawks, to train in the mews of the said Andrew, near Windsor, for food for the said sparrow-hawks during the time of their training.<sup>1</sup>

From an item in the wardrobe expenses of Margaret, the second wife and queen of Edward the First, it appears that the sum of £1791 10s. is charged by William de Chesoy, the queen's treasurer, between the 20th of November, in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, and the 12th of April following, for bread, wine, ale, flesh, fish, and fowl, &c., supplied for entertainments at St. Albans, Windsor, and other places; fifty-six days, moreover, being subtracted from the above period, when the queen was with the king, and the principal expenses were charged to the latter.<sup>2</sup>

In the twenty-eighth year of Edward's reign, we find the manors of Cippenham, Datchet, and Eton, near Windsor, in the possession of Edmund Earl of Cornwall.<sup>3</sup>

In 1299, Geoffrey de Picheford, the constable of the castle and keeper of the forest, died, and he was succeeded by John of London, who seems to have been a favorite at court, for we find various grants to him in this reign of inclosed and arable land in the vicinity of the castle and in the forest.<sup>4</sup> In 1281, the king had granted to him his *ville* of Old Windsor, with its royalties, rents, and services, and the old inclosures at "le Wodegrene," to hold for his life, at the annual rent of thirty-three pounds.<sup>5</sup> His appointment to the office of keeper of the castle and of the forest

<sup>1</sup> Liber Garderobæ, 28 Edw. I, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Inquis. Post-mortem, anno 28 Edw. I, n. 44. A grant in this year of land at Langley, in Buckinghamshire, shows, beyond doubt, the origin of the name of Langley *Maries*, by which this parish and village, lying about three miles north-east of Windsor, is distinguished from King's Langley, in Hertfordshire. For a fine of fifty shillings, the king grants to Ralph, the son of William le Ken, six acres of land in the manor of Langele, near Windsor, in the county of Bucks, to hold to him and his heirs, of Cristiana de *Mariseis*, who held the said manor from the king, for her life, and after her death Ralph was to hold of the king and his heirs for ever, at the rent of two shillings. *Extracte finium apud Westm.*, anno 28 Edw. I, ro. 18. (*Vide* 'Rot. Orig. in curia Scaccarii abbrev.' vol. i, p. 112.)

*Inquis. Post-mortem*, anno 11 Edw. I, 34 Edw. I.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Orig., 9 Edw. I, ro. 5.



was not, however, for life, but for three years.<sup>1</sup> The executors of Geoffrey de Picheford were at the same time commanded to deliver up by deed to his successor the castle, armory, and provisions.<sup>2</sup> Some time before his death, Geoffrey de Picheford appears to have been called upon to render an account of all his exactions, and thereupon to have appealed to the king; for in 1297 a writ was sent to the barons on his behalf, desiring that they should not charge him with any demands but such as were right and reasonable.<sup>3</sup> In 1302, the appointment of John of London was apparently renewed for a further period of three years,<sup>4</sup> accompanied by a grant of the bailiwick of the manors of Bray and Kenyngton, and of the seven hundreds, at the same rent as Geoffrey de Picheford held them. At the expiration of the three years, the latter office was conferred on Roger le Sauvage, to hold during the king's pleasure.<sup>5</sup> From the grant of the castle and forest, "with the manors, hundreds, and all other things to the castle appertaining," certain lands and tenements belonging to the castle were on this last occasion excepted, as having been previously settled on Margaret the queen.<sup>6</sup>

The first account of members of parliament for the borough of Windsor, is in the reign of Edward the First, the period when the ancient legislative and remedial assemblies of England first assumed a definite organization. Before this era, neither the principles nor the practice of the constitution can be ascertained with certainty; but under the government of Edward, a settled and uniform usage may be discerned, from whence the parliament received an organization nearly approaching to the form in which it now subsists.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 27 Edw. I, ro. 4 and 7. In Ashmole's MS. (No. 1105, f. 183 b) there is a memorandum of the appointment of "Hamo de la Chaumbre" as "custos" of the castle, and the Close Roll, 12 Edw. I, n. 5, is referred to. This appears to be an error, as John of London evidently succeeded Geoffrey de Picheford.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ro. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Madox's 'History of the Exchequer,' 2d edit., vol. ii, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Orig., 30 Edw. I, ro. 16. In the same year, John of London was commanded, in his capacity of constable of the castle, to take into his hands the office of forrester of the Forest of Windsor, which Richard Bataille had held until his death in fee. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 33 Edw. I, ro. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave's Preface to the 'Parliamentary Writs.'

In pursuance of a writ of summons from the king, dated at Westminster, 20th July, in the thirtieth year of his reign (A.D. 1302), directed to the sheriff of Oxford and Berks, commanding the election of two knights for each of those counties, and two citizens for every city, and two burgesses for every borough therein, to attend a parliament to be holden in London on the feast of St. Michael, subsequently prorogued to the morrow of the Translation of Edward the Confessor (14th October), Thomas de Shawe and Henry de Bedeford were returned for Windsor. Their names are thus entered :

“BURGUS DE WYNDELSORE.

“ Manuaptores Thome de Shawe	{	Roburtus de Shawe, Johannes Baldewyne.
“ Manuaptores Henr̄ de Bedeford	{	Ricardus Fonel, Walterus Chival.” <sup>1</sup>

The manuaptors were the sureties which the persons elected were obliged to put in, to appear in parliament on the day and at the place named in the writ. The number of manuaptors varied, as many as six names being sometimes given in the returns for counties. A few of the members occasionally refused to find manuaptors, whereupon their goods and cattle were distrained.<sup>2</sup>

In answer to the writ issued for the parliament summoned to meet at Westminster, on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, in the thirty-third year of the king's reign (28th Feb., 1305), the sheriff of Oxford and Berks alleged that the writ for the two burgesses of Windsor was returned to the bailiffs of the liberties of the seven hundreds of “Cokham” (Cookham) and “Braye,” who had the return and execution of all writs, and that the said bailiffs had not given any reply to the sheriffs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Parliamentary Writs,’ vol. i, p. 125. No writs “de expensis” are enrolled for any burgesses for this parliament.

<sup>2</sup> See Prynne's ‘Brief Register and Survey of the several kinds and forms of Parliamentary Writs,’ part ii, p. 65; and part iii (‘Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva’), p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Parliamentary Writs,’ vol. i, p. 150.

"Richard de Wyndesore" was returned as one of the two members for Berkshire in this and the next parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Considerable obscurity prevails with respect to the rights and functions of the individuals who enjoyed the privilege, or were subjected to the duty of attendance in the parliaments at this early period;<sup>2</sup> but it seems tolerably certain that the inhabitants of Windsor did not place a high value on the services of their members. The omission of the bailiff to make a return was not confined to this occasion, but was repeated in the next and subsequent reigns, until it became almost a matter of course. The office of bailiff of the "seven hundreds" was, as we have seen, frequently held by the constable of Windsor Castle; and there can be little doubt that his omission was connived at by the king and the inhabitants of Windsor.

The finding and sending burgesses to parliament was, indeed, generally considered a great burden and expense, because the inhabitants were liable to pay their members their reasonable expenses in coming to, staying at, and returning from the parliament, for levying which, writs (called writs "de expensis") were issued to the sheriff at the close of the session.<sup>3</sup>

The next parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 30th of May, 1306. The writs to the sheriffs on this occasion differed from the previous, for, instead of commanding the return of two burgesses for every borough, they directed the return of two or one, according as the borough was greater or less.<sup>4</sup>

Windsor was a borough of the first class, for it returned two members under this writ, viz., the former member, Thomas de Shawe, and Edmund de Brumpton.<sup>5</sup> John Baldewyne and Robert ate More (or Robert at the Moor) were the manucaptors of Thomas de Shawe, and John de Brumpton and Henry le Plomer those of Edmund de Brumpton.

<sup>1</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' pp. 149, 173.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave's Preface to the 'Parliamentary Writs.'

<sup>3</sup> Pryne's 'Brief Register,' &c., part ii, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> "Duos Burgenses vel unum secundum quod Burgus fuerit major vel minor," &c.

<sup>5</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. i, p. 173. No writ de expensis is enrolled for Windsor for this parliament.

In the next parliament, summoned to meet at Carlisle, on the 20th January, 1307, John Golde and Henry de Bedeford were returned for Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

We find, in the reign of Edward the First, various tenements at Windsor were granted to Alexander de Wyndesore, by the service of keeping the king's park there.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous other grants of land, &c., were made on condition of the parties doing suit and service at Windsor, and for the ward of the castle.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout this reign and that of Edward the Second, nothing can be verified of any interest in the history of the structure of the castle.<sup>4</sup>

That the castle was not altogether neglected, appears by a writ of Edward the Third, dated at Guildford, the 25th of December, in the fifth year of his reign (A D. 1331), reciting the petition of John of Lincoln, a citizen of London, stating that by the command of Edward the First, and his writ of privy seal, he had furnished iron, brass (?), lead, tin, boards, and other articles, for the defence of Windsor Castle, for the expenses in buying and conveying which he alleged he had not been paid. The writ then commands the king's treasurer and barons of the exchequer to inspect the writs of Edward the First and the account of the said John; and if after account made it should appear that the king was indebted to him, then, that they should pay the amount out of the treasury, or make satisfaction to him.<sup>5</sup>

"Richard de Windsor"<sup>6</sup> appears to have been a person of consequence at this period. He was returned to parliament as knight

<sup>1</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. i, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Inquis. Post-mortem, anno 11 Edw. I and 34 Edw. I.

<sup>3</sup> See the Abstracts of Pleadings, printed by the Commissioners of Records, in the volume entitled 'Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis asservatorum abbreviatio. Temporibus Reg. Ric. I, Johanni., Hen. III, Edw. I, Edw. II.'

<sup>4</sup> Poynter. A letter dated at Windsor, 5th August, 1273, addressed to Walter de Merton, the king's chancellor, requests the king's writ to the constable of Windsor Castle, to make necessary repairs in Windsor Castle and Park, and in Kennington. (See 'Inventory of Records in the Tower, 6th Rep. of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records,' Appendix ii, p. 94.)

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. ii, p. 445 a.

<sup>6</sup> Ricardus de Wyndesore, Windelesore, Wyndesore, or Windesoure.

of the shire for either Berks or Middlesex, from A.D. 1295 to 1306. He was assessor and collector of taxes for those counties, and one of the justices of oyer and terminer in Berks in 1300. He was also summoned to do knight service on various occasions, and was himself a commissioner to summon others to do military service;<sup>1</sup> and he himself or his son performed similar duties in the next reign.

<sup>1</sup> See Alphabetical Digest in the 'Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons,' &c. (published by the Record Commission, 2 vols. in 5, folio, Lond., 1827-1830), vol. i, p.908, and vol. ii. A note of Sir Francis Palgrave, the editor, says, "this *Ricardus de Windesore* is probably the individual who was seized of the manors of 'Westhakebourne' (Berks) and 'Stanewell' (Middlesex), the latter being held by the service of castleward, due to the Castle of 'Windsor.' (Esc., 19 Ed. II, No. 54.)"



The "Bell Tower," from Thames Street, before the removal of the houses in 1861

## CHAPTER VI.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SECOND.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1319. OLIVER DE BORDEAUX.

A.D. 1326. THOMAS DE HUNTERCOMBE.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1307. JOHN GOLDE AND EDMUND DE BRUMPTON.

A.D. 1311. EDMUND DE BRUMPTON AND WILLIAM ATTE CHAUMBRE.

A.D. 1313. THOMAS DE SHAWE AND PHILIP ATTE HACHE.

A.D. 1319. JOHN FORWYNE AND THOMAS HOLEBODE.

A.D. 1320. THOMAS DE SHAGHE AND PHILIP ATTE HAGHE.

A.D. 1321. JOHN DE BRYMPTON AND PHILIP ATTE HAGHE.

A.D. 1322. PHILIP ATTE HAGHE AND WILLIAM DAVY.

THOMAS HOLEBODE AND JOHN FORWYNE.

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Members for Windsor—Edward the Second keeps his Christmas at Windsor—Members returned—Birth of Edward the Third at Windsor—The King founds a Chantry in the Chapel and a Chapel in the Park—Petition of the inhabitants of Berkshire to the King to remove the County Gaol from Windsor—Inquisition thereupon—Inspecimus Charter, 9 Edw. II—Members for Windsor—Petition of the Burgesses respecting the evasion of Pontage, and the tenements of the Earl of Cornwall—Execution of Lord Aldham at Windsor—Design of the Earl of Mortimer to seize the Castle—Delivery of the Great Seal to the King in Windsor Forest—Grants of lands and houses in Windsor and Eton to Oliver de Bordeaux.

On the accession of Edward the Second to the throne, the castle and forest of Windsor, with the manors, hundreds, and all other things appertaining thereto, were granted to Robert de Hanstede the younger, at the accustomed rent. A reservation was made, however, of certain lands and tenements belonging to the castle which had been granted to Margaret, the queen dowager.<sup>1</sup> Whether Robert de Hanstede died soon afterwards or not does not appear; but it is singular that although this grant seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 1 Edw. II, ro. 6.

departed from the usual form in conferring the office for life, yet in the very same year, Roger Sauvage, who held the office in the last reign, received the appointment during the king's pleasure, with the same reservation of the lands and tenements in the hands of Queen Margaret.<sup>1</sup> Roger Sauvage was, however, in his turn succeeded in the following year by Warren de l'Isle.<sup>2</sup>

In the parliament summoned to meet at Northampton on the 13th of October, in the first year of the reign of Edward the Second (A.D. 1307), John Golde, one of the late members, was returned for Windsor, together with Edmund de Brumpton.<sup>3</sup>

To the writ issued for the next parliament, in 1309, the bailiff of the seven hundreds of Cookham and Bray, following the course adopted on one occasion in the preceding reign, made no return.<sup>4</sup>

In the autumn of 1307, soon after the accession of Edward the Second, the Treasurer Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who had formerly incurred the enmity of the prince and his favorite Gaveston by refusing to supply money for their pleasures, was stripped of his property and thrown into prison.<sup>5</sup> The first place of his confinement appears to have been Windsor, and his trial was fixed to take place there on the 23d of February, 1308; but it was adjourned until the 25th of March, in order to allow the justices to attend the king's coronation at Westminster, on Sunday, the 25th of February.<sup>6</sup> In the mean time, the king, not recollecting the adjournment, caused the bishop to be removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London, by means whereof the proceedings had dropped. The justices were, however, directed to summon and hear the parties complaining against the bishop, at the Tower, and to proceed with the trial accordingly.<sup>7</sup> The bishop appears to have remained some time in confinement, but was eventually liberated.

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 1 Edw. II, ro. 7. This reservation is repeated in the subsequent appointment of Oliver de Bordeaux in 1319, and continued to the reign of Edward the Third.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 2 Ed. II, ro. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, part ii, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Lingard.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Pat., 1 Edw. II, p. 2, m. 26. See the 'Fœdera,' and 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, part ii, Appendix, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Claus., 1 Edw. II, m. 7 d. See the 'Fœdera,' and 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, part ii, Appendix, p. 13.

We are told that Edward the Second kept his Christmas of 1308-9 at Windsor "with great solemnity," and that "he also kept his Christmas of the following year at Windsor, where Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, and the Bishop of Saint Andrew's, Scotland, were released out of prison."<sup>1</sup>

To the parliament summoned to meet at London, in August 1311, Edmund de Brumpton and William atte Chaumbre were returned as members;<sup>2</sup> but to the parliament summoned to meet in October following no return was made.<sup>3</sup> The borough is described as in the liberty of the seven hundreds of Windsor.

Prince Edward (afterwards Edward the Third) was born in the Castle of Windsor, on Monday, the 23d day of November, 1312.<sup>4</sup> From the place of his birth, he was often spoken of as Edward of Windsor. In the windows of one of the canon's houses, over the cloisters<sup>5</sup> adjoining the chapel, and painted in the glass, there is an "horoscope," or astrological scheme of his nativity, from whence it appears, says Ashmole, "that he was born at 40 minutes after five in the morning of the said day, the 6 degree of the sign Scorpio ascending, and the 18 degree of Leo culminating."<sup>6</sup>

On the Thursday after his birth the prince was christened in the old chapel of St. Edward at Windsor, by Arnaldas Noveli. The following persons were his godfathers:—Richard Bishop of Poitiers, John Bishop of Bath and Wells, William Bishop of Worcester; Lewis Earl of Evreux, the queen's brother; John Duke of Bretagne and Earl of Richmond, Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, and Hugh le Despenser.<sup>7</sup>

Queen Isabella, at the time of the prince's birth, was in the eighteenth year of her age. The king was so much pleased at the

<sup>1</sup> Stow.

<sup>2</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, part 2, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 644, citing Claus., 6 Edw. II, m. 22, *dorso*.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole describes it as "in one of the windows of the prebend's lodgings at Windsor, belonging to the reverend and worthy divine, Doctor Hever, late one of the canons of that college." ('Order of the Garter,' p. 644.)

<sup>6</sup> Ashmole gives a table of "the places of the planets as then posited."

<sup>7</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 644, citing Rot. Claus., 6 Edw. II, m. 22, *dorso*; Barnes's 'Life of Edward the Third,' p. 1.



birth of a son, that on the 16th of December following he gave to John Launge, the queen's valet, and to Isabel his wife, for bringing the agreeable intelligence to him, an annuity of twenty pounds during their lives and the life of the survivor, payable out of the farm of London.<sup>1</sup> The king kept the following Christmas at Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year he founded a chantry in the chapel of the castle, for four chaplains and two clerks to pray for his soul and the souls of all his progenitors; and also a chapel in Windsor Park for four more chaplains.<sup>3</sup> About the same time, the chancellor, who is styled chief of the king's chapel, was directed to see that the chapel at Windsor was supplied with ornaments and other things.<sup>4</sup>

Edward the Third removed the chaplains from the chapel in the park, and added them to those in the chapel of the castle.<sup>5</sup> All traces of the precise situation as well as of the fabric of the chapel appear to be lost.

To the parliament held at Westminster in March 1313, the writs for which bear teste at Windsor, on the 6th of January, Thomas de Shawe and Philip atte Hache were returned as members,<sup>6</sup> and were again elected in the following September.<sup>7</sup> For the two next parliaments, called together respectively at York, in September 1314, and London, in January 1315, no return was made to the writ. The bailiff, who had the return and execution of the writs, is again styled "the bailiff of the liberty of the seven hundreds of Windsor."<sup>8</sup>

The king kept his Christmas of 1314 at Windsor, with many prelates of the land.<sup>9</sup>

The inhabitants of Berkshire presented a petition to the king,

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole *ut supra*, citing Pat., 6 Edw. II, par. 2, in. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Stow.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 6 Edw. II, m. 2, *dorso*, cited by Ashmole; and see Rot. Pat., 7 Edw. II, prima, mem. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Madox's 'History of the Exchequer,' 2d edit., vol. i, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> See *post*, reign Edw. III.

<sup>6</sup> 'Parl. Writs,' vol. ii, part 2, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 110. Philip atte Hache is called in this writ "Philipus atte Haghe."

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 139, 146.

<sup>9</sup> Stow.

in parliament holden in the eighth year of the reign of Edward the Second (A.D. 1314-15), praying for the removal of the county gaol from Windsor, where it was fixed by the charter of Edward the First.<sup>1</sup> The petition is so curious in many respects as to be worth giving an entire translation of the Norman French, as it remains on the Parliament Rolls :

“To our lord the king and his council.—The inhabitants of the county of Berks pray that, in order to maintain the peace of our lord the king, and to protect his crown and to increase his profit as ought to be, inquiry may be made of the damage to our lord the king and his people by reason that the common gaol of the county is at Wyndesore, of which damages some of the points follow.

“In the first place, the town of Wyndesore is at the most remote part of the county, to the great grievance of all those who ought to attend the common delivery,<sup>2</sup> even from the extremity of the county ; and the town is too small for providing victuals, by reason of which the inhabitants of the county avoid coming, except persons engaged to deliver the thieves ; insomuch that the thieves derive great joy and encouragement in their evil doing. Another point is that the poor of the geldable of the county are unable to go to the general delivery, as is proper, with four men and the provost of the towns, on account of the distance of the place ; for they have to prepare for eight days in going and returning, and sometimes more ; and even, in consequence of these inconveniences, and to eschew these hardships and grievances, they avoid accusing the felons of crimes, which is a further injury to the crown. Another point is, the people fail to indict felons or to make quick pursuit, because the county should be at the charge of conveying the felons so far ; and if, in passing through the county of Berks by places in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, the felons were rescued or escaped, the king would lose that escape, for the escape made in one county could not be presented in another ; and these same things have happened before this time. Another point is, the commonalty of the town of Windsor is so weak that the gaol cannot be sustained by the alms of the town, whereby the prisoners die immediately, as well the innocent as the guilty, and those who have goods die before judgment is given, so that the king loses the goods and chattels of the felons, to the great damage of the crown. Another point is, the said gaol is in a franchise within the Forest of Wyndesore, where the coroner has jurisdiction of the same franchise, and hears the

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> The general gaol delivery held at the assizes.

confessions of approvers, which are neither taken nor sworn within the county, as ought to be, he being chosen by a franchise to serve the lord the king; contrary to the law of his crown, by inquest of which any evil that has fallen may be found. Another point is, if any great felon be indicted in the county, and taken and sent to Windsor, he is released for money, wherefore the good people of the county have feared to indict those on whom justice is not done in due manner. The said gaol used to be at Wallingford, in the custody of the sheriff, to the great profit of the king and his crown. Whereof they pray, if it please him, that a remedy may be granted them."<sup>1</sup>

It seems that at first the king was unwilling to have the gaol removed, and declared that it should not be in any other castle than his own;<sup>2</sup> but soon afterwards the king issued his letters patent to William de Bereford, John de Foxele, and John de Westcote, directing them to inquire into the allegations of the petition, and also to inquire in what part of the said county the said gaol might be placed for the greater convenience of the king and the inhabitants of the district. The sheriff of Berkshire was also directed to procure the attendance of witnesses before the commissioners, at the time and place they should appoint for that purpose.<sup>3</sup>

It does not appear what proceedings were adopted by the commissioners, or the nature of the report made by them to parliament. The site of the county gaol was, however, ultimately transferred from Windsor to Reading, where it still remains.<sup>4</sup>

The king, in the ninth year of his reign, granted a charter to the men and burgesses of Windsor,<sup>5</sup> which merely recites the previous charter of the 5th of Edward I, and confirms it, together with all accustomed privileges.<sup>6</sup>

In the twelfth year of the king's reign (A.D. 1318) the same reply was given to the writ for the election of members of parliament as in 1314, but the returning officer is once more spoken of

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. i, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> "Le roi ne veut pas avoir sa gnoie en altre chatel y'en le seon." (See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.', vol. i, p. 434.)

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Pat., 8 Edw. II, pars 2, mem. 4, *dorso*.

<sup>4</sup> Lysons.

<sup>5</sup> "Homines Burgenses Burgi."

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* Cart. de anno 9 Edw. II, n. 17.

as the bailiff of the liberty of the seven hundreds of "Cokham and Braye."<sup>1</sup>

In 1319, John Forwyne and Thomas Holebode,<sup>2</sup> and in 1320, Thomas de Shaghe and Philip atte Haghe, were returned.<sup>3</sup> In 1321, John de Brympton succeeded Thomas de Shaghe,<sup>4</sup> and was himself in the next year (1322) succeeded by William Davy,<sup>5</sup> but subsequently, in the same year, the old members, Thomas Holebode and John Fordwyne, or Forwyne, were again returned.<sup>6</sup> In the two subsequent parliaments of this reign, assembled in 1324 and 1325, no returns were made for Windsor.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the burgesses of Windsor presented a petition to parliament, alleging that when, in aid of the subsidy of the farm of the king's borough there, they were entitled to receive divers customs from all vessels passing by certain places near the borough, the bargemen lately asserted that the boats and all goods passing that way were the property of the king, by which they lost their dues, and for which they therefore sought a remedy; upon which it was ordered that, although the boats should be the property of the king, and the merchandise belong to others, they should pay their dues in order that the king's farm of the said borough be not destroyed.

At the same time the burgesses alleged that Edward Earl of Cornwall formerly held in the borough certain tenements by yearly service and suit of court, which tenements had lately lapsed into the hands of the king, and had not paid the accustomed dues in aid of the rent of the borough, and they therefore sought a remedy; upon which the chancellor was ordered to issue his writ to inquire into the matter, and when it was returned the king would be advised what to do.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, part 2, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Parl., i, 383 b. Letters patent were issued in the seventh year of this reign for the collection of the royal dues for vessels passing by Windsor Bridge (Rot. Pat., 7 Edw. II, m. 14); and grants of pontage to Windsor were made in the 10th and 17th years of this reign (Rot. Pat., 10 and 17 Edw. II). See, as to the payment of dues for goods conveyed along the Thames, Madox's 'History of the Exchequer,' 2d edit., vol. i, p. 771.

Among the barons and others who were executed after the defeat of the Earl of Lancaster at the battle of Borough Bridge, fought on the 16th and 17th of March, 1322, was Sir Francis de Aldham, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Windsor,<sup>1</sup> his sentence being to be drawn for his treason and hanged for the homicides. He had the year before obtained a pardon for all felonies committed in the pursuit of the Despensers, but this pardon was subsequently revoked.

In 1323, Roger Earl of Mortimer, then under sentence of perpetual imprisonment in the Tower, formed a plan for the seizure of that fortress and those of Windsor and Wallingford, which was carried into effect as regarded Wallingford. The earl soon afterwards escaped from the Tower, and reached France in safety.<sup>2</sup>

On the 8th of August, 1324, the chancellor, Robert de Baldok, Archdeacon of Middlesex, having obtained the king's permission to return home for a time for his recreation, delivered the Great Seal to the king in Windsor Forest, where his majesty then was or the purpose of hunting; and Edward, with his own hand, on the evening of the same day, delivered the Great Seal to Ayremynne, who was then the keeper of the Privy Seal, to perform the duties of chancellor.<sup>3</sup>

In 1319, Oliver de Bordeaux, the king's valet or gentleman of his privy chamber, was appointed keeper of the castle and forest of Windsor.<sup>4</sup> He was at this time an extensive proprietor of lands and houses in the town and neighbourhood of Windsor. In 1310 permission was granted to him to hold his lands in Windsor and Eton in fee.<sup>5</sup> In the same year he was empowered to impark all his lands within the limits of the forest, and which were formerly

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed. The Earl of Lancaster was beheaded at Pomfret on the 22d of March. The barbarities attendant upon the execution of his followers, incidental to a conviction for high treason, were spared to the earl. "Because he was the queen's uncle, and son to the king's uncle, he was pardoned of all save heading." (Holinshed.)

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 17 Edw. II, p. 1, m. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vi, Pref., p. clxvi, citing 'Parliamentary Writs,' vol. ii, div. ii, App., p. 260; Rot. Claus., 18 Edw. II, m. 38 *d*. See other instances of the Great Seal being left with the king at Windsor, *ibid.*, vol. vi, Pref., pp. clvii—clix.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Orig., 13 Edw. II, ro. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Pat., 4 Edw. II.

the property of John of London, so that the same should be out of the regard of the forest, and Oliver and his heirs free from the lawing of dogs, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the following year the king granted to him in fee all the hereditaments in Old and New Windsor which formerly belonged to John of London, free from purpresture, arentations, &c.,<sup>2</sup> and, soon afterwards, all the hereditaments in Windsor and Eton which belonged to John of London and Roger de Mowbray, by the service, amongst others, of finding a man with a lance and a dart to attend the king's army, as often as and wherever it should be assembled.<sup>3</sup> In 1316 permission was granted to the same Oliver de Bordeaux to impark his wood of Foli John and Hyermere, within the bounds of the Forest of Windsor;<sup>4</sup> and in the same year the king granted to him in fee all the land and tenements of Foli John et Hyermere within the bounds of the forest.<sup>5</sup> Two years later the king granted to him in fee forty acres of waste land of Foli John, with power to inclose them;<sup>6</sup> and in 1320, all hereditaments in the town of Windsor and in Eton which belonged to Roger de Mowbray, by the accustomed services.<sup>7</sup> Lastly, the king, in 1325, granted divers hereditaments in Windsor, &c., to Oliver de Bordeaux and Matilda his wife, in tail.<sup>8</sup>

In 1326, Oliver de Bordeaux was succeeded in the keepership of the castle by Thomas de Huntercombe.<sup>9</sup> The office of the bailiwick of the castle and forest was in 1319 conferred on Ralph de Camoys,<sup>10</sup> and Humphrey de Walden was appointed seneschal of Windsor Park;<sup>11</sup> and four years afterwards Humphrey de Waleden and Richard de Skene were appointed seneschals of the parks of Windsor and of the manors of Cippenham, Langley Maries, Wyrardesbury, Fulmer, and various other places.<sup>12</sup> In the following year Humphrey de Waleden was succeeded by Richard de Wynferthyng.<sup>13</sup> The custody of the manors of Cippenham or

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 4 Edw. II, mem. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Prima Pat., 5 Edw. II, mem. 19; and see the 'Originalia,' 14 Edw. II, ro. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Secunda Pat., 5 Edw. II, m. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10 Edw. II, mem. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., mem. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Prima Pat., 12 Edw. II, mem. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 14 Edw. II, mem. 12; and see the 'Originalia,' 14 Edw. II.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 19 Edw. II, mem. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Rot. Orig., 20 Edw. II.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 13 Edw. II, ro. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., ro. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 17 Edw. II.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 18 Edw. II.

Cypenham, with the hamlet of Eton, together with the manor of Langley-cum-Wyrardisbury, had been some years before granted to Roger de Norwode.<sup>1</sup> Among the other appointments of this reign is that of Edmund de Alegate to the keepership of the castle gate.<sup>2</sup>

Lands were held by individuals, in this as in other reigns, on condition of their keeping guard at Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

Roger de Mowbray, early in this reign, granted to the king and his heirs for ever all the lands and tenements, rents and services, in Eton-juxta-Windesor, formerly held by John de Mowbray. They were at the time of the grant held under lease by Alexander the porter, at the yearly rent of sixteen marks, and this lease was confirmed by the king,<sup>4</sup> who subsequently granted these possessions to Oliver de Bordeaux.

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 6 Edw. II, ro. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 15 Edw. II, ro. 22. In the Ashmolean MSS., No. 1115, fo. 39 *a*, it is stated that "Edwarde atc Bakhouse and Rice Ketel were bailiffs of Wyndsor, 2 Edw. II."

<sup>3</sup> Escaet., 17 Edw. II, mem. 30; 19 Edw. II, mem. 54; 20 Edw. II, mem. 45; Rot. Parl., vol. i, 292 *b*.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Orig., 3 Edw. II, ro. 10.



Old Houses formerly standing opposite Eton College.

## CHAPTER VII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1327. JOHN DE L'ISLE.	A.D. 1360. RICHARD LA VACHE.
A.D. 1330. THOMAS DE FOXLE.	A.D. 1365. THOMAS CHEYNE.
A.D. 1369. HELMING LEGATTE.	

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

JOHN DE LA CHAMBRE.	WILLIAM MUGG.
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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR WINDSOR.

A.D. 1327. ROBERT PERSHORE AND THOMAS HOLBODE. WILLIAM HOLBODE AND WILLIAM ATTE GRENE.
A.D. 1328. WILLIAM MARWARDYN AND WILLIAM ATTE GRENE.
A.D. 1330. WILLIAM MARWARDYN AND JOHN DE MILDENHALL. RICHARD HORSELEYE AND ROBERT SPELMERE.
A.D. 1331. ROBERT DE PERSHORE AND JOHN LE WARINER.
A.D. 1333. JOHN LE WARINER AND JOHN DE PERSHORE.
A.D. 1335. JOHN LE WARINER AND HENRY LE WH****.
A.D. 1340. JOHN DE BRUMPTON AND PHILIP ATTE HATHE. THOMAS DE SHAGHE AND PHILIP ATTE HATHE.

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Appointment of Constable and payments to officials—Inquisitions, Writs, and Repairs connected with the Royal Residence—Confirmation of the Charter and grant of Pontage to the town—Audience of French Ambassadors—Members for Windsor—*Inquisitiones Novarum*—Institution of the Order of the Garter—Origin of the Badge—Early notices of the Order—Statutes of the Order—David Bruce, King of Scotland, a prisoner in the Castle—The King founds St. George's College—Endowment of the College and appointment of Custos—Bull of Pope Clement VI—Statutes of the College—Canons—Poor Knights—Further Endowments.

EDWARD THE THIRD, on his accession to the throne, appears to have appointed John de l'Isle constable of the castle, for in the first year of the king's reign we find he was, in the capacity of "constable," directed, out of the rents of his bailiwick, to provide the chaplains of the king's chapel with bread, wine, oil, and other necessaries for the performance of religious rites, and to account



to the exchequer for the outlay.<sup>1</sup> He was also at the same time directed to pay the following officers their respective wages and salaries to Michaelmas ensuing—viz., to Edward de Aldgate, janitor, four pence a day; to Alexander the painter and Thomas le Rotour (Thomas the Fiddler), inspectors of the king's works, two pence each per diem; to John, the gardener of the king's garden without the castle, two pence halfpenny; to four watchmen of the castle, each two pence; to Robert de Wodeham, chief forester of Windsor Forest, twelve pence; to Ralph de la More, clerk of the works in the castle, two pence; to Thomas le Parker, keeper of Kenyngton Park, one penny halfpenny, each per day;<sup>2</sup> and these directions were renewed in the following year.<sup>3</sup>

It is to be observed that John de l'Isle had at this time obtained, for life, the grant not unfrequently accompanying the office of constable, of the farm of the castle and forest, with the manors and hundreds and other things appurtenant thereto. The bailiwick of the seven hundreds of Cookham and Bray, however, which was formerly included with them, was granted to William d'Excester during the king's pleasure.<sup>4</sup> The custody of the royal manors within the king's park, and of the park itself, was moreover conferred on Thomas de Leycester, the dean of the chapel royal in the park, during pleasure;<sup>5</sup> but in the following year that office was conferred on John de l'Isle.<sup>7</sup>

John de l'Isle, in the second year of this reign, was commanded to repair and amend the houses, walls, and other buildings of the castle, and the palace and park of Kenyngton.<sup>6</sup> About the same time the sheriff of Berkshire was directed, out of the proceeds of his bailiwick, to purchase and provide one hundred and fifty quarters of wheat, one hundred and fifty quarters of malt, one hundred and fifty quarters of oats, fifteen oxen, fifty pigs, and

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 1 Edw. III, ro. 28. A formal appointment of John de l'Isle as constable during his life, on account of his services, was made in the following year. (Ibid., 2 Edw. III, ro. 8.) His previous appointment was probably during the king's pleasure.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The manor and park of Kenyngton were in the parish of Sunbury, Middlesex. (See Lysons' 'Middlesex Parishes'.)

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Orig., 2 Edw. III, ro. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1 Edw. III, ro. 4, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., ro. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 1 Edw. III, ro. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 2 Edw. III, ro. 16.

sixty-seven sheep; and to convey them to Windsor, and there deliver them to John de l'Isle, the constable, for the supply of the castle.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, the sheriff of Buckinghamshire was ordered to supply the same quantity of each of the things above specified, together with twenty thousand cut logs. The sheriff of Surrey was commanded to buy and send twenty quarters of salt, ten oxen, two thousand dried fishes, and thirty tuns of wine, for the same purpose.

In 1330, the king committed to Thomas de Foxle the custody of the castle, forest, and parks of Windsor, an appointment which was renewed three years afterwards.<sup>2</sup> In 1328 and 1331, commissions were issued to inquire into the state and condition of Windsor, and of the manor, forest, and park there;<sup>3</sup> and apparently in consequence of these inquiries, Thomas de Foxle was in the same year directed, in his capacity of constable of the castle, to repair the house, tower, walls, and bridges of the castle, and the houses and walls of the king's garden in the same place, the ponds of the king's park of Windsor, the paling and inclosure round the king's park in the same place, the houses and walls of the king's manor of Kenyngton, and the paling and walls round the king's park there.<sup>4</sup> These orders were renewed from time to time. The bailiffs and inhabitants of Windsor were about the same time directed to pay their rent of seventeen pounds to the constable, on account of the works of the castle.<sup>5</sup>

The four chaplains established by Edward the Second in 1312, at the chapel in Windsor Park, were removed by Edward the Third, in the fourth year of his reign, with the advice of his council, and joined to those attached to the chapel in the castle.<sup>6</sup> By a writ of the third year of this reign, it appears that Robert de Sutlyngton received yearly £26 13s. 4d. as the wages and stipends for himself and three chaplains performing divine service

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 2 Edw. III, ro. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 4 Edw. III, ro. 15; 7 Edw. III, ro. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 2 Edw. III, m. 19, pars ii; Inq. Post-mortem, ann. 5 Edw. III.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Orig., 5 Edw. III, ro. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., ro. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 4 Edw. III p. i, m. 19.

daily in Saint Edward's Chapel, within the king's castle of Windsor, and for two clerks assisting the said chaplains.<sup>1</sup>

A few years later the king erected dwellings in the castle for these chaplains, on the south side of the chapel,<sup>2</sup> and in 1339 he issued a writ of inquiry into the state of the royal chapel itself.<sup>3</sup>

By letters patent, granted in 1346, the thirteen chaplains and four clerks of the king's chapel in the castle were admitted to take their meals at the king's or queen's table, as often as the king or queen should stay at Windsor, and all oblations offered or brought to the chapel were granted to them.<sup>4</sup>

In 1328, the king confirmed to the men and burgesses of the borough of Windsor the charter and privileges granted to them by his father, Edward the Second;<sup>5</sup> and in 1335 pontage was granted to the town of Windsor,<sup>6</sup> and letters patent renewing this privilege occur from time to time in subsequent years of this reign.<sup>7</sup>

In 1330, the king gave audience at Windsor to certain ambassadors sent by Philip the Sixth, who had recently ascended the throne of France, to demand the homage of the English king for the duchy of Guienne. Edward had just acquired the reins of government by the execution of the Earl of Mortimer, and was at this time residing at Windsor with his young queen, Philippa. After the ambassadors had, to their great satisfaction, dined in the king's apartment, they set out for London, sleeping at Colnbrook on their way. Edward soon after went to France, and, after remaining fifteen days with Philip at Amiens, returned to the queen at Windsor.<sup>8</sup>

Windsor was at this period the chief residence of the king. Thither he returned in 1333, after his campaign in the North, and was accompanied by Robert Count of Artois, who, according to

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Lib., Easter, 3 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Claus., 11 Edw. III, m. 18. See these writs cited by Ashmole, 'Order of the Garter,' p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 13 Edw. III, pars ii, m. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 20 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See this charter recited in Rot. Pat., 3 Ric. II, pars i, m. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 9 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Vide Pat., 12 Edw. III, p. iii, m. 14; 37 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 27; 38 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 9; 47 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Froissart.

Froissart, never ceased, day or night, from impressing on the willing ear of Edward his claim to the crown of France.<sup>1</sup>

In the parliament holden at York, in the first year of the reign of Edward the Third (1327), Robert Pershore and Thomas Holbode were members for Windsor; but at the parliament holden the same year at Lincoln, William Holbode and William atte Grene were the members. In the next year, William Marwardyn and William atte Grene were returned; and the first named sat again in the parliament holden at Wynton in the fourth of Edward the Third, with John de Mildenhall; but in a parliament holden at Westminster soon after, Richard Horseleye and Robert Spelmere were the members.

In the fifth of Edward the Third, Robert de Pershore and John le Wariner were elected for Windsor; and in the seventh year of the same reign, John le Wariner was returned with John de Pershore.

In the ninth year of Edward the Third, John le Wariner was again returned with Henry le Wh\*\*\*\*.

In the fourteenth of Edward the Third (1340), John de Brumpton and Philip atte Hathe were returned. The last named was probably the same person who had represented Windsor in 1312 and 1313, and again in 1321.

In a second parliament holden the same year, Thomas de Shaghe, who appears to have sat for Windsor in the reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Second, was returned with Philip atte Hathe.

From this year until the twenty-fifth of Henry the Sixth (1446), no mention is made of the burgesses of Windsor, nor any return of members for the borough to be found.

Under the *Inquisitiones Nonarum* issued in the fifteenth year of Edward the Third, by which, and by former commissions, the parishioners of every parish found, upon their oath, the true value of the ninth part of corn, wood, lambs, and other profits, granted by parliament to the king in the preceding year, a return was made upon oath, for the borough of Windsor,<sup>2</sup> that the ninth of the

<sup>1</sup> Froissart. Barnes gives the date of 1334.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Seaccarii,' temp. Regis Edwardi III., folio 1807, p. 10.

impost or duties levied upon merchandise within the borough amounted to four marks. And that the ninth of the remainder of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs granted to the king, and produced in New Windsor and Old Windsor, amounted to the value of sixteen marks. The return made for the parish of Eton, at the same time, stated that the value of the "ninth" was fourteen marks, and no more. As this was below the amount of the taxation of churches in the reign of Edward the First, under Pope Nicholas's *valor* (the general rule of value down to the reign of Henry the Eighth), it was accounted for by the fact that thirty acres of arable land and six acres of pasture land were attached to the church of Eton, and yielded no emolument to the tax. It was also stated that there were no merchandise or chattels capable of being taxed at a fifteenth,<sup>1</sup> the rate at which merchants foreign, who dwelt not in cities nor boroughs, and other persons that dwelt in forests and wastes, and all others that lived not of their gain nor store,<sup>2</sup> were taxed.

With regard to Burnham, the church of which was taxed under Pope Nicholas, in 1291, at £30, the ninth was returned at only forty-six marks, the depreciation being thus accounted for: The rector of the church held fifty-five acres of arable land of his glebe, which were therefore profitless for the purposes of this taxation; and in the present year (1340), the produce of winter wheat in the parish was greatly overflowed and destroyed by the floods in the Thames, and at sowing time; the greater part of the sheep were destroyed by murrain, and therefore the wool and lambs were of little value; and in the higher part of the parish, called "Wodeland," there were three hundred acres and more of wild uncultivated land and moor, because the parishioners were so impoverished that they were unable to till, and that there were no people possessed of goods or chattels to be taxed at a fifteenth.<sup>3</sup>

The prevalence of mildew was alleged as the cause of diminished profits in the adjoining parish of Farnham.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Nonarum Inquisitiones,' p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. i, 14 Edw. III, c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> 'Nonarum Inquisitiones,' p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

We now approach the period of the institution of the renowned Order of the Garter; but, although the subject forms one of the most striking features connected with the early history of Windsor, it has received such minute investigation by various competent inquirers, as to render it not only unnecessary, but also inexpedient, to enter into a lengthened disquisition as to its rise and origin. It will be sufficient to state concisely the result of the latest and most complete researches.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the close of the year 1343, King Edward the Third having, in imitation of King Arthur, the imaginary founder of British chivalry, determined to hold a Round Table, he invited knights and esquires from other countries, as well as those of England, to assemble at Windsor Castle on Monday, the 19th of January, 1344. On the 1st of that month letters of safe conduct were issued, stating that, for the recreation and pleasure of military men, who delight in the exercise of arms, the king would hold hastiludes and general jousts at his Castle of Windsor, on Monday next after the ensuing feast of St. Hilary; and that, for the security of the knights and esquires of all nations and countries who might wish to come, he had taken them, their servants, and goods, into his especial protection while on their journey, during their sojourn, and on their return; which protection was to endure until the 9th of February following.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The principal works treating of this subject are Selden's 'Titles of Honour;' Heylin's 'History of St. George;' Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter;' Anstis' 'Register of the Order of the Garter;' Sir Harris Nicolas's 'History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire;' and Beltz' 'Memorials of the Order of the Garter.' The account given in the text is chiefly compiled from Sir Harris Nicolas's 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,' communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, pp. 1—163.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 17 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 2, printed in the 'Fœdera.' Froissart has given an account of the jousts; but it seems clear that he confounded the revival of the Round Table with the institution of the Order of the Garter. His words, literally translated by Sir H. Nicolas, are—"Of the confraternity of Saint George, which King Edward established at Windsor: At this time there came into the mind and will of King Edward of England that he would cause to be made and re-erected the Great Castle of Windsor, which King Arthur had formerly made and founded there, where first was begun and established the noble Round Table, of which were so many good and valiant men and knights, who went forth and toiled in arms and in prowess throughout the world. And that the same king would make an order of knights, of himself and his children, and of the bravest of his

No particulars have been brought to light respecting these tournaments beyond the corroborating facts that the king was at Windsor from the 14th until the 24th or 26th of January, 1344.

Although there can be no doubt that King Edward the Third held a Round Table at Windsor in January, 1344, and that a brilliant assemblage of English and foreign chivalry, and numerous ladies, were present, there is not the slightest evidence of his having instituted the Order of the Garter on that occasion.

On the 10th of February, 1344, about a fortnight after the termination of the jousts at Windsor, the king issued letters patent

land, and that they should be in number forty, and that they should be called the Knights of the Blue Garter, and that the feast should be kept from year to year, and should be solemnized at Windsor the day of Saint George. And to begin this feast, the king assembled, from all his countries, earls, barons, knights, and he told them his intention; and they all joyfully consented, because it appeared to them a very honorable thing, from whence all love would be nourished. Then were chosen forty knights, who by opinion and by fame were the most brave of all others, the which sealed and swore to follow and keep the feast and the ordinances, such as were then agreed to and devised. And the king caused to be founded and built a Chapel of Saint George in the Castle of Windsor, and there established canons to serve God, and most richly endowed them. Then the king sent to proclaim the feast, by his heralds, in France, in Scotland, in Burgundy, in Hainault, in Flanders, in Brabant, and in the Empire of Germany; and he gave to all knights and esquires who would come there fifteen days' safe conduct after the feast; and that they should be at this feast on the day of Saint George following, the year one thousand three hundred and forty-four, at the Castle of Windsor. And the Queen of England was to be accompanied by three hundred ladies and damoiselles, all noble and gentle ladies, and richly attired in like garments. While the King of England was making his great preparations to receive the ladies and damoiselles who were coming to the feast, news came to him from the Sire de Clisson," &c. "Now approached the day of Saint George, when the feast was to be kept in the Castle of Windsor; and there the King of England had a great array of earls, barons, ladies, and damoiselles, and the feast was most grand and noble, with good cheer and good joustings, and lasted fifteen days; and there came many knights from beyond the sea, from Flanders, from Hainault, and likewise from Brabant, but from France there was not one." Another chronicler gives this account: "And in the xix yere of his regne anon after in Janu'i byforre Lent (1345-6), the same Kyng Edward let make full nobil justes and gret festis in the place of his birth at Wyndesore, that ther was never none such seyn ther afor. At wiche fest and rialte wer ij kynges and ij queenes, the Prince of Wales, the Duk of Cornewaille, x erles, ix contesses, barons, and many burgeis, the wiche might not lightly be nombred. And of diverse landis beyond the see weren many strangers. And at the same time, when the justis wer don, Kyng Edward made a gret soper, in the wiche he ordeyned first and began his Round Tabul, and ordeyned and stedfasted the day of the Round Tabul to be holden ther at Wyndesore, in the Witson weke, evermore yerly." ('Fructus Temporum,' commonly called the 'Chronicle of Saint Alban's,' sub anno.)

for holding similar assemblies of knights at Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> which, however, were not to interfere with the assembly of the Round Table.<sup>2</sup>

In the formation of the Knightly Association of Lincolnshire, if not in that of the Round Table, the outline of the future Society of the Garter may be distinctly traced. The members were to be elected; and though they elected their chief or captain, instead of that office being vested, as in the Order of the Garter, in the king and his successors, the variation was only such as was required by the different nature of the two institutions.

The feast of the Round Table was again held at Windsor in 1345, as is shown by the account of the expenses of John Marreys, the king's tailor, for making robes and other garments for the king between the 29th of September, 1344, and the 1st of August, 1345. After mentioning the cost of making robes for the king for the feasts of All Saints and Christmas, in 1344, of robes given to the king by Queen Philippa, and by the Prince of Wales, and by several lords and knights; and for making hosen, coverchiefs, and voluperes for the king's head, these remarkable entries occur:

"For making one long and one short robe of six garniments of red velvet, for the lord the king, made, furred and purfled against the feast of the Round Table held at Windsor this year. The supertunic, short, frounced, and buttoned, furred with ermines, 14*s.*; and in wages to eight furriers working for three days, and to two furriers working for one day, to each 6*d.* per diem, working with great haste upon the skins and furriery of the same robe, made for the same feast, by the king's command, 13*s.*; for cutting and garnishing 202 tunics, with as many hoods, for the king's shieldbearer, and serjeants-at-arms, and 16 tunics, with as many hoods, for the king's minstrels, by the king's command, against the feast of the said Round Table, for each tunic, with a hood, lined, furred, and buttoned before, 10*d.*, £9 1*s.*; for making one simple tunic for the king, for the jousts aforesaid, made of black cloth, received from J. de Colon, 2*s.*"<sup>3</sup>

Then follow notices of robes for the feast of Easter, "in this present year" (*i. e.* the 27th of March, 1345), and for the feast of

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Patent., 18 Edw. III, p. i, m. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. ii, m. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, p. 6.



Pentecost (the 15th of May); and entries showing that King Edward kept his Christmas in 1344 at Woodstock; and that hastiludes were held at Windsor between Christmas, 1344, and Easter, 1345; which latter festival, as well as that of Pentecost, was kept at Marlborough.

It is evident from the minute description of the robes worn by the king at the feast of the Round Table in 1345, that the garter did not form part of its ornaments on that occasion; nor is there the slightest allusion to a garter, or to the feast of Saint George, in any part of those accounts.

The exact time of the celebration of the Round Table in 1345 is not mentioned; but it may be inferred that it took place about the 20th of March, because other records show that the king was at Windsor from the 19th to the 23d of that month; and because the entries in Marrey's accounts, respecting the robes and other dresses for those jousts, follow the entries of robes made for the feast of Christmas in 1344, and precede the costs of the robes made for Easter, the 27th of March, 1345.

Nothing has been discovered to show that the feast of the Round Table was held in 1346. In July of that year, Edward the Third invaded France, and did not return to England until the 12th of October, 1347. He was accompanied to France by his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and by the flower of British chivalry, many of whom, like the prince himself, gained their spurs in that glorious campaign.<sup>1</sup>

The return of the triumphant monarch, and of the other conquerors of Cressy and Calais, was, as might naturally be expected, celebrated by those numerous jousts, tournaments, masques, and other festivities in which the chivalry and noble dames of Edward's court delighted. On those occasions, each knight and aspirant for

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas observes that as some of those personages were among the original Knights of the Garter, the fact of their having been knighted in or after July, 1316, is of great importance, because it would, he submits, be of itself conclusive proof that the order could not have been established before that date.

There can be no doubt that all the persons chosen by the king and Prince of Wales to be knights of the new fraternity of the Garter were previously knights. The society being a knightly association, it must obviously have consisted entirely of knights, to which no one, unless actually a knight, could possibly have belonged.

knightly honours strove to excel his competitors, as much in the splendour and taste of his apparel and equipments, as in deeds of arms. It is material to remember that the encounters at tournaments and jousts consisted of two parties, the challengers and the challenged, varying in numbers from twelve to twenty, each party being led by its own chief, and all wearing precisely the same dress and ornaments. Some peculiar object was selected as the predominant symbol or badge for each joust, which was worn by all who tilted; and the members of each party were considered to belong to, and to form the companions of its leader.

These festivities were held at Windsor, Reading, Eltham, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, and Litchfield, between October, 1347, and the end of the year 1348.

The wardrobe accounts from Michaelmas, 1347, to the 31st of January, 1349, contain numerous particulars of the dresses provided on these occasions. It is to be observed that there is no previous contemporary notice found of the garter as a badge or ornament, or of the celebration of the feast of St. George at Windsor. The earliest notice of the Garter that has been yet discovered, is an entry in the above-mentioned accounts, of which the following is a translation :

“For making two streamers of worsted, one of arms quarterly, and the other of arms quarterly, with the image of St. Lawrence worked in the head,<sup>1</sup> one white pale powdered with blue garters; and for making two short streamers of the king's arms, quarterly; and for making two guidons of the same arms of the king,” &c.

The first notice of the celebrated motto of the Garter occurs subsequently :

<sup>1</sup> The combination of the Garter with religious subjects was not uncommon; and such combinations seem always to have been made from pious feelings, or for a religious object, and never from mere fancy or caprice. As Saint Lawrence the Martyr was not the patron of military men, and as his history is not in any way connected with chivalry or gallantry, the only reasonable manner of accounting for his image being placed on a streamer containing garters, is to suppose that the streamer was borne in some ceremonial on the day upon which his feast falls, namely, on the 10th of August, which in 1348 was on a Sunday, and that was the first Sunday after the date of the patent for the foundation of St. George's Chapel. Sir H. Nicolas remarks that it is not improbable that some ceremony connected with the “Society of the Garter” took place in the chapel on that day.

"And for making a bed of blue taffeta for the king, powdered with garters, containing this motto—*Long soit q. mal y pense*;" taffeta, card, thread, &c.

In another part of the account occurs what Sir H. Nicolas terms "the most important notice respecting the Garter, not only in the whole of these accounts, but the most important in illustration of the history of the order yet discovered:"

"And for making twelve blue garters, embroidered with gold and silk, each having the motto—*Long soit q' mal y pense*; and for making other things for the king's hastilude at Eltham, in the year of the king aforesaid."<sup>1</sup>

Several other robes and dresses are described as worked with blue garters. It thus appears that a garter, with its well-known motto, undoubtedly existed as a badge or device towards the end of 1347, or early in 1348.

Many facts, says Sir Harris Nicolas, concur in fixing Windsor as the place where, and the 24th of June, 1348, as the date when, the hastiludes which gave rise to the fraternity of Knights of the Garter, or the "Society of the Garter" (as it was long called), occurred, though the symbol seems to have been worn some months before. The queen gave birth to her fourth son, William, at Windsor, in May, 1348; and these wardrobe accounts show that she celebrated the feast of her purification there, with much magnificence, on the feast of St. John the Baptist in that year. Hastiludes are said, in these wardrobe accounts, to have been held at Windsor on that occasion, and on that day; and they are likewise mentioned in the accounts of the Prince of Wales. Chroniclers also state that jousts occurred at Windsor at the purification of the queen, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, when David King of Scots was present, which agrees with the notice of a robe having been given to that prince, "for the hastiludes at Windsor."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The twenty-first of Edward III, 1347-8.

<sup>2</sup> With respect to the king's previous movements, subsequent to his return from France, the dates of instruments issued by the king have been examined, but they do not afford much information. Except "Westminster" (from which nothing can be inferred respecting the place where the king was actually present), no other "teste" occurs after

The wardrobe accounts contain numerous entries of things prepared for the queen and infant prince upon this occasion. A number of tents were brought to Windsor, and a state bed was provided for the queen, and a bed and cradle, and various domestic articles for the prince and his nurse. Magnificent robes were made for the queen, and her chapel and chamber prepared for her reception.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince of Wales stood as godfather to his infant brother, William. He died when only a few months old, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

A harness of blue velvet, with a pale of red velvet, and within the said pale a white rose, was made at King Edward's charge for his prisoner, David Bruce, King of Scotland, on occasion of the

the 12th of October, 1347, on which day the king landed at Sandwich, than "Langley," on the 20th, 28th, and 31st of October; "London" on the 14th of November; "Langley" on the 18th of November; "Calais" on the 1st of December (where, however, it is very unlikely the king should have been); "Eure" on the 10th and 15th; "Chertsey" on the 21st; and "Guildford" on the 24th, 27th, and 28th of December, 1347. On the 1st, 3d, and 8th of January, 1348, Edward was at "Windsor;" he was at "Mortlake" from the 20th to the 24th of April; at "Windsor" on the 26th; and at "Lichfield" on the 1st and 6th of May in 1348.

<sup>1</sup> The accounts contain payments for a robe of blue velvet for the queen, for the virgil of her "relevagia" or "up-rising," having a mantle, cape, and an open supertunic; also a tunic worked with birds of gold, each bird being within a circle of large pearls, and the whole ground powdered with small pearl-work and silk. The number of large pearls used in this tunic was four hundred, and thirty-eight ounces of small pearls; for a robe of red velvet for the day of her said "up-rising," like the former, but the tunic was worked with oak and other trees, and in each tree a lion formed of large pearls; six hundred large pearls, sixteen pounds of gold in plate, &c., for solemnly preparing the queen's chamber for the said festival, with red sindon, beaten throughout with the letter S in gold leaf; for a mask for the queen; for a large bed for the said William, the king's son, on the said festival, of green taffeta, embroidered with red roses, figures, and serpents. In another place are entries of materials furnished to John de Zakesle for making nineteen tents of green, blue, and white, and for repairing several tents which the king brought to Windsor for the queen's "up-rising" of her son William, kept on the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, "anno regis xxij," *i. e.*, on the 24th of June, 1348. For a state bed for the queen, and for preparing the queen's chapel on the said day, kept at Windsor; for a state cradle, and for a common cradle, for the said William the king's son, and various articles for his chamber, namely, cups, saucers, spoons, and for his nurses, and for his baptism at Windsor. (See the Wardrobe Accounts in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi.) There is an entry at this period of the payment of £60 to Queen Philippa, for twelve carpets purchased for her confinement at Windsor. (Rot. Lib., 24 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 153.)

Windsor hastilude.<sup>1</sup> That monarch was taken prisoner in the battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346, and although in the first instance conveyed to the Tower of London, he was subsequently removed to Windsor, where he remained as a prisoner for eleven years. He received a daily allowance of 13s. 4d. for his maintenance.<sup>2</sup>

A doublet of green and blue velvet was also provided for Lionel, the king's son (afterwards Duke of Clarence), on the same occasion, and two pair of plates for his brothers, John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley (afterwards Dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge).<sup>3</sup>

The Prince of Wales, on this occasion, made the queen a present of a courser called "Banzan de Burgh." There is a curious list of saddles and spurs in the receipt by Sir John Brocas, keeper of the king's great horses, from the king's saddlers and spurrier. Some of the spurs were gilt and enamelled, and of eighty pair, thirty-three are expressly stated to be for the hastiludes.

As far as their sex permitted, the queen, the wives of the early companions, and a few other illustrious women, were, in fact, members of the institution; for they wore robes similar to those of the knights, placed the garter on their arm, were present at their great festivals, were sometimes described as "*Dames de la Fraternité de Saint George*," and are even expressly said to have been "received into the order." The accounts, already alluded to, contain various entries of fur and cloth for ladies' mantles, and masks or visors for them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole remarks on this fact, that "such was the nobleness of Edward the Third, that he sometimes permitted his prisoner the use and exercise of arms." ('Order of the Garter,' p. 185.)

<sup>2</sup> See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> It appears at first, from the accounts here cited, that after the hastiludes, viz., on the 18th of November, 1348, "twenty-four Garters, made for the prince, were bought, which were given by him to the Knights of the Society of the Garter;" and on the same day, "30 buckles, 60 mordants (tongues), and 60 bars were bought and given by the prince to Sir John Chandos, for his robes of the prince's livery."

On the 20th of that month, seven nouches, worked with eagles, were bought, which were given by the prince to "divers knights of his Society," and "60 buckles and 60 mordants (longues), and six bars were bought, and given to the knights of his Society, for the hastiludes of Windsor." It seems probable, however, that these dates refer merely to the day of payment, and that the Garters, &c., were obtained for the hastiludes in June. (Sir H. Nicolas, 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, p. 128.)

<sup>4</sup> At the hastiludes at Lichfield, the king's daughter Isabel, afterwards Countess of

From the preceding, and a variety of other facts, the following conclusions have been drawn :—First, That the device of the garter was not adopted before the year 1346 ; because no notice of a garter occurs in accounts of precisely the same kind, relating to exactly the same subjects, and kept by the same person, before 1346, as those in which it is mentioned after that year. Secondly, That, although the exact time when garters were first issued out of the great wardrobe cannot be fixed, it must nevertheless have been after the 12th of October, 1347, and before the 31st of January, 1349 ; because they are stated to have been made for the king's own robe, and evidently while he was in England ; because he was abroad from July, 1346 to October, 1347 ; and because the accounts, in which garters are first mentioned, terminate in January, 1349. Thirdly, That the motto, "*Hony soit qui mal y pense*," was adopted at the same time as the garter, and always formed part of that device or badge. Fourthly, That the garter and motto were originally designed, not as the badge and motto of an order of knighthood, in the modern sense of the term, but, like numerous other fantasies, as an ornament to be worn at joust or tournament. Fifthly, That the garter and motto seem to have been first worn as a device at jousts towards the end of 1347, or early in 1348. Sixthly, That the device, having become a favorite symbol, was again worn at *hastiludes*, at Windsor, in June, 1348, when it gave the name to a society, consisting of the king, the Prince of Wales, and of twenty-four other knights, which society undoubtedly existed in or before the month of November in that year. Seventhly, That the actual institution of the Order of the Garter, as a regular and perpetual order of knighthood, took place between the *hastiludes* held at Windsor on the 24th of June, and the foundation of Saint George's Chapel on the 6th of August, 1348, the interval having probably been occupied in carrying the design into effect.

The twenty-six original Knights of the Garter, elected on this occasion, are stated to have been—1. The Sovereign, Edward the

Bedford, and six ladies of high rank, and twenty-one other ladies, took a conspicuous part in the festivities. The ladies wore coats and hoods of the same materials and colours as the knights, together with various masks and visors.

Third. 2. The king's son, Edward Prince of Wales. 3. The king's second cousin, Henry Earl of Lancaster and Derby (afterwards Duke of Lancaster.) 4. Thomas Beauchamp, third Earl of Warwick. 5. John de Greilley, Capitow de Buche.<sup>1</sup> 6. Ralph second Lord Stafford (afterwards Earl of Stafford). 7. William Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury. 8. Sir Roger Mortimer (afterwards second Earl of March). 9. Sir John Lisle (afterwards Lord Lisle of Rougemont). 10. Sir Bartholomew Burghershe (afterwards Lord Burghershe). 11. Sir John Beauchamp (a younger brother of Thomas Earl of Warwick). 12. John Lord Mohun of Dunster. 13. Sir Hugh Courtenay. 14. Sir Thomas Holland (afterwards Earl of Kent). 15. John Lord Grey of Rotherfeld. 16. Sir Richard Fitz-Simon. 17. Sir Miles Stapleton. 18. Sir Thomas Wale. 19. Sir Hugh Wrotesley. 20. Sir Nigel Loryng. 21. Sir John Chandos. 22. Sir James Audley. 23. Sir Otho Holland (a younger brother of Sir Thomas Holland). 24. Sir Henry Eam. 25. Sir Sanchete d'Ambricourt. 26. Sir Walter Paveley.<sup>2</sup>

The king himself took part in these jousts, "having for his device," says Ashmole, "a white swan, gorged or, with this daring and inviting motto, wrought upon his surcoat and shield,

" Hay hay the white swan  
By Gods soul I am thy man."<sup>3</sup>

At the tilting, the prize of the field was adjudged to the Earl of Ewe.<sup>4</sup> His success on this occasion is stated to have cost him his life. Having permission, soon afterwards, to return to France on

<sup>1</sup> Engraved by mistake, on the plate in the stall of the chapel, "*Piers Capitow de la Bouch.*" (See Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter;' Barnes's 'Life of Edward III,' p. 297.)

<sup>2</sup> Beltz's 'Order of the Garter;' Sir Harris Nicolas's 'Orders of Knighthood.' Sir H. Nicolas remarks that, in consequence of the dearth of contemporaneous and satisfactory evidence of the proceedings relative to the Order for several years after its institution, the generally received list of the first founders may be erroneous. ('Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, pp. 134, 135.)

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole. See the Wardrobe Accounts, 'Archæologia,' pp. 43, 122. It does not appear, however, from these accounts, on what particular occasion the king used this motto. Another motto used by the king, and figured on his dress, was, "IT IS AS IT IS!"

<sup>4</sup> Stowe.

his parol, in order to negotiate for the ransom of himself and others his countrymen, he spoke favorably of Edward the Third to John King of France, who in consequence caused the earl to be imprisoned and beheaded.<sup>1</sup>

After the festivities at Windsor, the captive strangers passed their time in hunting with the king and the "nobles of the realm," at Claringdon, near Salisbury, and in various other forests.<sup>2</sup>

Thus was instituted the Order of the Garter, which, says Selden, "exceeds in majesty, honour, and fame all chivalrous orders in the world," and has "precedence of antiquity before the eldest rank of honour of that kind any where established."<sup>3</sup>

Since Selden wrote, however, a great change has taken place in the habits, manners, and tastes of the country. Although the "Garter" is still one of the highest marks of distinction that the sovereign can bestow on a subject, the ceremonies of installation, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries excited so much interest and popular admiration, have fallen into disuse, as involving great individual expenditure without any corresponding public advantage.

With respect to the origin of the remarkable badge of a blue garter, embroidered with the motto, "*Hony soit q' mal y pense*," it is desirable, in the first place, to observe that the popular translation of those words, "Evil be to him who evil thinks," is altogether erroneous, the true meaning being, "Dishonour," or "Be he disgraced who thinks ill of it."<sup>4</sup>

The annals of the institution, the chroniclers of the time, and the public records, do not afford the slightest information on the subject; and, although some writers on the order have treated with contempt the romantic incident to which its extraordinary symbol has been ascribed, they have neither succeeded in showing its absurdity nor suggested a more probable theory.<sup>5</sup> The popular account is, that, during a festival at court, a lady happened to drop

<sup>1</sup> Knighton; Froissart; Barnes' 'Life of Edward III.'

<sup>2</sup> Stowe.

<sup>3</sup> Selden's Illustrations or Notes upon Drayton's 'Polyolbion,' song 15.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas, 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, p. 130. See Puttenham's 'Arte of English Poesie,' 4to, 1589, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, p. 131.



her garter, which was taken up by King Edward, who, observing a significant smile among the bystanders, exclaimed, with some displeasure, '*Hony soyt qui mal y pense*'—'Shame to him who thinks ill of it.' In the spirit of gallantry, which belonged no less to the age than to his own disposition, conformably with the custom of wearing a lady's favour, and perhaps to prevent any further impertinence, the king is said to have placed the garter round his own knee.

This anecdote is perfectly in character with the manners and feelings of the time, and the circumstance is very likely to have occurred. With a few variations as to the name of the lady—some writers stating her to have been the queen, others the Countess of Salisbury, and others the Countess of Kent,—and with the addition that she was Edward's mistress, the anecdote is certainly as old as the reign of King Henry the Seventh.<sup>1</sup>

The principal grounds upon which this explanation of a garter having been made the device of the order has been rejected, are that it would be derogatory to the institution, and absurd in itself, to suppose that so trifling an occurrence should have induced Edward the Third to create a distinguished fraternity, partaking more of the character of religion than romance; that its statutes and annals are silent on the subject; that it is not mentioned by Froissart; and that, as no peculiar duties or homage towards the female sex were imposed on the knights, "not so much as obliging

<sup>1</sup> It is thus related in the contemporary translation of Polydore Virgil:—"The cause of the first institution of this Order is as yet in doubt. Among the ruder sorte, the sayenge is as yet that the kinge, on a time, tooke vpp from the grownde the gartere of the queene, or some paramowre, which she before hadd loste; and diuers of his lordes standinge bie did pulle it in sonder in ieste, and strove for the peaces thereof, as men are wonte sometime for a jewell of small importance, insomutehe that the kinge sayde unto them, 'Sirs, the time shall shortlie come when yee shall attribute muche honor unto suche a garter;' whearvppon he didd institute this Ordre, and so intituled it, that his nobles might vnderstand that they hadd caste themselves in their owne judgement. This is the vulgare opinion; but the English Cronicles (beinge somewhat shamefaced, and fearing leaste they shoulde disbase the kinges regall maiestie if they shoulde seeme to make minde of anie suche obskewer matter) rather thoughte goodd to leave it cleane vntowched, as thowghe it hadd never earste beene seene, that a thinge which sprange of a vile and small principle shoulde arise to great encrease and highe dignitie." (British Museum, MS. Reg. 18, C. VIII, ix, 193; see also Holinshed, ed. 1589, vol. I, p. 159)

them to defend the quarrels of ladies, as the rules of some Orders then in being, enjoined, it is obvious that the Order had not such a feminine institution."

These objections are by no means conclusive. In attributing the symbol of the order to such a circumstance, it does not follow, nor is it pretended, that it was the primary or only cause of the institution. If, as is beyond a doubt, Edward had previously determined to form a knightly band, in imitation of the Round Table of King Arthur, and had not fixed upon a particular ensign by which it should be distinguished, he may reasonably be supposed to have adopted one, arising indeed from accident, but felicitously suited to his purpose. A garter has always been associated with sentiments of gallantry; and to wear a lady's favour, her glove, her riband, or anything which belonged to her, was a common practice of the age; and this token or "emprise" was regarded with feelings of which posterity has no adequate comprehension.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas, '*Archæologia*,' vol. xxxi, p. 132. There are two other accounts of the adoption of the garter, but Sir H. Nicolas observes that they almost disprove themselves, and have been rejected by the best authorities.

One is founded on an anecdote of Richard the First, and is thus narrated by Ashmole: "That while his forces were employed against Cyprus and Acon, and extremely tired out with the tediousness of the siege, he, by the assistance and mediation of St. George (as imagined), was inspired with fresh courage, and bethought himself of a new device, which was to tie about the leg of a chosen number of knights, a leathern thong or garter (for such had he then at hand), whereby being put in mind of the future glory that should accrue to them, with assurance of worthy rewards if they overcame, they might be roused up to the behaving themselves gallantly and stoutly in the wars, much after the manner of the ancient Romans, among whom were various crowns, with which, for several causes, soldiers were adorned; to the end that by those encouragements all sluggishness being shaken off, the virtue and fortitude of their minds might spring up and appear more resolute and vigorous. That after a long interval of time, and divers victories obtained by him, the said king returning into his country, determined with himself to institute and settle this most noble order of St. George, on whose patronage the English so much relied." (Ashmole's '*Order of the Garter*,' p. 181.)

The other account relates to Edward the Third, and is cited by Ashmole from Camden's '*Britannia*':—"Having given forth his own garter for the signal of a battle that sped fortunately (which, with Du Chesne, we conceive to be that of Crecy, fought almost three years after his setting up the Round Table at Windsor, rather than, with the author of the '*Nouveau Theatre de Monde*,' that of Poitiers, which hapned above seven years after the foundation of the order, and whereat King Edward was not present),

Sir Harris Nicolas remarks that "it is particularly deserving of attention that nothing is recorded of the Feast of the Round Table at Windsor, nor of the annual meeting of the Knights of Lincolnshire, after King Edward's return from France in October 1347; and that the construction of the new fraternity of the Garter bore a close resemblance to the former associations. It was divided, like the tilters at tournaments, into two bands, each consisting of twelve knights, at the head of one of which bands was the Sovereign, and of the other the Prince of Wales; and to the companions belonging to each chief, stalls were assigned in Saint George's chapel, the knights belonging to the sovereign being placed on the one side of the chapel, and those of the prince on the other. The perpetuity of the institution, too, was an imitation of the design of the Round Table and of the association of Lincolnshire: admission into both depended on the free election of the members; and it would consequently appear that both these fraternities or associations were merged in, or were superseded by, the newly-created Order or Society of the Garter."

It is to be observed, however, that a "Round Table," made of oak, was constructed at Windsor some time before December 1356, for in that year the Prior of Merton was paid £26 13s. 4d. in full satisfaction of money due for fifty-two oaks, taken from his woods near Reading, for the Round Table at Windsor. The oaks were carried to Westminster, for the king's workmen there.<sup>1</sup>

the victory (we say) being happily gained, he thence took occasion to institute this order, and gave the garter (assumed by him for the symbol of unity and society) preeminence among the ensigns of it, whence that select number, whom he incorporated into a fraternity, are frequently stiled *Equites aureæ Pericelidis*, and vulgarly, *Knights of the Garter*." (Ibid., p. 183.)

Mr. Beltz adopts the opinion, "that the garter may have been intended as an emblem of the tie or union of warlike qualities, to be employed in the assertion of the founder's claim to the French crown; and the motto as a retort of shame and defiance upon him who should think ill of the enterprise, or of those whom the king had chosen to be the instruments of its accomplishment. The taste of that age for allegorical conceits, impresses, and devices, may reasonably warrant such a conclusion." (Beltz's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 47.)

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, Mich. 30, Edward III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 164. Mr. Poynter refers to this payment as evidence that the festivities alluded to were con-

Ashmole says that immediately after the termination of the jousts in January 1344, the king "caused to be impressed carpenters, masons, and carriages, for erecting a particular building in the castle, and therein placed a table of two hundred feet diameter, where the knights should have their entertainment of diet at his expense of £100 a week, to which building he gave the name of the 'Round Table.'<sup>1</sup> By this means he associated to himself, from most parts beyond the seas, the prime spirits for martial valour, and gained the opportunity of engaging them on his side in the ensuing war."

The few authentic notices of the Order of the Garter for the ten years subsequent to 1348 are thus stated by Sir Harris Nicolas:<sup>2</sup> "For the year 1349 nothing whatever is preserved. If, as may be confidently presumed, the Order was completely established between the 24th of June and the 6th of August, 1348, the feast of St. George was probably first celebrated at Windsor on St. George's Day, 1349, which opinion is strongly supported by the testes of some letters patents, showing that, though the king was at Langley on the 22d of April, he was certainly at Windsor on St. George's Day; and, as he returned to Langley on the following day, it may be inferred that he went to Windsor on the 23d of April with a particular object.

"In 1350, a robe of cloth of gold, called 'nak,' was made for the king for the feast of St. George; and, according to Stowe, who

tinued as late as that year, but it is possible that the table may have been made some years before.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole cites the Patent Roll, 18 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 30, as his authority for the statement as to the pressing the workmen; and Walsingham, sub anno 1344, edit. 1579, for the statement as to the table. The writs for pressing workmen are printed in the 'Feodera.'

Holinshed, citing Walsingham, refers the sum to the cost of the building rather than to the maintenance of the knight's table. "The expenses of this work amounted, by the week, first unto one hundred pounds; but afterwards, by reason of the war that followed, the charges were diminished unto two and twenty pounds the week (as Thomas Walsingham writeth in his larger book entitled, 'The History of England,' or, as some copies have, unto 9 pounds)."

<sup>2</sup> In consequence of the loss of the wardrobe accounts of a similar kind to those previously cited, from January, 23d of Edward III, 1349, until the 34th of Edward III, 1360, very little is known of the order during the first eleven years of its existence, though they were perhaps the most interesting in its annals.

(after giving a very incorrect list of the original knights) cites Thomas de la More as his authority, adds in the margin, 'The first Feast of St. George,' and says, 'All these (the companions), together with the king, were clothed in gowns of russet powdered with garters blue, wearing the like garters also on their right legs, and mantles of blue, with scutcheons of St. George. In this sort of apparel they, being bare headed, heard mass, which was celebrated by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter; and afterwards they went to the feast, setting themselves orderly at the table, for the honour of the feast, which they named to be of St. George the Martyr, and the choosing of the Knights of the Garter.'

"In the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, 1351, the feast of St. George was celebrated with much splendour, and it was in this year that the earliest notice occurs of the delivery of robes to the knights, the late clerk of the great wardrobe having been paid £160 towards making twenty-four robes, with ten cloaks powdered with embroidered garters, and twelve standards of worsted of the king's arms for the chapel of Windsor.

"There are also charges in the same accounts for a robe and tunic, which was given by the king to Sir Thomas de Bradeston; for a robe of red velvet, embroidered with 119 circles, which was given to the Lady Isabel, the king's daughter, for the feast of St. George; for ten escutcheons of the arms of the king and prince, to place on a dorsor of velvet at Windsor, for the said feast; for a surplice of the 'Annunciation,' for William Mugge, dean of the free chapel at Windsor; and for various copes and other things for the altar of the said chapel."

For the year 1352, only two notices of the order have been found. On the 26th of March, twenty-sixth of Edward the Third, 1352, the sum of £2 2s. 8d. was paid to messengers sent to "magnates" in different parts of England, with "letters of St. George," being, evidently, summonses to attend the feast on the 23d of April; and that the feast was actually celebrated is proved by Queen Philippa having made her offering at the celebration of high mass on that occasion.

"In the year 1353, the feast was kept at Windsor with great

magnificence; and the following references to it show that more than one of the original companions had died before that year :

- ‘In oblations, distributed at the high mass celebrated in presence of the king, on the feast of St. George; and at one mass for the brothers of the order deceased . . . . . vj.s. ix.d.
- In oblations of our lord the king, at the high altar, in the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, on the vigil of the said saint . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.
- In like oblations of our said lord the king, to the relics in same chapel, on the same day . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.
- In oblations of our said lord the king, at the mass *de requie* for the brothers of the said order deceased, namely, on the morrow of St. George . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.’”

“The record of the payment, on the 16th of November, 1353, of the messengers who had been sent to summons the knights to the feast in that year, is remarkable from its proving that there was then a seal of the order. The letters sent by those messengers are described as ‘Letters of the Seal of Saint George directed to all Knights of the Order of Saint George to come to Windsor;’<sup>1</sup> and the letters sent on the 21st of January, for the ensuing feast in 1354, are said to have been ‘under the Seal of the Garter.’<sup>2</sup>

“For the years 1354, (except the summons to the feast just mentioned), 1355, 1356, and 1357, nothing whatever relating to the Order of the Garter has been discovered.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Devon’s ‘Issues of the Exchequer,’ p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> The seal of the order, as it appears in a cast now in the British Museum, is thus described by Sir Harris Nicolas, in the ‘Archæologia,’ vol. xxxi, pp. 140, 141, where a woodcut of it is given. “The kneeling figure appears to be intended for Edward the Black Prince, because the label in his arms is of three points, and is not charged. He is evidently adoring the Trinity (though the dove is not introduced), and the Father seems to be seated on a rainbow, with his feet on a terraqueous globe. Behind him is an angel, who holds his helmet and crest; and above him is a shield of the arms of France and England quarterly, with a plain label of three points, which is held by another angel. He is in armour, and wears a surcoat of the same arms, and the whole is surrounded with a garter, containing the words—*Hony soyt ke mal y pence.*”

<sup>3</sup> Sir H. Nicolas, ‘Archæologia,’ vol. xxxi, pp. 135-138.

After the institution of the Order of the Garter, the king, says Ashmole, "did most prudently devise and institute several statutes and ordinances to be duly observed and kept within the said order; which, being collected into one body, are called the Statutes of Institution."<sup>1</sup>

We must now revert to the foundation of the College of St. George within the chapel. The following is a translation of Edward the Third's letters patent for that purpose, bearing date at Westminster, on the 6th day of August, in the twenty-second year of his reign, A.D. 1345.

Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all, who shall see these present letters, greeting.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 191. The original statutes composed in Latin were ordered to be safely kept within the treasury of the College of Windsor (Edw. III, Stat. Act 27); but Ashmole, writing in 1670, speaks of them as having "long since wholly perished." He adds that there is a transcript of them recorded in the reign of Henry the Fifth, at the beginning of the old book, called 'Registium Ordinis Chartaceum;' a copy of which he gives in the Appendix to the 'Order of the Garter,' as well as "two ancient exemplars" of the statutes, one furnished to Ashmole "by favour of the late Lord Hatton," and the other transcribed from the Black Book of the Orders. Henry the Fifth added other provisions to these statutes, causing the whole to be translated into French, and transcribed on a roll. "This roll was ordained to issue out henceforth to the knights'-companions under the common seal of the order (Act 27). In after times it was transcribed into books; and by a decree passed an. 37, H. 7, an original book of these statutes and institutions, fair written, was to be laid up in the College of St. George; and the scribe or register to have transcript of it in readiness to present the elected knights withal." As to the existing Records of the Order, see Beltz's 'Order of the Garter,' Appendix, p. 408.

Henry the Eighth "reformed" and made several necessary and expedient additions to the statutes, the original whereof being signed and sealed, was commanded to be carefully laid up in the treasury of the College at Windsor, there to remain to succeeding times; "notwithstanding which," says Ashmole, "it hath not been seen there these many years past." "This body of statutes was compiled in Latin, and is recorded in the Black Book of the Order. It was translated into French and English by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, knight, then garter king-of-arms. The English version is that which hath been since delivered (instead of the former statutes) to all succeeding knights'-companions according to the injunction, but of late times appointed to be sent to foreign princes, and other elect knights abroad, sealed with the great seal of the order, affixed to a label of blue silk and gold. When this book hath been delivered to a knight-companion at the sovereign's charge, the knight's executors are obliged to send it back to the College of Windsor, and there to deliver it to the custos or register of the order." In addition to these sets of statutes, there was another drawn up and published anno 7 E. 6, but repealed by Queen Mary. With respect to the orders and decrees made in chapter from time to time, see Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 198—201.

It becomes the majesty of a king to delight always in acts of piety, that when he shall stand before the tribunal of the Most High King (with whom there is no acceptance of persons, but every one shall receive according to what he hath done in the body, whether it be good or whether it be evil) he may be able to stand among the good on the right hand, and not be condemned with the reprobates, as a slothful and unprofitable servant. We truly, with grief of heart carefully remembering the various labours of our life, and our own small deserts, as also rightly considering the divine favours shewed unto us, and the graces and honours wherewith, above others, the Most High hath prevented us, do greatly repent of those goods, which being granted us by God, we have above measure so often vainly expended. And there remains nothing else for us to do, but only that unto Christ and his Mother, the glorious Virgin, who hath never failed to defend us, but has hitherto, by her blessed prayers, protected us, when we were set in many dangers, we wholly convert our mind, and give unto him thanks for his favours, and ask pardon for our offences. And because it is a good way of merchandise, whereby, with a happy bartering, transitory things are exchanged for eternal, we have caused a certain chapel of convenient beauty, for eight secular canons, situate within our Castle of Windsor, wherein we were washed with the water of holy baptism, magnificently begun to the honour of St. Edward the Confessor, by our progenitors, to which (canons) for their sustentation they allowed a certain sum of money at their pleasure, and gave it them for alms, out of their exchequer, to be finished at our royal charge, to the honor of God Almighty, and of his Mother the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the Saints, George the Martyr and Edward the Confessor. And earnestly desiring and effectually endeavouring that the said canons, being there to serve the Lord, may be augmented, as well with an increase of revenues, as in the number of other canons, ministers, and servants; and that in the said chapel the glory of the divine name may be exalted with greater worship, unto the aforesaid eight canons we think fit to superadd one *custos* presiding over them, and fifteen other canons more, and twenty-four poor knights, impotent of themselves, or inclining to poverty, to be perpetually maintained of the goods of the said chapel, and other ministers of the said chapel, perpetually serving Christ, under the command of the said *custos* (or warden), and there cause to be received, as well the canons and knights, as other ministers of the said chapel, as is premised; (and this) we firmly decree, inviolably ordain, and by our royal authority, as much as in us lies, establish for ever. Willing that the said canons and ministers perform divine offices for us, and our progenitors and successors, in part of satisfaction for those things, whereof in the last judgment we



are to give an account, they being to celebrate for ever, according to the form of our ordination thence more fully to be made: unto whom the rights of patronage and the advowsons of the churches of Wyrar-desbury, in the diocese of Lincoln, Southtanton of Exon, and Uttoxater of Coventry and Lichfield, which we have lately purchased for that cause, for us and our heirs, we have given and granted, and do give and grant, to have and to hold, to them and their successors, for free, pure, and perpetual alms, altogether free and quiet for ever from all secular exaction.<sup>1</sup> We have also granted unto them, for us and our heirs, and given leave that they, the warden and canons, may appropriate the said churches, and hold them so appropriated to their own uses, to them and their successors for ever, notwithstanding the statute set forth concerning lands and tenements not to be put to mortmain. We will also, that unto the said warden, canons, knights, and other ministers of the said chapel there to serve, so much be paid every year out of our exchequer, as, together with the profits arising from the said churches, shall seem sufficient and honest for their diet, and the support of the burthens incumbent on them, according to the decency of their condition the meanwhile, until there shall be provided by us, in goods immoveable, lands, benefices, or rents, to an agreeable sufficiency, and to our honour, to the sum of a thousand pounds yearly: all which we promise and undertake for us, and for our heirs effectually to fulfil. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the vi. of August, in the year of our reign of England xxii., and of France ix.”<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the foundation of the college by these letters patent, the king appointed John de la Chambre, custos of the Chapel of St.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole says, “As for two of these advowsons, namely, Uttoxater and Southtanton, ’tis to be doubted there was afterwards discovered some defect in the king’s title to them, and that the right of patronage lay rather in Henry Earl of Lancaster, and Thomas Earl of Warwick: for the 18th June, anno 23 Edw. III, the king granted special license to Henry Earl of Lancaster that he should give and assign to the custos and chaplains of the Chapel of St. George’s in Windsor, and their successors for ever, the advowson of the Church of Uttokeshatre, it being there said to be of the earl’s proper patronage; and the like license to Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, for assigning to them the advowson of the Church of Southtanton, that being of his patronage also. The king gave special license likewise to receive these advowsons from these earls, and to appropriate them to the use of the college.” Ashmole, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 22 Edw. III, pars. 2, m. 6. See Ashmole’s ‘Order of the Garter,’ pp. 152—167, and copy of these letters patent in Dugdale’s ‘Monasticon,’ and also in the Appendix to ‘Ashmole.’ The translation in Barnes’s ‘Life of Edward III,’ has been followed.

George.<sup>1</sup> He held the office for a few months only, when he was succeeded by William Mugg.<sup>2</sup>

In July, 1350, the sum of £80 was paid to William Mugge, chaplain of the king's chapel at Windsor, in money paid to Thomas Cheiner, of London, in discharge of £140, lately due to him for a vest of velvet, embroidered with divers work, purchased by him for the chaplain.<sup>3</sup>

The title of "Custos" was continued to the last year of the reign of Henry the Fourth, when that of "Dean" was substituted.<sup>4</sup>

As the king's authority did not extend to the institution of religious persons and other officers to perform and attend the service of God, this power being vested in the Pope, Edward requested Clement the Sixth to grant to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester the authority and power of ordaining and establishing the college. Thereupon the Pope, by his bull dated at Avignon, on the 30th day of November, A.D. 1351,<sup>5</sup> commending the pious purpose of the king in this matter, granted to the archbishop and bishop, full power to ordain, institute, and appoint in this chapel, as should seem good to them, a certain number of canons, priests, clerks, knights and officers, continually to attend upon the service of God, of which canons and priests one should have the title of custos, and preside over the rest.

On that day twelvemonth, namely on the 30th of November, 1352, the statutes and ordinances of the college bear date, being made by virtue of the Pope's authority, the king's command, the consent of the Bishop of Salisbury (in whose diocese the chapel is situated), and of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury. By which statutes the Bishop of Winchester, one of the Pope's delegates did ordain and institute a college within the Chapel of St. George, by the name of "the College or Free Chapel of St. George, within the Castle of Windsor," consisting of one custos, twelve secular canons,

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 22 Edw. III, p. 3, m. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 23 Edw. III, p. 2, m. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Lib., 24 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> See Ashmole, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> A copy of this bull is inserted in Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' and also in the Appendix to Ashmole.

thirteen priests or vicars, four clerks, six choristers, and twenty-six alms-knights, beside other officers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, pp. 152, 153. Edward the Third, by his charter dated the 6th of March, in the 27th year of his reign (Cart. de anno 27 Edw. III, m. 6, n. 14), granted the college "several profits, privileges, and immunities," which are curious, not only as showing the privileges of the new corporation, but as exhibiting the various liabilities with which estates not so privileged, were incumbered. They are thus narrated by Ashmole.

"That the custos and canons and their successors should for ever be free from payment of any aid, for making the eldest son of any king of England a knight, and for marrying his eldest daughter: as also of all aids to the king, contributions, and tallages.

"That whensoever the clergy of this realm, or of the province of Canterbury or York, should give a tenth or other imposition, out of their spiritualities; or the commons of England should give a tenth or fifteenth or any other tax out of their temporalities or moveable goods; or that the king and his heirs should cause his own demain to be taxed; or that the pope should impose any tax or imposition upon the clergy of this realm, and give the same to the king and his heirs; this college with all its lands and possessions should be wholly freed thereof.

"That they should be free from any charge of arraying soldiers, for the service of the king and his heirs; and from sending them for the custody of the sea coasts, and from every fine or composition for the same.

"That their houses, as well as those within the Castle of Windsor, as elsewhere, should be free from any livery of the king's stewards, marshals, purveyors, officers, and servants; and from the like officers of the queen's, or any of their children, or of the peers or nobles. And that the said officers should not intermeddle there, without the leave of the custos and canons and their successors.

"That no duke, earl, baron, or nobleman, nor any stewards, marshals, escheators, sheriffs, coroners, bailiffs, or officers, nor any other person of what condition soever, should, upon any colour, lodge or stay in the house of the custos or canons, without their consent.

"That they the said custos and canons, and their tenants, should for ever be free from payment of toll, paviage, picage, barbicanage, terrage, pontage, murrage, passage, paige, lestage, stallage, tallage, carriage, pesage, and from scot and geld, hidage, scutage, working about castles, parks, bridges, walls for the king's houses, and from suits to the county, or hundred court, and wapentakes, court leets, murder, and common americiaments, whether they should happen before the king or any of the justices of the bench, or justices itinerant, or other justices whatsoever, and from every other like custom.

"That they should have within their lands and fees, the chattels of all felons and fugitives, and seize them to their own use.

"That they should have all fines for trespasses, and all other contempts and misdemeanors, fines, pro licentia concordandi, and for all other causes.

"That they should have all americiaments, redemptions, issues, and forfeitures whatsoever, annum, diem, vastum, &c., streppum, and all things which might belong to the king and his heirs thereupon.

"That they should have wrecks, waifs, and strays, within all their lands and fees.

"That no purveyance of corn, hay, horses, carts, carriages, victuals, or any goods,

### The duties of the canons, vicars, clerks, alms-knights and minis-

chattels, or anything whatsoever, should be taken by any of the king's officers or ministers, in or upon any of their lands, or the lands of any of their tenants.

"That they should be free from the payment of any pension corrody, or other sustentation, to be granted by the king, his heirs, or successors.

"That they should have free-warren in all their domain lands wheresoever, and that although they lay within the bounds of the king's forest.

"That they should have a weekly market, to be held on Wednesdays, at their Manor of Ewre, in Buckinghamshire; and two fairs, to endure for eight days, viz., on the eve and feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul, and for two days next following: and upon the eve and feast day of St. Peter ad vincula, and two days following, with all liberties and customs to the said market and fairs belonging.

"That they should enjoy all their lands, with the liberties of *soc* and *sac*, infangthef, utfangthef, and view of frankpledge; with thewe, pillory, and tumbrel, for punishment of malefactors; and power to erect gallows upon their own soil, for execution of such malefactors as should fortune to be apprehended within their jurisdiction.

"That they should be freed and discharged from all suits and pleas of the forest, and of all charges or fees, which the justices or other officers of the forest might demand; and from expeditation of their dogs, and suits of court there.

"That they should be free from gelds, dane-gelds, knight's-fees, payments for murder and robbery, building or repairing of bridges, castles, parks, pools, walls, sea-banks, causeways, and inclosures; and of all assizes, summons, sheriff aids, their bailiffs, or officers, carrying of treasure, and of all other aids; as also from the common assessments and americiaments of the county and hundred, and all actions relating to them.

"That they should be freed from the payment of ward-penny, aver-penny, tithing-penny, and hundred-penny, and discharged from grithbrech, forstall, homesoken, blod-wite, ward-wite, heng-wite, fight-wite, leyr-wite, lastage, pannage, assart, and waste of the forest, so that such waste and offences be not committed in the forests, woods, or parks of the king, his heirs, and successors; and if it should happen so to be, that then reasonable satisfaction, without imprisonment or grievous recompense, should be accepted.

"That they should have return of all writs and attachments as well relating to the pleas of the crown, as other, throughout all their lands or fees; and that no sheriff, bailiff, or other officer, should make any execution of such writs there, unless in default of the custos and canons and their successors.

"That they should have and hold leets and law days, for all within their lands and fees.

"That they should have cognizance of all pleas betwix their tenants, as well of trespasses and contracts, as others, in their own courts.

"And lastly, That they should have and hold wards, reliefs, escheats, forfeitures, and other profits, issues, and emoluments whatsoever, within their own fees, from all their tenants, which might belong to the king or his heirs, and which the king might receive by reason of those fees, in case they were in his own hands, as if the tenants did hold of him or others in capite of the crown." (Ashmole, pp. 176—178.)

It appears by a bull of Clement the Sixth, dated Avignon, the 12th of February, in the ninth year of his papacy, that at the desire of the founder this pope exempted the chapel, college, canons, priests, clerks, alms-knights, and officers, of the college, from all ordinary jurisdiction, dominion, and superiority of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons,

ters of the college is continually and personally to attend upon the service of God in the Chapel of St. George.<sup>1</sup>

The number of the canons by the letters patent of foundation, was twenty-four (viz. twenty-three canons and one custos), but, by the statutes of the college, they were increased to twenty-six (viz. a custos, twelve secular or major canons, and thirteen priests or minor canons. The poor knights also were in like manner increased from twenty-four to twenty-six.

The precise number of twenty-six is supposed, with some reason, to have been determined upon as corresponding with the number of the Knights Companions of the Garter.<sup>2</sup>

The first canons were presented by the knights of that order, each of the first five and twenty knights being permitted, by the sovereign's favour, to present a canon.<sup>3</sup> In the same way the first poor knights were presented,<sup>4</sup> the subsequent presentation to both bodies being reserved to the royal founder and his successors.

The intention of the king, with regard to the poor knights, was to provide relief and comfortable subsistence for such valiant soldiers as happened in their old age to fall into poverty and decay.<sup>5</sup> The objects of this charitable foundation are described in

and all other judges and officials; and received them within the protection of the papal see. And further granted—That the custos for the time being should have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the canons, priests, clerks, alms-knights, and officers, and their successors, as also the cure of their souls; notwithstanding any papal constitution, statutes, customs, whether provincial or synodical, or other whatsoever to the contrary. Willing, nevertheless, that the custos should receive the cure of their souls from the diocesan of the place. And in consideration of this exemption and privilege, the custos was obliged to pay annually, on St. George's day, one mark in silver to the pope's chamber. A copy of the Bull is inserted in Dugdale's 'Monasticon.'

These exemptions were included in the confirmation of liberties made by Edward the Third, in a charter dated the 20th of February, in the forty-seventh year of his reign. (Ashmole, citing Cart. de an. 47, Edw. III.)

Among other rights and privileges exercised by the dean and canons in their jurisdiction (the precincts of the chapel), were those of proving wills, excommunication, and the granting dispensation to themselves for eating flesh in Lent. (Ashmole, p. 176.)

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, citing the Preface to the Statutes of the College.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole. See also Sir H. Nicolas' 'Observations on the Institution of the Order of the Garter,' 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, pp. 125—27.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole, citing art. 4 of the Statutes.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., art. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., citing art. 6 of the Statutes.

the letters of foundation, to be poor knights, weak in body, indigent, and decayed.<sup>1</sup>

The king subsequently endowed the college with the advowsons of Datchet and Ewre, in Buckinghamshire; Riston, in Norfolk; Whaddon and Caston, in Cambridge; Symondsburn, in Durham;<sup>2</sup> and Saltash, in Cornwall; and with lands at Wraydesbury; the manor of Ewre, near Weybridge; the manor of Craswell, in the parish of Bray; and a weare in the River Thames called Braybrok, together with lands in the same parish with their appurtenances, conveyed to the king by Sir John Philibert;<sup>3</sup> and also a wood called Temple Wood, at Stoke Pogis. The whole annual value of these and other lands and moneys granted to the college were estimated at £655 15s.<sup>4</sup>

Edward the Third also gave the college, for the use of the custos and canons, a piece of ground in Windsor, and also a garden there for the use of the alms-knights, vicars, clerks, choristers, and other officers of the college.

Independently of these royal endowments, grants were made to the college in this reign by private individuals, comprising amongst others the parsonage of Langley Maries, in Buckinghamshire.

The most remarkable grant, however, was one by the corporation of Yarmouth, in the twenty-sixth year of the king's reign, of a last of red herrings yearly, well dried and cleansed. "It was at the instance of the founder, Edward the Third, that the bailiffs and

<sup>1</sup> A similar qualification is inserted in the statutes of institution of the Order of the Garter, and repeated in the statutes of the order made in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Henry the Eighth. The original statutes of the college, as well as the orders of Queen Elizabeth, moreover provided "that in case there should happen to fall to any of the alms-knights either lands or rents, by succession or any other way, to the yearly value of twenty pounds or more, then such knight should immediately be removed from the college, and made incapable of receiving any profits or emoluments thence, and another alms-knight preferred in his place." (Ashmole.)

<sup>2</sup> The advowson of Symondsburn was surrendered by the college, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, to the Duke of Gloucester. (Ashmole.)

<sup>3</sup> Philberts, near Bray, where Nell Gwynne resided, evidently derives its name from Sir John Philibert, or one of his family.

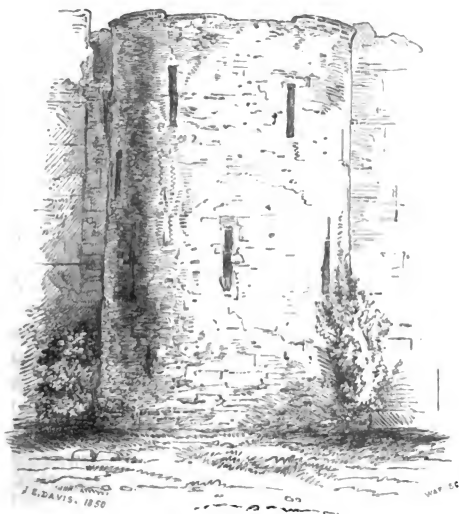
<sup>4</sup> The endowments of the college in the reign of Edward the Third (independently of the grants mentioned in the king's letters patent of foundation) are enumerated in detail by Ashmole, in his 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 167—169, and copies of several of the letters patent are inserted in Dugdale's 'Monasticon.'

commonalty of Yarmouth," says Ashmole, "granted to the college (the 1st of April, 26th Edw. III), under their common seal, a last of red herrings yearly, well dried and cleansed, to the end they might take this corporation into their prayers. But some say it was enjoined them as a penance for murdering a magistrate among them."<sup>1</sup>

Among the charges against the canons, exhibited to the Privy Council by the poor knights of Windsor, in the reign, apparently, of Henry the Seventh, stands the allegation, that "the said chanons embesill and withdrawe yerely a last of heryng."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmol. MS., No. 1166.



The Garter Tower

## CHAPTER VIII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

*(Continued.)*

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Enlargement of the Castle—Progress of the Works—John, King of France, a prisoner at the Castle—Appointment of William of Wykeham as Surveyor of the Castle Works—Feast of St. George in 1358—Progress of the Works—Impressment of Workmen—Ravages of the Plague—Resignation of William of Wykeham—Traditional Story—Subsequent Works—Expenditure on the Castle—Painting of the Round Tower, externally—Architectural Character of the Works—Existing Traces—Grants and Exchanges of Land by the King—Commission of Inclosure—Various minor Grants and Appointments during this reign—John de Molyns—Petition of Robert Lamberd—Visits of the King to Windsor—Marriage of the Black Prince to the Princess Isabella—Death of Queen Philippa—Return of the Black Prince—Petition of Watermen as to Exactions at Windsor Bridge—Evidence of the Castle as a Prison—Writing of Italian Prisoners on the Walls.

ALMOST contemporaneously with the establishment of the Order of the Garter, and the foundation of the College of St. George, Edward the Third took measures for the enlargement of the castle nearly to its present extent.

Down to this period, the castle occupied, as has been previously observed, the site of the present middle and lower wards, there being little or no building east of the keep or Round Tower.

The foundation of the college, and the institution of the Order of the Garter, necessarily required additional accommodation within the walls of the castle for the residence of the custos, canons, and other officers of the college, and the periodical accommodation and entertainment of the guests attending the feasts and ceremonies of the order. The lower ward was by degrees almost wholly appro-



priated to the college, and the king proceeded to the erection of a new ward, or *domus regis*, eastward of the keep.

According to a tradition which has been preserved, it was the suggestion of the Kings of France and of Scotland, who were prisoners together at Windsor during part of the years 1356-7, that induced Edward the Third to extend the castle in that direction. "The two higher wards were builded by Edward the Third, certainly, and upon occasion, as is reported, of his victory against the French king, John, and the King of Scots, David, both of them prisoners at one time in the old Castle of Windsor, as is said; where being visited by the king, or riding together with him, or walking together in that ground where the two wards be now, as a parcel of his park, the strangers commending the situation, and judging the castle to have been better built in that place than where it was, as being on higher ground, and more open to see and to be seen afar off, the king approved their sayings, adding pleasantly, that it should so be, and that he would bring his castle thither, that is to say, enlarge it so far with two other wards, the charges whereof should be borne with their two ransoms, as after it came to pass."<sup>1</sup>

A new chapel, with houses for the *custos* and canons, was begun very shortly after the first foundation of the college.<sup>2</sup>

In the twenty-third year of his reign (A.D. 1349), the king appointed John Peynton surveyor of the works,<sup>3</sup> and in the following year he appointed Richard de Rotheley to the same office, which he appears to have held once before.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, in the same year, William de Hurle and William de Herland received this appointment.<sup>5</sup> John de Sponlee was at the same period appointed master of the stone-hewers; and all sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs were commanded to assist him in pressing as many masons and artificers as were necessary, and conveying them to Windsor

<sup>1</sup> Stowe, Harl. MS., 367, f. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter; Ashmole.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 23 Edw. III, pars i, m. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 24 Edw. III, p. i, m. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 24 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 21, *dorso*.

to work at the king's pay, and to arrest and imprison all who should disobey or refuse.<sup>1</sup>

In 1350, the king assigned John de Alkeshull to seize in the kingdom of England, as well by land as by water, in whatever places should seem fit to him, as well within liberties as without, stone, wood, coal, timber, lead, glass, iron, and tiles, and other necessities for the king's works in his Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, and the Castle of Windsor, and obtain the carriages for their transmission.<sup>2</sup> This commission was renewed in the following year.<sup>3</sup>

In the twenty-fifth year of the king's reign, Robert de Benham was appointed surveyor of the works.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, James de Dorchester, the deputy-constable of the castle, was appointed to control the works of the chapel, and the materials provided for them, and all payments on account of the same.<sup>5</sup> "And to the end," says Ashmole, "this great undertaking might be honestly and substantially performed, the king assigned John Brocas, Oliver de Burdeux, and Thomas de Foxle, jointly and severally, with all care and diligence (at least together once a month), to survey the workmen and their works, and to encourage such as did their duty competently well, but to compel others that were idle and slothful."<sup>6</sup>

Two years afterwards, John de Alkeshull and Walter Palmer were severally commissioned to provide stone, timber, lead, iron, and all other necessities for the work, and to impress carriages for their conveyance to Windsor.<sup>7</sup> And about the same time the king appointed his clerk, Robert de Bernham, surveyor of the works in the castle, with power to obtain as many carpenters and other workmen as should be necessary to carry on the works, wherever they could be found, with the proviso, however, that ecclesiastical lands, and the royal works and workmen at Westminster, the Tower, and Dartford, should not be interfered with. He was also

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, citing Pat., 24 Edw. III, p. i, m. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Rot Orig., 24 Edw. III, ro. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 25 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole, citing Pat., 25 Edw. III, p. i, m. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., citing Pat., 25 Edw. III, p. i, m. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., citing Pat., 27 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 2, *dorso*, and Pat., 28 Edw. III, p. i, m. 20.

empowered to inquire if the timber and other materials were carried away or removed, and to purchase and provide all necessities for the works, and to sell the branches and other spare stuff of the trees provided for them, receiving for his own wages twelve pence a day while resident at the works, and two shillings while travelling about on the king's business, and three shillings weekly for the wages of his clerk.<sup>1</sup> In this year occurs the payment of £13 6s. 8d. to John, a canon of St. Catherine's, the king's picture-painter; money delivered to him for painting a picture, which the same John was commanded to paint by the lord the king, with images, for the chapel in Windsor Castle.<sup>2</sup>

In 1355, John de Alkeshull and William de Frenshe were ordered to provide timber, stone, tiles, and other necessities for Windsor Castle, as well as for the Palace of Westminster and the town of Calais.<sup>3</sup>

In 1356, John King of France, who, together with his son Philip, was taken prisoner at Poitiers, and at first placed in the Palace of the Savoy, was soon afterwards removed, with all his household, to Windsor Castle, "where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased, in that neighbourhood, as well as the Lord Philip, his son. The rest of the French lords remained at London, but they visited the king as often as they pleased, and were prisoners on their own parole of honour."<sup>4</sup>

The Kings of France and of Scotland were now prisoners at Windsor. In November, 1357, the Scotch king was ransomed, and rode home to Scotland with his queen, Johanna, the sister of Edward the Third.<sup>5</sup>

In 1356, the renowned William of Wykeham received the appointment of surveyor of the king's works at the Castle and in the Park of Windsor.<sup>6</sup> He was at this time styled "Clericus," but no ecclesiastical preferment was conferred upon him until the following year. A few months before his appointment to Windsor

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 27 Edw. III, r. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 27 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Orig., 29 Edw. III, ro. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Froissart.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 30 Edw. III, pars 3, m. 21.

he was made clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henly and East-hampstead.<sup>1</sup> This appointment is dated the 10th of May, 1356. That of surveyor at Windsor bears date at Westminster, the 30th of October following.

The following curious entry of a payment made to him on the 20th of August, in this year, proves that he was at Windsor some time before the date of his appointment as surveyor.

"In money paid by William of Wykeham, for the keep of the king's eight dogs at Windsor, for nine weeks, taking for each dog three farthings per day; and for the wages of a boy to keep the said dogs during the same time, 2*d.* per day, £2 11*s.*"<sup>2</sup>

William of Wykeham was at this period thirty-two years of age. By his patent he had power to press all sorts of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and all other materials, and carriages. His salary was one shilling a day while he staid at Windsor, two shillings when he went elsewhere on his employment, and three shillings a week for his clerk.

These were the same sums as were allowed to Robert de Bernham, and which had been, in the first instance, granted to Richard de Rotheley.<sup>3</sup> On the 13th November, in the following year, William of Wykeham received a grant from the king of one shilling a day, payable at the exchequer, over and above his former wages and salary.<sup>4</sup>

A document of this year indicates the empty state of the royal purse. William of Wykeham, together with John Brokas and Edmund Rose, were directed to take twelve of the best beasts and horses in the king's park, and sell them.<sup>5</sup> Similar commissions were issued three years later in respect of several royal parks besides Windsor, the proceeds being expressly directed to be paid to William of Wykeham on account of the works at the castle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat., 30 Edw. III; Tanner, cited in Louth's 'Life of Wykeham.'

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Lib., 30 Edw. III; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole, citing Rot. Pat., 25 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 11, and 24 Edw. III, p. i, m. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Pat., 31 Edw. III; Tanner, cited in Louth's 'Life of William of Wykeham.'

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Orig., 31 Edw. III, ro. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 34 Edw. III, ro. 5, 6, 7.

On the 10th of July, 1359, being at this time Prebend of Flixton, in the church of Lichfield, and Rector (although not in possession) of Pulham, in Norfolk, William of Wykeham was constituted chief warden and surveyor of the king's castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadlam, and of the manors of Old and New Windsor, Wychemere, Foli John, Eton, and of several other castles, manors, and houses, and of the parks belonging to them; with power to appoint all workmen, to provide materials, and to order everything with regard to building and repairs; and in those manors to hold leets and other courts, pleas of trespass, and misdemeanors, and to enquire of the king's liberties and rights.<sup>1</sup>

William of Wykeham appears to have previously resigned his former office, for, in 1358, William de Mulso was appointed surveyor of the works in the castle.<sup>2</sup> Nearly at the same time that Wykeham received the appointment of chief warden and surveyor, Geoffrey de Carleton obtained the office of keeper of all the mason work in the castle.<sup>3</sup>

The narration of the progress of the works must be interrupted to notice the Feast of St. George, which was held at Windsor on the 23d of April, 1358, "in more sumptuous manner than ever had been kept before."<sup>4</sup>

In the beginning of the year, the king issued his royal proclamation throughout all England, that all knights, strangers from any part of the world, should have his letters of safe conduct to pass and repass the realm at their pleasure, for the space of three weeks, without the least impediment or danger, there to partake, every one according to his degree and merit, of those honours and prizes which attended the princely exercise of jousts and tournaments.<sup>5</sup>

The feast was held with unusual splendour, chiefly in honour of the French king and others of the nobility of France there present. The Duke of Brabant, Sir Frank van Hull, Sir Henry Eam of

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 33 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 20; Ashmole; and Louth's 'Life of William of Wykeham.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 32 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 33 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>5</sup> Barnes, citing Knighton, and MS. in Bibl. C. C. C., Cantab.

Flanders, and many great lords and knights of Germany, Gascony, Scotland, and other countries, attended. The Queen of Scotland, who also came to England with her royal husband, on a visit to Edward the Third, and many other great ladies, as well of England as of other nations, came to Windsor, to this feast, in their gayest and richest apparel.<sup>1</sup>

Of this feast, the King of France is reported to have said in scorn, "That he never saw so royal a feast, and so costly, made of tallies of tree, without paying of gold or silver."<sup>2</sup>

The following extracts from the royal accounts furnish some particulars of the payments made on this occasion :

"A payment to Queen Philippa of £500, as a gift from the king, for the preparation of her apparel against the Feast of St. George, to be celebrated at Windsor."

"To divers messengers and runners sent into various parts of England with letters, under the privy seal and signet, directed to several lords and ladies, inviting them to the Feast of St. George, at Windsor, 47s. 11d."

"To Walter Norman and his twenty-three fellows, for the carrying of oats to Windsor, about the time of St. George's Feast, 13s. 4d."

"To William Volaunt, king of the heralds, in money issued to him of the king's gift, for his good services at the said feast, 66s. 8d."

"To Hautrin Fitz-Lebbin and his twenty-three fellows, the king's minstrels, for their services at the said feast, £16."<sup>3</sup>

William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury and Marshall of England, was so bruised at the jousts or tournament held on this occasion, that he died, says Holinshed, "the more was the pity, within eight days after."<sup>4</sup>

This Earl of Salisbury was the husband of the countess whose

<sup>1</sup> Barnes.

<sup>2</sup> Harleian MS., No. 367. The allusion was evidently to the mode of raising money by means of tallies or notched wood, given to the lender as a voucher or security for repayment. Another anecdote is, that the king, expecting by a high ransom to pay something toward these vast profusions, said, merrily, that he never saw nor knew such royal shows and feasting without some after-reckoning for gold and silver. (Barnes, citing a MS., Bib. C. C. C., Cantab.)

<sup>3</sup> See Beltz's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed, citing 'Additions to Adam Merimuth and Trivet.'

name is commonly associated with the institution of the Order of the Garter, as previously mentioned.

The suits of armour worn by King John and King David, on the occasion of this festival, are still preserved.<sup>1</sup>

The imprisonment of the King of France at Windsor was not a close one. He appears to have had considerable liberty; but soon after the above festivities, it was discovered that he had sent private letters into France, contrary to his engagement, and thereupon he was confined a little more closely, and removed to Hertford Castle,<sup>2</sup> and the following year to Somerton Castle, and ultimately to the Tower, where he appears to have remained until the treaty of 1360, Philip, his son, being with him the whole time.<sup>3</sup>

Previously to the departure of John, on the completion of the treaty which gave him his liberty, he rode with the Prince of Wales from London to Windsor, to pay a visit to the queen, and having received many great and splendid entertainments from the king, he returned again to London.<sup>4</sup>

The works at Windsor Castle were now in full operation, and the greater part of them were executed between 1359 and 1374.<sup>5</sup>

The alterations did not consist entirely of additions to the castle. Many good structures, we are told, were thrown down.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the feast, or of the Order of the Garter, in the 33d and 34th years of Edward the Third (A.D. 1359 and 1360), there is no account in any chronicle, nor any other notice whatever. From that time, however, the series of Wardrobe Accounts, in which not only the robes prepared for the Knights of the Garter, who were expected to attend the Feast of Saint George, are mentioned, but in which their names are given, is tolerably complete. (Sir Harris Nicolas, in *'Archæologia,'* vol. xxxi, p. 139.)

<sup>2</sup> Barnes says "Hereford," but it must be a misprint or mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Barnes, citing Dugdale, Holinshed, Knighton, and Ashmole.

<sup>4</sup> Barnes. On the return of the French king to England, in consequence of his inability to comply with the terms of his ransom, he does not seem to have visited Windsor, but to have remained in the Savoy until his death.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter.

<sup>6</sup> *'Continuatio Chronicæ Ranulphii, per Johannem Malverne, ab an. Dom. 1326 ad an. 1394,'* MS. in Biblioth. Coll. Corp. Christ., Cantab., cited in Louth's *'Life of Wykeham.'* According to this chronicle, it was the suggestion of Wykeham that induced the king to enlarge the castle:—"Circa annum Domini 1359, Dominus Rex ad instigationem Wilhelmi Wykeham, clerici, in Castro de Wyndeshore multa bona ædificia fecit prosterni, et alia plura pulchra et sumptuosa ædificari; omnes fere lathonii et carpentarii

It has been suggested that these were the buildings of the middle (then the upper) ward, and that probably the last remains of the *domus regis* of Henry the First, including perhaps the keep, disappeared at this time, for the latter had certainly been rebuilt (previous to the alterations by Sir Jeffry Wyatville) at some period, and most probably in this reign.<sup>1</sup>

In 1360, the woods at Farnham, belonging to Lord Furnival, were purchased by the king, for the purpose of supplying timber for the works.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year, writs, bearing date the 14th of April, were issued to the sheriffs of London and twelve counties, commanding them to impress the best diggers and hewers of stone, to the number of three hundred and sixty in all, and to send them to Windsor by the Sunday next after the Feast of St. George, at the furthest, there to be employed at the king's wages, so long as was necessary. The sheriffs were also commanded to take sufficient security from the workmen not to depart from Windsor without the licence of William de Wykeham, who was directed to return such securities into the Court of Chancery.<sup>3</sup>

The necessity for impressing workmen seems to have been the result of the parliamentary legislation of this reign. In consequence of the ravages committed by the plague, labourers had become comparatively scarce, and, as a necessary result, wages increased. By an act of parliament, known as the Statute of Labourers,<sup>4</sup> passed in 1349, an attempt was made to force a reduction, by setting a price upon labour of various descriptions,

per totam Angliam ad illam ædificationem fuerunt adducti, ita quod vix aliquis potuit habere aliquem bonum lathonium vel carpentarium nisi in abscondito propter regis prohibitionem. Fuerat autem dictus Wilhelmus Wykeham de infimo genere, ut puta, ut dicebatur, servilis conditionis; tamen fuit multum astutus, et vir magnæ industriæ. Videns qualiter possit regi placere et illius benevolentiam adipisci, consuluit regi dictum Castrum de Wyndeshore taliter sicut hodie patet intuenti ædificare."

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Rolls, 34 Edw. III.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 34 Edw. III, m. 34. The number of men to be supplied were thus apportioned:—London, 40; Essex and Hertford, 40; Wilts, 40; Leicester and Worcester, 40; Cambridge and Huntingdon, 40; Kent, 40; Gloucester, 40; Somerset and Devon, 40; Northampton, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Stat. 23 Edw. III, c. 1.



and also upon poultry. A master carpenter was limited to three pence a day, and a common carpenter to two pence.

Richard la Vache was this year appointed constable of the castle during life.<sup>1</sup>

In 1361, William de Mulso was appointed clerk of the works in the Castle of Windsor and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> About the same time, John de Ronceby was appointed controller of Windsor and other castles.<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of many of the workmen, who were impressed as above mentioned, having secretly left Windsor, in order to work for other persons at higher wages, and the works at the castle being consequently retarded, writs were directed in 1362 to the sheriffs of London, commanding them to make proclamation prohibiting any person, whether clerk or layman, from employing or retaining any of the men, on pain of forfeiting all their goods; and also commanding the sheriffs to arrest such as had so run away, and commit them to Newgate.<sup>4</sup>

The power to issue commissions for levying persons or things necessary for the king's service, was for many years a branch of the royal prerogative, and still exists in the impressment of seamen.<sup>5</sup>

The plague, which had committed the most fearful ravages throughout England in 1348, carrying off one third of the people,<sup>6</sup> appears to have visited Windsor at this period; and in consequence

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Orig., 34 Edw. III, ro. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 35 Edw. III, p. iii, m. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., m. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Claus., 36 Edw. III, m. 36, *dorso*.

<sup>5</sup> 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 43. This step of forcing men to work for the king at certain wages offers a contrast to the proceedings of the workmen employed in building the queen's new palace at Westminster. A number of these workmen struck for wages in the winter of 1841, and, having nothing to do, availed themselves of the vacant seats in her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, as affording a place of shelter and repose. Here they might be seen from day to day, enjoying the comfortable temperature of the court, undisturbed by any fear of writs or other compulsory process to force them to return to their work. The difference with respect to the liberty enjoyed by the people of the nineteenth century and those of the fourteenth, is strongly marked by these parallel cases.

<sup>6</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 172.

of a great number of the workmen at the castle dying of it, other writs were issued, 30th of March, 1362, to the sheriffs of the counties of York, Derby, Salop, Hereford, Nottingham, Lancaster, and Devon, commanding them, under a penalty of two hundred pounds each, to send to Windsor able and skilful masons and diggers, to the number in all of three hundred and two, to be there on Sunday, the Utas of Easter, at latest.<sup>1</sup>

In this year (1362) William of Wykeham, now in full orders, and loaded with preferment, resigned his appointment, and was succeeded by William de Mulso,<sup>2</sup> who was also an ecclesiastic, and a canon of the new College of Windsor.<sup>3</sup> Wykeham, in the following year, received the higher lay appointment of warden and justiciary of the king's forests on this side Trent.<sup>4</sup>

A traditional story, connecting Wykeham with Windsor Castle, may be mentioned here. It is narrated that Wykeham inscribed on the interior of one of the walls these words, "*Hoc fecit Wykeham.*" The phrase offended the king, who translated it as an assumption, by the architect, of the credit of erecting the whole structure, that is to say, as meaning, "Wykeham built this." On remonstrating with him, Wykeham explained that the words did not mean that he made the building, but that the building made him, his employment in the works leading to his present promotion, an explanation that satisfied Edward.

The earliest written narrative of this story is given by Archbishop Parker in his work, "*De Antiquitate Britanniae Ecclesiae.*"<sup>6</sup>

Bishop Lowth rejects the anecdote as deserving but little atten-

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole. The number of men to be furnished by each county was as follows:—York, 60; Derby, 24; Salop, 60; Hereford, 50; Nottingham, 24; Lancaster, 24; Devon, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Louth's '*Life of Wykeham*,' citing Kennett's '*Paroc. Antiq.*,' p. 497.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. The following is the archbishop's account:—"Quidam narrant Wickhamum extructa arce Windsorina, in interiori quodam pariete hæc verba, quæ Latine tam apposite et facete exprimi nequeunt, inculpisse: *This made Wickham—Hoc fecit Wickham.* Quæ locutio in Anglicana lingua, quæ casibus raro discriminatur, tam ambigua est; ut incertum sit, utrum is arcem, an arx eum effecisset. Hoc regi a calumniatoribus quibusdam in ejus invidiam ita delatum est; quasi Wickhamus omnem extructi ædificii laudem sibi arroganter vendicaret: Quod cum rex iniquo animo tulisset, eique probrose objecisset; non sibi tam magnificæ regique structuræ laudes, sed structuræ suas

tion, and standing upon "no other foundation than some popular tradition."<sup>1</sup>

The only confirmation that the story receives is from the fact, that one of the towers of the castle bears the name of the Winchester Tower, a name which it is generally supposed to derive from the above circumstance.<sup>2</sup> No trace of the inscription, however, could be discerned in the walls of this or any other part of the castle when the alterations were effected in the reign of George the Fourth, and it is more probable that the tower acquired its name from being assigned, during the festivals and ceremonies of the Order of the Garter, as a residence of the Bishop of Winchester, for the time being, prelate of that order.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Jeffry Wyatville, however, perpetuated the anecdote by affixing the words, "*Hoc fecit Wykeham*," on the ashlar work of the tower.

The superintendence and control of William of Wykeham appears to have been something more than nominal, and that he

*dignitates commoditatesque ascripsisse dixit. 'Nec ego, inquit, hanc arcem, sed hæc arx me effecit, et ab ima conditione ad regis gratiam, opes atque dignitates exexit.' Cum hoc responso adversariorum calumniam vitasset, opibus et potentia crevit indies."* See also Bayle, in loco "*Wicam*," citing '*Historica Descriptio vitæ Wicam*.'

<sup>1</sup> '*Life of Wykeham*.'

<sup>2</sup> The Winchester Tower is on the north side of the castle, and east of the deanery. As restored by Sir Jeffry Wyatville, its irregular outline forms, from many points of view, one of the most picturesque objects in the whole castle.

In Hoffnagle's view of Windsor, in Braun's '*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*,' which is the earliest known representation of the castle, the Round Tower, or keep, is marked as the Winchester Tower, and certainly, assuming the story to be true, the reverend architect would naturally place such an inscription on the centre and principal tower of the structure. Camden's description, however,—in which he says, "between both courts runs a hill, on which stands a round tower; near it is another high tower, called Winchester Tower, from William Wickham," &c., and a similar description by Stowe (Harl. MSS., No. 367),—together with the evidence of Hollar's views and the known accuracy of that artist, lead to the inference that the name has been wrongly assigned in Hoffnagle's view. A passage in Fuller's '*Worthies of England*' seems at first to convey the contrary impression:—"In this palace," says Fuller, "most remarkable, the hall for greatness, Winchester Tower for height, and the terrace on the north side for pleasure, where a dull eye may travel twenty miles in a moment." At that period, however, the Round Tower had not the superiority in height over the other towers that it now has; on the contrary, the tower now known as the Winchester Tower appears from Hoffnagle and Hollar's views to have been considerably higher, measuring from the foundation of each.

<sup>3</sup> See Ashmole's '*Order of the Garter*,' p. 237.

was in reality an excellent architect. Windsor was not the only spot where his talents were employed in that capacity. We are told that he also had the "sole direction of the building of Queensborough Castle: the difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, and the lowness of the situation, did not discourage him from advising and undertaking this work, and in the event they only served to display more evidently the skill and abilities of the architect."<sup>1</sup>

The bishop retained an affection for Windsor to the end of his life. By an indenture between him and Thomas Butiller the dean, and the chapter of Windsor, dated 29th May, 1402, William of Wykeham, desiring a memorial of himself in the chapel, as well in life as after death, gave £200 to provide twenty marks yearly for one chaplain, in addition to the number already existing, to pray for his soul and the souls of Edward the Third, his father and mother, and other patrons of the bishop.<sup>2</sup> The grant seems to have been made several years earlier, for among numerous other instances of lax conduct charged and proved against the dean and chapter in the next reign, is one that the donation of £200 by the bishop was lost.<sup>3</sup> It was probably recovered, and the found deed prepared in 1402, to guard against any subsequent misappropriation.

In 1363, some portion of the building seems to have been advancing towards completion.<sup>4</sup> Henry de Stanmere and John Hampton were employed to buy glass, wherever it could be obtained throughout the kingdom, and to press glaziers to work at the king's wages, twenty-four to be conveyed to London to work there, and twelve to Windsor, to be employed in the castle.<sup>5</sup> A great number of other workmen were also pressed this year for the works, as well as carriages for stone and timber.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Louth's 'Life of Wykeham,' citing MS. Coll. Winch. The king had other works in progress—Conway, Henley, East Hampstead; St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster; and King's Hall (afterwards part of Trinity College), Cambridge. These, as well as Windsor, occupied his attention after the cessation of war in 1365.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1115, f. 1. See also No. 1125, f. 37 b.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, Chapter X.

<sup>4</sup> Poynter.

<sup>5</sup> Pat., 37 Edw. III, p. i, m. 28; *ibid.*, m. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, m. 12 and 29.

The expenditure upon the works, which had gradually increased during the last three years, amounted for the first half only of this year to £3802 17s. 8d., of which £932 was paid for lead.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year (1364) Nicholas Bernard was appointed surveyor of the works in the Castle and Park of Windsor for life.<sup>2</sup> In this year the whole expenditure amounted only to £3031 9s. 9d.<sup>3</sup>

Much of the stone employed in the buildings was obtained from the quarries of Wellesford, Helwell, and Caseby,<sup>4</sup> Heseleberg, and Demelby,<sup>5</sup> and Melton.<sup>6</sup>

In the thirty-ninth year of the king's reign (A.D. 1365) a payment occurs of £13 6s. 8d. to John, a canon of St. Katherine's, the king's painter, for making a table, whereon images were painted, for the chapel in Windsor Castle;<sup>7</sup> and another to John de Lyndesay of £20, in part payment of £50, which the king commanded to be paid him for a certain table with figures, purchased from him by the king, for the Chapel of St. George.<sup>8</sup>

In this year, Thomas Cheyne was appointed constable of the castle for life.<sup>9</sup> He also received the appointment of parkership of the Great Park.<sup>10</sup>

In the fortieth year it may be presumed that some other portion of the building was ready for roofing, since £600 was paid for lead. The whole charge this year was £4076 9s. 9d., besides a sum of £1671 2s. 1d., which seems to have been in arrear. There is also a payment of £6 13s. 4d. to William de Lindesay, a carver of wooden images in London, in discharge of ten marks, which the king commanded to be paid him of his gift, as a reward in addition to a former sum paid him, for making a certain table with

<sup>1</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Rolls, 37 Edw. III, p. i. The second part of this roll is missing.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 38 Edw. III, p. i, m. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Rolls, 38 Edw. III.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 37 Edw. III, p. i, m. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 38 Edw. III, p. i, m. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 39 Edw. III, p. i, m. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Rot. Lib., 39 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Rot. Orig., 39 Edw. III, ro. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Rot. Pat., 39 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 29.

images of wood, for the chapel in the new works within the Castle of Windsor, and for the carriage of the table from London to Windsor;<sup>1</sup> and another of £13 17s. to William de Burdon, the king's painter, for a great tablet for the altar. In the same year, Adam de Hertynghdon, who, like his predecessor, was an ecclesiastic and canon of Windsor, became clerk of the works in the place of William de Mulso,<sup>2</sup> who had been appointed one of the chamberlains of the receipt of the exchequer, an office to which Adam de Hertynghdon was also promoted in 1370, though without vacating his former employment.

In the accounts for the year 1366, mention is made of several colours and varnish, and gold leaf, for the use of William Burdon the painter, who was at work upon the painting of a tower called *LA ROSE*, for one hundred and twenty-three days and a half;<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat., 40 Edw. III.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Roll, 40 Edw. III. The appointment of Adam de Hertynghdon was "clerk of the king's works, as well within as without the king's Castle of Windsor, and in the king's manor within Windsor Park, and also in the manors and lands of Wythmere, Folie John, Easthampstead, and Cold-kenyngton, and of the palings and other inclosures made as well round the new park of Windsor, called Wythemere, as the old park, and in the parks of Easthampsted and Coldkenyngton." (Rot. Orig., 39 Edw. III, ro. 20.)

<sup>3</sup> Emp' colorum.—Idem comput' in xij. lb. de vertegres, empt' de Johanne Glendale, pro picturâ ejusdam Turris vocat' la Rose, pret' lb. xij. d.—xij. s. Et in xvij. lb. rub' plumb' empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. xvij. d.—xxvij. s. Et in lxxij. lb. albi plumbi empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. vj. d.—xxxij. s. vj. d. Et in vij. lb. vermeloñ empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. ij. s.—xvj. s. Et in l. lb. de Broun empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. ij. s.—xij. s. vj. d. Et in vj. lb. de vernyssh empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. viij. d.—iiij. s. Et in iii. lb. de verniss' empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. vj. d.—xvij. d. Et in m. liij. c. auri benevoli empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. viij. s.—iiij. li. iiij. s. Et in xxij. lagen' olei empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. lagend ij. s.—xliij. s. Et in vij. lb. asure de Wys empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus, pret' lb. iiij. s.—xxj. s. Et in j. quart' j. lb. de Synople empt' de eodem Johanne, pro prædictis operibus in gross.—x. s.

Vadia Pict'.—Idem comp' in vad' Willielmi Burdoñ-pictor operant' ibidem super picturâ unius Turris vocat' la Rose, per cxxij. dies di' infra tempus prædictum cap', per diem xij. d.—vj. li. iiij. s. vj. d. Et in vad' v. Pictor' operant' ibidem quilibet, per lxxvij. dies infra tempus prædictum quolibet cap., per diem viij. d.—xij. li. xvj. s. viij. d. Et in vad' ix pictor' operant' ibidem quilibet, per evij. dies infra tempus prædictum quolibet cap', per diem, vj. d.—xxiiij. li. xvij. d. Et in vad' v. pictor' operant' ibidem quilibet, per lxxv. dies di', infra tempus prædictum quolibet capient', per diem v. d.—vij. li. xvij. s. iiij. d. ob.

during part of that time he had several inferior painters at work under him. A considerable quantity of materials was required for their use, sixty-seven pounds of white lead, twelve pounds of verdigris, eighteen pounds of red lead, and eight pounds of vermilion, one pound of brown and seven pounds of blue, altogether about a hundred-weight of colour, and for which twenty-two gallons of oil was required; also one thousand four hundred leaves of gold, six pounds of fine varnish, and three pounds of inferior varnish.

From these extracts, and from independent evidence that the external decoration of buildings by painting them, was in vogue in this age, it seems evident that the Rose Tower, which was identical with the Round Tower, was painted externally in imitation of the flower from which its name was taken.<sup>1</sup>

The accounts of Adam de Hertynndon furnish some curious proofs of the difficulties which must have attended extensive building works in the fourteenth century. As in earlier times, all the metal work was executed on the spot, and forges and furnaces were built for the smiths and plumbers. These forges and furnaces required fuel, and it had already been discovered that coal was a more efficient material than wood. Owing, however, to the prejudice of the Londoners against that mineral product (on account of its effect on the external appearance of their habitations), no supply of it could be procured in the metropolis, and the king's master of the works was compelled to buy a cargo of it at the pit mouth in the county of Durham. The narrative of the voyage of a ship chartered to carry coals for the works at Windsor in 1367, affords a striking contrast to the present state of the trade, when thousands of vessels

*Et in vad. ij. pictor' operant ibidem uterque, per xlj., dies infra tempus prædictum utroque cap', per diem iiij.d.—xxvij.s. iiij.d.* (Account of Adam de Hertynndon of works at Windsor Castle, &c., a<sup>o</sup>. 39, 40 Edw. III, preserved in the Record Office at Carlton Ride; mark E.B., 1243, Box Z.)

<sup>1</sup> The custom of painting over the outside of houses in various gay colours, as green, red, or blue, is still common in some parts of Holland, where many ancient usages are traditionally kept up, as in the villages of Brock and Saardam, a few miles from Amsterdam; this seems a confirmation of the opinion drawn from other sources, that such a custom prevailed in the middle ages. (Parker's 'Domestic Architecture in England, from Edw. I to Ric. II,' p. 29.)

and many lines of inland railway are daily engaged in bringing this important necessary of life to the capital.

According to the custom of the time, the king sent his writ to the sheriff of Northumberland, ordering him to buy seven hundred and twenty-six chaldron of coals, and send them to London. The sheriff purchased them by the "greater hundred," at Winlaton, in the county of Durham, at 17*d.* the chaldron. From Winlaton, they were conveyed in "keles" to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and there shipped. The freight to the south was at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* a chaldron. On their voyage to London the colliers met with a "mighty tempest at sea," and through that, and by reason of the excess of measure over that of Newcastle, a loss of eighty-six chaldron and one quarter was incurred, the greater part having been thrown over-board during the tempest. Arrived at London, the coals were put on board "shutes," or barges, and taken to Windsor at a cost of 1*s.* a chaldron. The total expense of bringing this insignificant quantity of fuel to London, including its cost price, was £165 5*s.* 2*d.*, to which must be added the barge hire to Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

During the forty-first and forty-second years of this reign (A.D. 1367-8), the works were drawing to a conclusion. The expenditure in each amounted to about £2000. Among the payments specified, are £10 to Adam de Hertynghdon, for buying marble; £60 for copper, purchased of John Clayman, merchant, of Germany, for the king's bells at Windsor and elsewhere; and £102 13*s.* on account of a great alabaster table, made by Peter Maceon, of Nottingham, for the high altar of St. George's,<sup>2</sup> of which the whole cost amounted to three hundred marks.<sup>3</sup>

In 1369, the king granted to Helming Legatte, or Legat, for life, the office of constable of the castle, and also the office of bailiff within the new park of Windsor, and the parks of Wickmeare, Guildford, and the park and manor of Kennington.<sup>4</sup>

After the forty-third year, no more workmen were pressed,

<sup>1</sup> Parker's 'Domestic Architecture in England, from Edw. I to Ric. II,' pp. 27-9.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Roll, 41-42 Edw. III.

<sup>3</sup> Issue Roll, 45 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 42 Edw. III, p. i, m. 33.



and in the forty-fourth, the expenditure fell to the sum of £525 13*s.* 3*d.*<sup>1</sup>

In that year, we have the payment of £60 to Adam de Hertyngdon, clerk of the works, for the purchase of seven casks of honey, price each cask, £8 10*s.*, for the supply of the castle.<sup>2</sup>

There is also the sum of £9 2*s.* for 182 days' payment to Walter Whythers, "door-keeper of the free chapel of Saint George, at Windsor, to whom the lord the king, by his letters patent, lately granted 12*d.* daily, to be received at the exchequer during his life, because that the same lord the king charged the same Walter to carry a wand in the presence of the said lord the king, before the college of the chapel aforesaid, in processions on the feast days, when the said lord the king personally should be there; and that the same Walter might be able more easily to support that charge."<sup>3</sup> This Walter Whythers was also "valet of the king's household," and, among other occasional employments, he was sent to York to borrow money "from divers abbots, priors, and others," for the king's use. Hugh de Bridham, a canon of the king's free chapel of Windsor, was sent on a similar errand into Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.<sup>4</sup>

Adam de Hertyngdon, in the exercise of his office at the exchequer, went on this errand into Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire. A payment for £250 9*s.* 3½*d.* on account of the works at Windsor, dated 4th of December, is made "£136 2*s.* 6*d.* by a tally raised this day, and in gold £114 6*s.* 10½*d.*" Another of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* is made "by a tally raised this day in the name of William of Wykeham, late Archdeacon of Lincoln."<sup>5</sup>

In the forty-seventh year (1373) the king granted to Roger Smale the custody of the key of the chamber in the new building in the upper bailey of the castle, with the keepership of the Little Park, under the castle, to hold during the king's pleasure.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. See Devon's 'Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham.'

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter, citing Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 47 Edw. III, p. i, m. 29.

Nothing appears to have been done with respect to works at the castle from the forty-fourth year (1370) until the forty-eighth year (1374),<sup>1</sup> when the payment of £446 occurs on account of the works.<sup>2</sup> No subsequent document throws any light on the proceedings of Edward the Third, except the appointment, in 1375, of Robert Harresworth as surveyor of the works at the castle, during the king's pleasure,<sup>3</sup> and the payment of £50, in 1376, to Adam de Hertynghdon, clerk of the works, for a new bell for the king's clock in the castle.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the architectural character of the works in this reign, Mr. Poynter observes that "in the fourteenth century a total revolution had been effected in the principles of castellated architecture. The spirit of feudal warfare had subsided, or was quelled by the increasing power of the monarchy; and though security might still be an important element in constructing the habitations of the nobility, yet it was no longer imperative that it should be purchased at the expense of the comforts and amenities of life. The less powerful baron had therefore quitted the narrow confines of his keep tower, to breathe more cheerfully in the embattled and moated house, while the domestic buildings of the great castles, instead of lurking under the shelter of the ramparts, were compacted into one lofty and majestic structure, grouped with massive towers of defence, uniting an aspect of impregnable strength without, to the progressive refinements of art within. This principle in castellated architecture, of blending the palace with the fortress, which was first exhibited on a scale of grandeur in the Welsh castles of Edward the First, and continued to mark with its picturesque combinations the outline of our baronial residences long after their real military character had been extinguished, was never more perfectly developed than in the erection of the upper ward of Windsor Castle."<sup>5</sup>

The upper ward added to the castle by Edward the Third

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, chap. iv, sec. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pointer, citing Issue Roll, 48 Edw. III.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 49 Edw. III, p. i, m. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Rot. Lib., 50 Edward III. See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on Windsor Castle.'

occupies a square of about four hundred and twenty feet, allowing for those deviations from straight lines and right angles in which the builders of the middle ages seem to have taken some unaccountable delight; and it further encroaches upon the ancient confines of the middle ward, so far as to bring the entrance to the keep withinside the upper gate. But although this portion of the work of Edward the Third forms the nucleus of nearly the whole structure of the *domus regis* at the present day, yet so great has been the change effected by successive innovations, that research is baffled and curiosity disappointed in attempting to discern its original features. Some additional information may be obtained from the earliest representations of the castle, though none are of remote date. Norden's drawing, made at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at which period there is no reason to suppose any material alteration had been made in the buildings of the upper ward (except by some additions on the north side) since their erection, is valuable evidence that the same buildings were then in the same forms which they retained until the general modernisation of the castle by Charles the Second, and consequently that we may venture to gather further intelligence from the engravings of Hollar, which illustrate in the most satisfactory manner the external appearance of every part of the building immediately previous to that event. "The only original trace of the architecture of the fourteenth century," continues Mr. Poynter, "now to be discerned, on the exterior of the upper ward, occurs in the principal gate adjoining the keep, where the whole of the archway, and the machecoulis which overhangs it, display a character not to be mistaken. The gateway which occupied the north-eastern angle of the upper court, taken down in the late alterations, exhibited similar machecoulis, and Hollar's general view indicates the same in that occupying the place of the present state entrance. None of the towers appear ever to have borne this striking characteristic of the castellated architecture of the fourteenth century, but the formal repetition of square outlines, so offensive to the eye, previously to the operations of Sir Jeffry Wyatville, was broken by lofty and picturesque turrets, most of which disappeared in the alterations of the seventeenth century. To the south and east, the

castle presented a stern aspect of defiance. The ditch extended throughout those two sides, the curtain walls were blank and unbroken except by buttresses, and the only apertures were the gateways and loopholes in the tower. The apartments were of course lighted altogether from within. The three small areas on the side where the buildings are double, since known as Birch Court, Horn Court, and the Kitchen Court, seem to indicate that the north front originally bore the same character as the rest; but of this there is no representation until buildings of late date had supervened.<sup>1</sup>

"In the interior of the castle the work of Edward the Third is still visible in the vaulted basement of the Devil Tower. A range of groined vaulting also extends throughout the whole length of the tower called King John's, of which the originality cannot be doubted; although, with the exception of one doorway near the kitchen, there is nothing peculiar by which the architecture of this portion of the edifice might be distinguished from that of a later date. The arches of this vaulting are four-centered, and present an early specimen of the systematic use of that form."<sup>2</sup>

"These scanty details are nearly all that can now be discerned of the castle of the fourteenth century, but of the original state of St. George's Hall there is an intelligible record by Hollar. If this careful and conscientious engraver was sometimes faulty in his drawing and perspective, his truth, so far as his ability served him, is undoubted, and his representations of ancient buildings are invaluable when a knowledge of detail is brought to supply the deficiencies of the artist. Making, therefore, the necessary allowances, Hollar's etching probably sets before us the true design of the hall of Edward the Third. The style of the windows has been followed in the restoration by Sir Jeffry Wyattville. The roof was in open timbers, the main rib being a four-centered arch, springing

<sup>1</sup> See Hollar's views in 'Ashmole.' Some dormer windows in the roof of St. George's Hall, and certain caps to some of the turrets, are the only particulars in which it is necessary to suppose any transformation had been made, either on the south and east sides, or in the great court, down to the time when these views were executed. (Poynter.)

<sup>2</sup> Poynter, where see a representation of the Interior of the Basement of the Devil's Tower.

from an embattled cornice, and the space between the arch and the rafters richly ornamented with open foliated panelling. The wall at the upper end, above the springing of the arch, was also richly panelled, in a style bearing at first sight the appearance of a later date; but the English *perpendicular* architecture was gaining ground rapidly before these buildings were completed, and is found developed in an especial manner throughout all the acknowledged works of William of Wykeham."<sup>1</sup>

As the chapel was totally rased to the ground by Edward the Fourth in little more than a century after its erection, its position, form, and style must be left to conjecture. With regard to its position, it has already been shown not to have been built on the site of the old chapel, as Ashmole supposes,<sup>2</sup> and it probably occupied the same ground as the choir of the present Chapel of St. George, though how far it extended westward cannot be known. Upon the question of its style there is the evidence of two fragments discovered near the site, a corbel and a piscina, ornamented with foliage strongly characteristic of the decorated English Gothic, and indicating, by the remains of colour on their surfaces, that they belonged to an edifice adorned in the polychromatic style so elaborately developed in the Chapel of St. Stephen's already built by this king at Westminster.<sup>3</sup>

The dean's cloister is a portion of the earlier works of Edward the Third. The style of the architecture fixes its date with precision, but its proportions contrast very unfavorably with those which may still be discerned in the remains of the cloister of the thirteenth century which preceded it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that this panelling may really be of a later date. It has been suggested by Mr. Ashton, with reference to some peculiarities in the plan and construction of the ground-floor underneath, that an alteration may have taken place, not only in the dimensions (which cannot be doubted), but in the position of St. George's Hall. (Poynter.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' chap. iv, sect. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter. Where see woodcuts of the remains referred to.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. The works executed by Edward the Third in the chapel and its vicinity, are thus referred to in the College Charter of 19 Edward IV:—"Capellam sancti Georgii de Wyndesore, per felicissimum principem, perpetuo memoriâ dignum, Edwardum tertium, progenitorem nostrum, in eorum honorem primitus erectam fundatamque reparari et reedificari, aliaque plurima ædificia eidem capella, et ministris ejusdem convenientia, de novo construere facere," &c. (*Ide Pat.*, 19 Edw. IV, m. 5.)

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king, as has been previously mentioned, gave to the custos and canons of St. George's Chapel "the great garden" lying on the south side of the castle;<sup>1</sup> but fourteen years afterwards he regained possession of it, and gave them in exchange a piece of ground in the town on which a house of John of London had stood. He also gave a garden on the opposite side of the way for the use of the poor knights, vicars, clerks, choristers, and the other officers of the college.<sup>2</sup>

In the forty-second year, eight acres of land, in a field called "Lydecroft," lying under the castle, were conveyed to the king;<sup>3</sup> and in the forty-ninth year, the king granted to Edward Upnor and Alice his wife, in fee, nine acres of land in Windsor, situate in a certain field called "le Moresfield," in exchange for nine acres of other land in Windsor, held of the king.<sup>4</sup>

Sir John Brocas also gave to the king, by deed, lands and houses in Windsor, Dydworth or Didworth, Clewer, and Bray.<sup>5</sup>

The acquirement by the king of the lands and houses mentioned in these documents, some portions of which he had in an earlier part of his reign granted away, seems to indicate that at the first he had no definite plans to carry out, but that a desire to keep pace with the changes and additions to the building, led to corresponding alterations and improvements in the vicinity of the castle.

By exchanges and inclosure of lands the king appears to have improved the royal domain as well as the town and neighbourhood of Windsor.

In the twenty-third year of his reign he granted to William Trussell, of Cubbesden, the manor of Eaton Hastings in Berkshire, in fee, together with the advowson of the church, to hold by the

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 25 Edw. III, p. i, m. 37. Two years previously Alexander Allit had been appointed keeper of the royal garden at Windsor during the king's pleasure. Rot. Originalia, 23 Edw. III, r. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 39 Edw. III, p. i, m. 22. See *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Memoranda of the Treasury, 42 Edw. III. See Sir F. Palgrave's 'Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer,' vol. i, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 49 Edw. III, p. i, m. 18.

<sup>5</sup> These lands appear to have been subsequently granted by the king to William de Wynford. (*Vide Orig.*, 46 Edw. III, r. 21.)

accustomed services, in exchange for lands in Foli John, Hermere, and Wichmere, and for lands in Old and New Windsor, Winkfield, and Ascot, and for lands in Eton, near Windsor, formerly the property of Oliver de Bordeaux, and all which the king re-joined and united to the castle and manor of Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

The king had previously, viz. in 1328, confirmed the manor of Old Windsor in fee to Oliver de Bordeaux, in order that the latter might impark his wood of Folyjon within the bounds of the forest, and that all his lands and tenements in Windsor purchased of John of London should be out of the regard of the forest and free from inclosures, together with various liberties of hunting, for his life;<sup>2</sup> and in 1336 the king had granted the manor of Folyjon, in the Forest of Windsor, to William Trussell, in fee, to hold by the accustomed services.<sup>3</sup>

The manor of Old Windsor, however, does not seem to have been part of the possessions of William Trussell, of Cubbesden. The king appears to have regained it from Oliver de Bordeaux and to have granted it to St. George's Chapel, and by the dean it was re-delivered to the king; for on the 2d of March in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, "William Mugge, the custos of the college of the king's free chapel in the Castle of Windsor, delivered into the receipt of the treasury a certain writing, by which the said custos and college of the chapel aforesaid delivered up to the lord the king the manor of Old Windsor, with its appurtenances, together with a certain fall of water called Horned Were."<sup>4</sup> This wear or stream was the same year let to the custos of the chapel for the term of twenty years, at the yearly rent of £4.<sup>5</sup>

The king having regained or acquired possession of the lands, proceeded in 1359 to inclose all his lands in the manors of Old and New Windsor.

By a commission dated at Westminster the 28th day of March, in the thirty-third year of his reign, he appointed William of

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 32 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 2 Edw. III, p. i, m. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 10 Edw. III, p. i, m. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Memoranda of the Treasury, 30 Edw. III. See Sir F. Palgrave's 'Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer,' vol. i, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Rot. Orig., 30 Edw. III, r. 4.

Wickeham, John de Foxle, Peter Attwood, and Robert de Hertesie to take all the king's domains, lands, and tenements of Folyjon, Hyremers,<sup>1</sup> Old Windsor, New Windsor, Wynkfield, and Ascot, in the county of Berks,<sup>2</sup> and certain tenements there, in the king's name to license to inclose, and lease in fee farm, in fee, or for life or for years, as to the commissioners should seem expedient, and to extend all the customary rents and services of the king's native and free tenants in the town (villa) of Old Windsor, and set forth the value of the same in money, and to allot to these free tenements sufficiency of common in the Forest of Windsor, as the king's other tenants were accustomed to have, the payments for which farm lands and tenements so inclosed, as well as the value in money of the customary payments, to be paid into the king's treasury by the hand of the constable of Windsor Castle for the time being. Power was also given to the commissioners to pull down and make sale of all houses and buildings that were not necessary, and to pay the proceeds thereof, by the hands of William of Wykeham, into the treasury, and to make a report of all that they did, with the names and quantities of the lands and tenements so demised.

In pursuance of this commission, the commissioners made their certificate, called *Certificatio arentationis*, at Old Windsor the 4th day of April, and at Folyjon the 8th of April, and at New Windsor on the 16th of April, in the same year. It appears from this that the domains, lands, and tenements, the subject of this commission, were those that came into the king's hands by the gift or feoffment of William Trussell, of Coblesdon, knight, as above mentioned.<sup>3</sup> The certificate, after setting out the king's com-

<sup>1</sup> *Hyremers* is supposed to have been a part of the manor of Folyjon, lying west of Buntingbury, or between Winckfield Lane and North Street. (Waterson's MSS.; see the note to the next page.)

<sup>2</sup> A similar inclosure commission of the same year, and apparently for the same lands, is directed to William de Wykeham, Peter atte Wode, and Robert de Waltham. (*Vide* Rot. Orig., 33 Edw. III, ro. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> Among the escheats of the thirty-ninth year of Edward the Third's reign, are the following possessions of William of Trussell:—"Eton manor extent"; Shawe manor extent; Old Windsor; Nursmede purpresture; Folyjon manor; Hiremere, Winkfield, and Ascot, lands and tenements; New Windsor manor." (*Escaet.*, 39 Edw. III, num. 50.)



mission, states that the commissioners had inclosed all the before-mentioned lands, and enfranchised the tenements in the form therein under written; and then follows a list of persons and lands, with the amount to be paid by them respectively; all the land so granted amounting to 271*a.* 2*r.* 29*p.*, and the total rents to £17 6*s.* 5½*d.*

After this follows a certificate of rent assize appertaining to lands and tenements in Folyjon, and issuing out of lands demised there, the whole amounting to £13 7*s.* 9*d.*; the total value of the manor of Folyjon, with its members of Hyremers, Wynkefeld, and Ascot, being stated at £30 14*s.* 2½*d.*, besides the king's manor and park uninclosed.

The commissioners, in conclusion, stated that they had inclosed all the lands in New Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

Similar commissions were issued with respect to lands in Windsor, and lands and tenements in Eton, conveyed to the king by Sir William Trussell, and the lands and tenements of Shawe, conveyed to the king by William de Polmorna.<sup>2</sup>

Sales took place under these commissions of unnecessary houses in the manors of Folyjon, Winkfield, Ascot, New Windsor, Old Windsor, Slough, and Eton, under the superintendence of William of Wykeham. Master William sold to one William de Combe, one of the king's cooks, "a hall with two chambers annexed, a granary, with a gateway built over it, a stable, and two barns," in the manor of New Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the request of the inhabitants of Folyjon, Winkfield, and Ascot, Queen Elizabeth granted, by letters patent dated 27th of September, in the thirtieth year of her reign, an exemplification of the enrolment in Chancery of this certificate. The exemplification is transcribed into Mr. Waterson's MS. Collection respecting the parish of Winkfield, 2 vols., preserved in the chapel of Cranborn schools. The original return, or certificate of inclosure, is preserved in the Wakefield Tower. (Sec 3d Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. ii, p. 189.) In the above-mentioned MS. collection, the patent of Elizabeth, which in one part is said to be lost, is mentioned as having been "happily recovered."

It may be mentioned that Edward the Third, in the forty-first year of his reign, granted to the tenants of the manor of Folyjon that they should be free from prisage and carriage of the king's goods, and also that they should have common of pasture within the king's forest for all animals. (Pat., 41 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Ashmole MS., No. 1122, fol. 62—64.

<sup>3</sup> Parker's 'Domestic Architecture in England, from Edw. I to Ric. II,' p. 9, citing Roll among the Queen's Remembrancer's Records at Carlton Ride, F. 2. H., 943.

Among the memoranda of the treasury in the fortieth year of this reign there is one of the delivery, by William of Wykeham, of three deeds and two letters of attorney, relating, among others, to the manors of Folyjon and Eton, and lands and houses in Windsor;<sup>1</sup> and in the next year, William of Wykeham, who is described as late keeper of the lands and tenements of Oliver de Burdeux in New and Old Windsor, Wythemere, Folie John, Hyremere, Winkfield, and Ascot, in the county of Berks, and in Eton in Bucks, together with the manors of Shawe, was directed to deliver them to Thomas Cheyne, the constable of the castle, on the king's behalf.<sup>2</sup>

Among the minor grants and appointments of this reign are the following:—In 1328, to John Wyarde, the king's valet, among other premises, a house in Windsor, lately belonging to Simon of Reading, to hold by the accustomed service.<sup>3</sup> In 1368, to John de West, the custody of the outer gate of Windsor for life;<sup>4</sup> and in 1376, the appointment of Ralph Porter as janitor of the castle for life.<sup>5</sup>

In the ninth year of this reign (A.D. 1335) the king confirmed to John de Molyns, in fee, the manors of Datchet and Fulmer in Buckinghamshire, granted to him by William de Montague, to hold by the accustomed service.<sup>6</sup>

The manor of Datchet had been the same year granted to William de Montague by the king,<sup>7</sup> probably by way of confirmation only, and with a view to the subsequent grant. Sir John de Molyns was the queen's seneschal, and appears to have held considerable property in the neighbourhood of Windsor, including, besides those above named, the lordships of Stoke Pogis and Ditton and the manor of Cippenham.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Sir F. Palgrave's 'Antient Calendars and Inventories of the Exchequer,' vol. i, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Orig., 41 Edw. III, ro. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 2 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 42 Edw. III, p. i, m. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Pat., 50 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 9 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 18. See Ashmol. MS., No. 840, fol. 317—320.

<sup>7</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' citing Pat., 9 Edw. III.

<sup>8</sup> There were two manors in Cippenham at this period. The one was granted to Sir

In 1362 the following petition was presented to the king, involving a charge against John de Molyns :

“To our lord the king, his poor subject Robert Lamberd, chandler, of London, supplicates, that as, by the false means of deceit of John de Molyns, late seneschal of my lady the queen, who alleged against the said Robert that he had broken into the park of my said lady the queen at Langley Marys, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Windsor, and there detained in prison until he should pay a fine to my lady of one hundred marks, which fine greatly exceeded the value of all his goods, and which he at last paid to my said lady into her treasury, by which the said Robert is wholly destroyed and ruined; it may please your most excellent sovereign, for the love of God and in tender charity, to grant to the said Robert some little office in London, or in some other way to grant him aid, so that he may obtain his subsistence.”<sup>1</sup>

John Molyns in 1339, and the other to Burnham Abbey. (Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 532.) Sir William Molyns held the one in the reign of Henry the Sixth. (See *post.*) It subsequently passed by female heirs to the families of Hungerford and Hastings. It is probable, says Lysons, that the two manors were united after the dissolution of Burnham Abbey. “The manor of Cippenham, which had long been in the family of Goodwyn of Woburn, was purchased by the Duchess of Marlborough about the year 1742; and having passed by her bequest to her grandson, John Spencer, was sold by his representative, Earl Spencer, to the late Mr. Dupré.” It was in 1806 the property of his son, James Dupré, Esq., of Wilton Park. (Lysons.) In 1338 (12-13 Edw. III) Sir John de Molyns “procured a charter from the king to hold a court leet, and to have correction for the assize of bread and beer, through all his lordships of Brehall (Brill), Stoke-Pogis, Ditton, Datchet, Fulmere, Ilmere, Adington, Aston Bernard, Weston Turvile, Lutegareshale, Stivede, Littecote, and Swanborn, in com. Buck.; Henley and Swyrford, com. Oxon; and Henle, com. Sur. Being now one of the knights of the king's chamber, he obtained a special precept to the lord treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer, for the receipt of two hundred and twenty pounds ten shillings one penny, as well for the wages due to himself, with his men-at-arms and archers, in the wars of Scotland, as for a recompense of the horses which he had lost in that service. In this year he was in the expedition made into Flanders, and nigh that time obtained a special discharge from all such services as were due from him for his manor of Dachelte to Windsor Castle. He had letters patent for custody of all the king's hawks, that being the service whereby he held the manor of Ilmere, com. Bucks. At this time the convent of S. Frideswide, Oxon, covenanted to keep his anniversary, and that of Egidia his wife. He had now likewise a grant from the king of the advowson of the monastery of Burnham, com. Buck. (Dugd. Bar., tom. ii, p. 146), to which he now gave the manor of Selveston in com. Northamp. (R. Dod's MS., vol. lxxxv, f. 109).” (Kennett's 'Paroc. Antiq.' (edit. 1818), vol. ii, p. 71.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Rolls of Parliament,' vol. ii, p. 274.

In answer, the applicant was referred to the queen's council. The result does not appear.

Among other private owners or holders of lands in Windsor and the neighbourhood at this period, we find John of Burnham held of Richard de Wyndelesore one hundred acres in Windsor;<sup>1</sup> Thomas de Huntercombe held the manor of Burnham, as of the honor of Windsor;<sup>2</sup> John de Molyns held eighteen acres of land at Eton, on behalf of the abbess and convent of Burnham;<sup>3</sup> and Thomas atte Wyk de Etone (Thomas of Eton-wick) held one virgate at Ditton in Buckinghamshire, on behalf of the same abbess and convent.<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding the alterations in progress in the castle, Edward the Third appears to have spent a considerable portion of his time there.

The splendour with which he held the Feast of St. George in 1358 has been already described.

On the 10th of October, 1361, Edward the Black Prince and the Lady Joan, commonly called the Fair Countess of Kent, were married, in the queen's presence, at the chapel at Windsor.<sup>5</sup>

The king also held his Christmas of 1361 and the two following years at Windsor.<sup>6</sup>

In the summer of 1365, the marriage of Isabella, the king's eldest daughter, with Ingelram de Guisnes, Lord de Courcy, was performed with great pomp and splendour at the castle, and the marriage-feast kept there "in most royal and triumphant wise."<sup>7</sup>

The bridegroom was on this occasion created Earl of Albemarle.

The following payments occur under the date of the 6th November, 1366:—"To divers minstrels at Windsor, present at the marriage of Isabella the king's daughter, the Lady de Courcy,

<sup>1</sup> Escact., 36 Edw. III, p. i, num. 16. Richard of Windsor appears to have been a person of considerable property. His name occurs among the sheriffs of this reign. See Fuller's 'Worthies of Berkshire.'

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 1 Edw. III, num. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 12 Edw. III, num. 11 (second numbers).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., num. 8 (second numbers).

<sup>5</sup> Walsingham, and Barnes's 'Life of Edward the Third.'

<sup>6</sup> See Stowe's 'Annals.'

<sup>7</sup> Holinshed. Barnes's 'Life of Edward the Third,' citing Pat., 39 Edw. III, p. ii, m. 8.

in money paid to them of the king's gift, £100." "To Elizabeth Countess of Athol, in money paid to her by the lord the king at Windsor, of the said king's gift, at the time the same lord the king held the infant of the same countess there at the holy font, £100."<sup>1</sup>

In the following year we find the king and his queen at Windsor, entertaining the ambassadors or messengers sent from Bordeaux by the Black Prince, to obtain the king's advice as to the assistance sought by Don Pedro, King of Castile, in the war with his brother Henry, and to which Edward gave his assent.<sup>2</sup>

On the 15th of August, 1369, Queen Philippa died at Windsor. The event and the parting scene with her husband is touchingly told by Froissart, and the passage has been admirably translated by Lord Berners:—"There fell in England a heavy case and a common, howbeit it was right piteous for the king, his children, and all his realm. For the good Queen of England, that so many good deeds had done in her time, and so many knights succoured, and ladies and damsels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goods to her people, and naturally loved always the nation of Heynault, the country where she was born, she fell sick in the Castle of Wyndesore, the which sickness continued on her so long, that there was no remedy but death. And the good lady, when she knew and perceived that there was with her no remedy but death, she desired to speak with the king her husband; and when he was before her she put out of her bed her right hand, and took the king by his right hand, who was right sorrowful at his heart. Then she said, 'Sir, we have in peace, joy, and great prosperity used all our time together. Sir, now I pray you, at our departing, that ye will grant me three desires.' The king, right sorrowfully weeping, said, 'Madam, desire what ye will, I grant it.' 'Sir,' said she, 'I require you, first of all, that all manner of people, such as I have dealt withall in their merchandize, on this side the sea or beyond, that it may please you to pay every thing that I owe to them, or to any other. And, secondly, sir, all such ordinance and promises as I have made to the churches, as well of this country as

<sup>1</sup> See Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Froissart.

beyond the sea, whereat I have had my devotion, that it may please you to accomplish and to fulfil the same. Thirdly, sir, I require you, that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whosoever it shall please God to call you out of this transitory life, but beside me in Westminster.' The king, all weeping, said, 'Madam, I grant all your desire.' Then the good lady and queen made on her the sign of the cross, and commended the king her husband to God, and her youngest son, Thomas, who was there beside her. And anon, after, she yielded up the spirit, the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to heaven, for in all her life she did neither in thought nor deed thing whereby to lese her soul, as far as any creature could know. Thus the good Queen of England died, in the year of our Lord 1369, in the vigil of our Lady in the middle of August."

In 1370 the Black Prince was obliged to leave the scene of his military glory in France and return to England, his constitution having given way under the severity of his exertions. He landed at Southampton, and was carried in a litter across the country to Windsor. The Princess of Wales, their son Richard, and the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, accompanied him on horseback. They were affectionately received by the king. The prince, after remaining some time at Windsor, removed to his manor of Berkhamstead, where he lingered for six years.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, Sir Robert Knowles, who had the command of part of the English army in France, came over on a visit to see the king, at the request of the latter. He landed in Cornwall, and proceeded to Windsor, where he met with a cordial reception.<sup>2</sup>

In 1372, the Duke of Lancaster, the king's second son, accompanied by his duchess (a daughter of Pedro King of Castile) and her sister, with a large retinue, returned to England from France. Landing at Southampton, they took the road to Windsor, where the king resided. "He received his son the duke, the ladies, damsels, and the foreign knights, with great joy and feasts, but especially Sir Guiscard d'Angle, whom he was delighted to see."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Sir Guiscard d'Angle, Marshal of Aquitaine, had been ordered by the Council of the Gascons to accompany the duke.

At the Feast of St. George which ensued, Sir Guiscard d'Angle was elected a knight, together with other barons, who were on this occasion styled the Knights of the Blue Garter.<sup>1</sup> After the feast, the king went to London to hold a council, at which the Duke of Lancaster was ordered to make a fresh invasion of France. After the council broke up, Edward returned to Windsor, accompanied by Sir Guiscard d'Angle.<sup>2</sup>

In 1376 (50 Edw. III), the watermen of the Thames presented their petition to the king in parliament, complaining amongst other things of the exactions made in passing the bridges of Staines, Windsor, and Maidenhead, contrary to their privileges, and praying a remedy; upon which it was ordered that they should make their suit to the Chancery, and obtain writs for their relief.<sup>3</sup>

This seems to be the last incident connected with Windsor in the reign of Edward the Third—a period, the importance of which in the history of Windsor is in full proportion to its duration, beyond half a century.

In the latter years of his reign the king abandoned himself to the care of Alice Perrers, living for some time at Eltham, and dying at Shene, June 21st, 1377, in the fifty-first year of his reign.

It is probable that the evident attachment of this monarch to Windsor arose in some degree from its being his birthplace and his “nurse.”<sup>4</sup>

His seventh and youngest son was called “William of Windsor.”<sup>5</sup> There is a monument to this prince in St. Edward's Chapel, within the Chapel of St. George.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. By letters patent dated at Windsor, the 23d of April, 1374, the king granted to Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, for his life, a pitcher of wine, to be received daily at the port of London, by the hands of the king's butler or his deputy. (Pat., 48 Edw. III, p. i, m. 20.)

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. ii, p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> Leland, ‘*Commentarii in Cygneam*,’ cant. verb. Windlesora. The sword of state of Edward the Third, measuring six feet nine inches in length, is preserved in the chapter-house of St. George's Chapel, where also there is a portrait of the king in the robes of a Garter. (Stoughton, p. 56.)

<sup>5</sup> Hall's ‘*Chronicle*.’

<sup>6</sup> See Gough's ‘*Sepulchral Monuments*,’ vol. i, p. 96.

Evidence of the use made of the castle as a prison<sup>1</sup> occurs in some imperfect Italian characters traced on the walls, and supposed to refer to this reign.

The first of these was discovered more than a century ago,<sup>1</sup> on a stone in the window of the Devil's Tower. The inscription, as far as it could be deciphered, was as follows:—"Gudo pincho Eduardo. Buono p̄e Eduardo . . . inavesto palacco pre .. Ragione econtra Giustitia . . Buono p̄e Eduardo . . . male prego idio . . . . santissima misericordia . . . dolo . . amen."

In the absence of date it is hard to guess who the individual was, or at what period it was written, for there is nothing beyond the character of the writing even to denote to which of the Edwards it refers. It has been suggested that it might as well be in the time of Edward the First as Edward the Third, or be the work of some Italian concerned in the assassination of Henry Earl of Cornwall, son of Richard King of the Romans.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the prisoner was one of the retinue or household of John King of France, after the latter was taken prisoner by the Black Prince; but without further data it is impossible to proceed beyond conjecture.

Traces of a similar inscription were found in 1846 in the Norman Tower, probably the work of the same captive, the character and expressions resembling each other. In addition to the words (in Italian) "prisoner," "justice," "passion of Christ," "mercy," &c., on the right of the block of stone were the points of the compass roughly traced, and the writer, after giving the Italian for the cardinal points, apparently endeavoured to render them into English.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the two inscriptions were found in different towers does not contravene the internal evidence that they are the production of the same individual, the removal of the

<sup>1</sup> Pote's 'History of Windsor,' pp. 43—45, where see a representation of the block.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

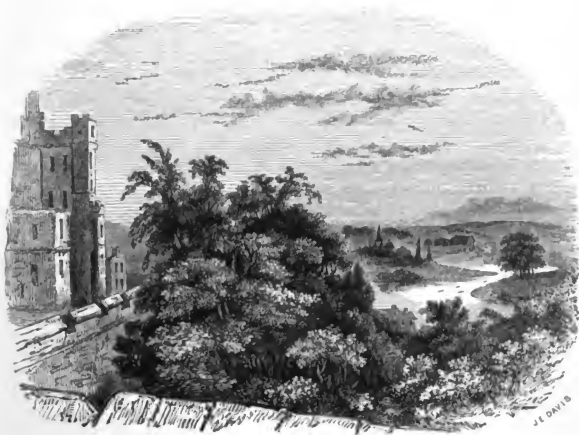
<sup>3</sup> See a paper by one of the editors of the present work in the 'Journal of the British Archaeological Association,' vol. ii, p. 268. There is a tracing of this inscription in the archives of that society, taken from the original block, which was then, and probably still is, in the possession of the clerk of the works at Windsor Castle.



prisoner from one ward to another accounting for the different localities.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Ash. MS., No. 1134, f. 310, there is a copy of twenty Gothic capital letters, suggested by Mr. Black to be of the date of the thirteenth century, but in which he is probably mistaken, described as an "inscription found cut on a stone in the wall of a roome on the south side of Windsor Castle, where the magazine was kept, 1683."

It is said of David King of Scotland, that during his captivity in this reign, "being much part of the time confined in Nottingham Castle, he left behind him in a vault under the castle, curiously engraven with his own hands on the walls, which were of rock, the whole story of the passion of our Saviour: for which, one says, that castle became as famous as formerly it had been for Mortimer's Hole." (Barnes' 'Life of Edward the Third,' p. 529.)



Winchester Tower. from the North Terrace.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE EARLY ROMANCES AND METRICAL TALES AND BALLADS CONNECTED WITH WINDSOR.

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Tales and Romances naturally associated with Windsor—King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table—Romance of the Fitz-Warines—Jean de Meun's 'Roman de la Rose,' and Chaucer's 'Romaunt of the Rose'—'King Edward and the Shepherd'—Political Songs—Song against the King of Almaigne.

THE order of narration of events at Windsor must be interrupted for a short time, for the purpose of introducing some notice of the allusions to Windsor in the Romances,<sup>1</sup> Tales, and Ballads of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

It might be naturally expected that Windsor, with its various historical associations—its castle, at once the abode of the sovereign and his favorites and the prison of the disaffected, with a forest of almost unlimited extent stretching far away to the south—would find a place in some of the legendary tales so numerous in this age.

Although abounding more or less in the marvellous, it is scarcely necessary to remark that they are well worthy the attention of the historian and antiquary, who derives assistance, not only in

<sup>1</sup> The word *romance*, in its original acceptation, meant a book of any kind written in the Middle-Age dialects derived from the Latin, each of which was called *Lingua Romana*, or *Langue Romane*, pure Latin being always characterised as the *Lingua Latina*, or *Langue Latine*. The name *Romans* (*i. e.*, *Liber Romanus*) became more peculiarly applied to the long poetical narratives sung by the minstrels in the baronial halls, which sometimes recorded the old traditions of the country; at others celebrated the deeds of the barons in whose halls they were chanted, and their feuds with their neighbours; and at a later period became gradually restricted to stories of a more imaginative character, from whence has arisen our modern application of the word. (Wright's 'History of Ludlow,' p. 64.)

the elucidation of the events of history, but in "reading off" the manners, tastes, and habits of the people.

Allusion was made in the first chapter of this work to the statement by Froissart, that King Arthur assembled his Knights of the Round Table at Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

Froissart, who lived at the court of Edward the Third, probably had in his recollection some current traditions of the day which have not descended to a later age, or at least have not yet been brought to light.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest story, not perhaps as regards its actual composition and production, but with respect to the date of the events narrated, in which allusion is made to Windsor, appears to be in the 'Romance of the Fitz-Warines.' This romance, which was very popular during a long period of time, was first composed in Anglo-Norman verse; a version appeared probably before the end of the thirteenth century in English verse, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century the original Anglo-Norman poem was transformed into a prose version. The Anglo-Norman and English poems were extant in the time of Leland, who has given an imperfect abstract of them; but the prose version alone, as far as can be ascertained, is now preserved in a manuscript of the reign of Edward the Second.<sup>3</sup>

Fulke Fitz-Warine, the hero of the story, and his younger brothers, were educated with the children of Henry the Second, and he enjoyed the favour of Richard the First during the whole of

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "It would make greatly (I knowe) as wel for the illustration of the glorie, as for the extending of the antiquitie of this place, to alledge out of Frozard that King Arthur accustomed to hold the solemnities of his Round Table at Wyndstore; but as I dare not over boldly avouche al King Arthures antiquities, the rather bycause it hathe bene thought a disputable question wheather theare weare ever any suche kinge or no; so like I not to joine with Frozard in this part of that stoarie, bycause he is but a forrein writer, and (so farre as I see) the only man that hath delivered it unto us; and therfore, supposing it more safe to follow our owne hystorians, especially in our owne hystorie, I thinke good to leave the tyme of the Brytons, and to descend to the raygne of the Saxou kings, to the end that they may have the first honour of the place, as they weare indeede the first authors of the name." (Lambarde's 'Topographical Dictionary,' p. 414.)

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, MS. Reg., 12 C, XII, recently translated and edited by Mr. T. Wright, and printed by the Warton Society.

that monarch's reign, holding the office or charge of warden of the marches, in the vicinity of which he possessed considerable property. On the accession of John, Fulke lost the royal favour and became an outlaw. He was held one of the bravest knights and strongest men of his time, and his adventures, while he lived in the woods and on the seas, were the theme of general admiration during the two centuries which followed.<sup>1</sup>

The enmity which existed so long between King John and the family of the Fitz-Warines is said to have originated in their boyish quarrels. While they were little more than children in King Henry's household, John and Fulke were one day playing at chess, and the former, whose evil disposition was exhibited in his childhood, angry at the superior skill of his playfellow, struck him violently on the head with the chess-board. Fulke returned the blow with so much force, that the prince was thrown with his head against the wall, and fell senseless on the floor. He was soon restored to his senses by the exertions of his playfellow, for they were alone; and he immediately ran to his father the king to make his complaint. But Henry knew his son's character, and not only rebuked him for his quarrelsomeness, telling him that if Fulke had beaten him he had no doubt it was what he merited, but he sent for the prince's master, and ordered him to be again beaten "finely and well" for complaining. John never forgot that Fulke Fitz-Warine had been the cause of this disgrace, and on ascending the throne deprived him of the wardenship of the marches and his family possessions. It would occupy too much space to enter into the intermediate proceedings of Fitz-Warine, now an outlaw: it must suffice to say that after a visit to France, and numerous subsequent adventures by sea, he sailed with his companions towards England.\*

"When they arrived at Dover, they went on shore, and left Mador with the ship in a certain place where they could find him when they would. Fulke and his companions had learnt from the people who

\* Fouke e ces compaignons siglerent vers Engleterre. Quant vyndrent à Dove, entrèrent la terre, e lessèrent Mador ou la nef en un certeyn leu là où il ly porreyent trover quant vodreyent. Fouke e ces compaignons avoient enquis des paissantz qe le roy

<sup>1</sup> Wright's 'History of Ludlow,' pp. 63, 64.

passed them that King John was at Windsor, and they set out privily on the way towards Windsor. By day they slept and reposed, and by night they wandered, until they came to the forest; and there they lodged in a certain place where they used before to be in the Forest of Windsor, for Fulk knew all the parts there. Then they heard huntsmen and men with hounds blow the horn, and by that they knew that the king was going to hunt. Fulk and his companions armed themselves very richly. Fulk swore a great oath that for fear of death he would not abstain from revenging himself on the king, who forcibly and wrongfully had disinherited him, and from challenging loudly his rights and his heritage. Fulk made his companions remain there; and himself, he said, would go and look out for adventures.

"Fulk went his way, and met an old collier carrying a triblet in his hand; and he was dressed all in black, as a collier ought to be. Fulk prayed him for love that he would give him his clothes and his triblet for money. 'Sir,' said he, 'willingly.' Fulk gave him ten besants,<sup>1</sup> and begged him for his love that he would not tell anybody of it. The collier went away. Fulk remained, and now dressed himself in the attire which the collier had given him, and went to his coals, and began to stir up the fire. Fulk saw a great iron fork, which he took in his hand, and arranged here and there the pieces of wood. At length came the king with three knights, all on foot, to Fulk where he was arranging his fire. When Fulk saw the king, he

Johan fust à Wyndesoure, e se mistrent privément en la voie vers Wyndesoure. Les jours dormyrent e se reposèrent, les nuytz errèrent, tanqu'il vyndrent à la foreste; e là se herbigèrent en un certeyn lyw où yl soleynt avant estre en la foreste de Wyndesoure, quar Fouke savoit yleqe tous les estres. Donqe oyerent veneours e berners corner, e par ce saveyent qe le rey irroit chacer. Fouke e ces compaignons s'armerent molt richement. Fouke jura grant serement qe pur pour de moryr ne lerreit qu'il ne se vengeroit de le roy q'à force e à tort ly ad desheryté, e qu'il ne chalengereit hautement ces dreitures e son herytage. Fouke fist ces compaignons demorer yleqe; e il meymes, ee dit, irreit espier aventures.

Fouke s'en ala, e encontra un viel charboner portant une tribble en sa meyn; si fust vestu tot neir, come apert à charboner. Fouke ly pria par amour qu'il le velsist doner ces vestures e sa tribble pur du seon. "Sire," fet-il, "volenters." Fouke ly dona x. besantz, e ly pria pur s'amour qu'il ne le contast à nully. Le charboner s'en va. Fouke remeynt, e se vesty meyntenant de le atyr qe le charboner ly avoit donée, et vet à ces charbons, si comence de adresser le feu. Fouke vist un grosse fourche de fer, si la prent en sa meyn, e dresse saundreyt e landreyt ces coupons. Atant vynt le roy ou treis chevalers, tot à pée, à Fouke là où il fust adresaunt son feu. Quant Fouke vist le roy, assez

<sup>1</sup> For information as to this coin, see the article "Bezant" in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.' By collier is of course meant a charcoal-burner.

knew him well enough, and he cast the fork from his hand, and saluted his lord, and went on his knees before him very humbly. The king and his three knights had great laughter and game at the breeding and bearing of the collier; they stood there very long. 'Sir villan,' said the king, 'have you seen no stag or doe pass here?' 'Yes, my lord, a while ago.' 'What beast did you see?' 'Sir, my lord, a horned one; and it had long horns.' 'Where is it?' 'Sir, my lord, I know very well how to lead you to where I saw it.' 'Onward, then, sir villan; and we will follow you.' 'Sir,' said the collier, 'shall I take my fork in my hand? for, if it were taken, I should have thereby a great loss.' 'Yea, villan, if you will.' Fulk took the great fork of iron in his hand, and led the king to shoot; for he had a very handsome bow. 'Sir, my lord,' said Fulk, 'will you please to wait, and I will go into the thicket, and make the beast come this way by here?' 'Yea,' said the king. Fulk hastily sprang into the thick of the forest, and commanded his company hastily to seize upon King John, 'For I have brought him there, only with three knights; and all his company is on the other side of the forest.' Fulk and his company leaped out of the thicket, and cried upon the king, and seized him at once. 'Sir king,' said Fulk, 'now I have you in my power; such judgment will I execute on you as you would on me if you had taken me.' The king trembled with fear, for he had great dread of Fulk. Fulk swore that he should die for the great damage and disinheriting which he had done to him and to many a good man in England. The king implored his mercy, and begged his life of him for the love of God; and he would restore him entirely all his heritage

bien le conust, e gitta la fourche de sa meyn, e salua son seignour, e se mist à genoyls devant ly molt humblement. Le roy e ces trois chevalers aveient grant ryseye e jeu de la noretur e de la porture le charboner; esturent ileqe bien longement. "Daun vyleyn," fet le roy, "avez veu nul cerf ou bisse passer par yey?" "Oyl, mon seignour, pieça." "Quele beste veitez-vus?" "Sire, mon seignur, une cornuée; si avoit longe corns." "Où est-ele?" "Sire, mon seignur, je vus say molt bien mener là où je la vy." "Ore avant, daun vyleyn! e nus vus siweroms." "Sire," fet le charboner, "prendroy-je ma forche en mayn? quar, si ele fust prise, je en averoy grant perte." "Oyl, vyleyn, si vus volez." Fouke prist la grosse fourche de fer en sa meyn, si amoyne le roy pur archer; quar yl avoit un molt bel arke. "Sire, mon seignur," fet Fouke, "vus plest-il attendre, e je irroy en l'espece e fray la beste venir cest chemyn par yey?" "Oil," ce dit le roy. Fouke hastyvement sayly en le espece de la forest, e comanda sa meyné hastivement prendre le Roy Johan; "Quar je l'ay amenée sà, solement ou treis chevalers; e tote sa meyns est de l'autre part la foreste." Fouke e sa meyné saylyrent hors de la espece, e escrierent le roy, e le pristreat maintenant. "Sire roy," fet Fouke, "ore je vus ay en mon bandon; tel jugement froy-je de vus come vus vodrez de moy si vus me ussez pris." Le roy trembla de pour, quar il avoit grant doute de Fouke. Fouke jura qu'il morreit pur le grant damage e la desheritesown qu'il avoit fet à ly e à meint prodhome d'Engleterre. Le roy ly eria mercy, e ly pria pur amour Dieu la vie; e ly yl rendreyt enterement tou son

and whatever he had taken from him and from all his people, and would grant him his love and peace for ever, and of this he would make him in all things such security as he might himself choose to devise. Fulk soon yielded his demand, on condition that he gave him, in presence of his knights, his faith to keep this covenant. The king pledged his faith that he would hold the covenant, and he was very glad that he could thus escape.

"And he returned to his palace, and caused his knights and his courtiers to assemble, and told them from word to word how Sir Fulk had deceived him; and he said that he had made that oath through force, and therefore he would not hold it; and commanded that they should all arm in haste to take those felons in the park. At length Sir James of Normandy, who was the king's cousin, prayed that he might have the advanced guard; and said that 'the English, nearly all the men of rank, are cousins to Sir Fulk, and for that are traitors to the king, and will not take those felons.' Then said Randolf Earl of Chester: 'In faith, sir knight! saving the honour of our lord the king, not yours, you lie.' And he would have struck him with his fist, and it not being for the earl marshal; and said that they neither are nor never were traitors to the king nor to his, but he said right that all the men of rank and the king himself were cousins to Sir Fulk. Then said the earl marshal: 'Let us go and pursue Sir Fulk; the king will then see who will flinch for his cousenage.' Sir James of Normandy and fifteen knights his companions armed themselves very richly and all in white armour, and were all nobly mounted on white steeds; and he hurried forward with his company, to have the capture.

heritage e quanqu'il avoit tolet de ly e de tous les suens, e ly grantereit amour e pès pur tous jours, e à ce ly freit en totes choses tiele seureté come yl meismes voleit devyser. Fouke ly granta bien tote sa demande à tieles qu'il ly donast, veantz ces chevalers, la foy de tenyr cest covenant. Le roy ly plevy sa fcy qu'il ly tendroit covenant, e fust molt lée que issi poeit eschaper.

E revyut à soun paleis, e fist fere assembler ces chevalers e sa meisné, e lur counta de mot en autre coment Sire Fouke le avoit desçu; e dit que par force fist cel serement, pur quoy qu'il ne le velt tenyr; e comaunda que tous se armassent hastivement à prendre ces felons en le parke. Atant pria Sire James de Normandie, que fust cosyn le roy, qu'il poeit aver l'avaunt-garde; e dit que "les Engleis, à poy tous les grantz, sunt cosyns à Sire Fouke, e pur ce sunt treitours al roy, e ces felouns ne vueillent prendre." Donqe dit Randulf le Counte de Cestre: "Par foy, sire chevaler! sauve le honour nostre seigneur le roy, noun par vostre, vus y mentez." E ly vodra aver feru del poy, si le counte mareschal ne ust esté; e dit qu'il ne sount ne unque furent treitours à le roy ne à suens, mès bien dit que tous les grantz e le rey meismes est cosyn al dit Fouke. Dont dit le counte mareschal: "Aloms purzyvre sire Fouke; donqe verra le roy qui se feyndra pur la cosynage." Sire James de Normandy e ces xv. compaignouns chevalers se armerent molt richement e tot de blanche armure, e furent tous noblement mountez de blance destrers; e se hasta devant ou sa compaignie, pur aver pris.

“Now John de Rampaigne had spied all their proceedings, and told them to Sir Fulk, who could in no manner escape except by battle. Sir Fulk and his companions armed themselves very richly, and put themselves boldly against Sir James, and defended themselves vigorously, and slew all his companions except four, who were almost wounded to death; and Sir James was taken. Sir Fulk and his companions now armed themselves with the arms of Sir James and of the other Normans; and mounted their good steeds, which were white, for their own steeds were tired and lean; and they armed Sir James with the arms of Sir Fulk; and bound his mouth, that he could not speak, and put his helm on his head; and rode towards the king. And when he saw them, he knew them by their arms, and thought that Sir James and his companions were bringing Sir Fulk.

“Then Sir Fulk presented Sir James to the king, and said that it was Sir Fulk. The Earl of Chester and the earl marshal, when they saw this, were very sorry. The king, for the present, commanded him that he should kiss him; Sir Fulk said that he could not wait to take off his helm, for he must go and pursue the other Fitz-Warines. The king descended from his good steed, and commanded him to mount it, for it was fleet to pursue his enemies. Sir Fulk descended, and mounted the king's steed, and went his way towards his companions, and they fled soon to a distance of six leagues from thence. And there they disarmed in a wood, and washed their wounds; and they bandaged the wound of William, his brother, who was severely wounded by one of the Normans, and they held him for dead, for which they all made excessive lamentations.

E tot lur affere avoit Johan de Rampaigne espiée, e counté à sire Fouke, qe ne poeit en nulle manere eschaper si par bataille noun. Sire Fouke e ces compaignouns se armerent molt richement, e se mistrent hardiement contre sire James, e se defendirent vigourement, e ocistrent tous ces compaignouns, estre quatre que furent à poi naufrés à la mort; e sire James fust pris. Sire Fouke e ces compaignouns se armerent maintenant de les armes sire James e des autres Normauntz; e mounterent lur bons destrers que blanks ereut, quar lur destrers demeyne furent las e mesgres; e armerent sire James de les armes Sire Fouke; e lyerent sa bouche, qu'il ne poeit parler, e mistrent son helme sur sa teste; e chevalcherent vers le roy. E quant yl les vist, il les conquist par les armes, e quida qe sire James e ces compaignouns amenerent sire Fouke.

Lors presenta sire Fouke sire James à le roy, e dist que ce fust sire Fouke. Le counte de Cestre e le counte mareschal, quant ce virent, mout furent dolentz. Le roy, pur le present, ly comanda qu'il ly baysast; sire Fouke dit qu'il ne poeit attendre de oster son healme, quar yl ly covensist pursyvve les autres fitz Waryn. Le roi descendy de sou bon destrer e comanda qu'il le mouta, quar isnel ert à pursiivre ces enymys. Sire Fouke descendy, e mouta le destrer le roi, e s'en va vers ces compaignouns, e s'en fuyrent bien sis lyws de yleqe. E là se desarmerent en un boschage, e laverent lur playes; e benderent la playe Willam, son frere, qe durement fust naufré de un des Normauntz, e le tyndrent pur mort; dont tous fesoient duel à demesure.



"The king commanded on the spot to hang Sir Fulk. At length came Emery de Pin, a Gascon, who was kinsman to Sir James, and said that he would hang him; and took him, and led him a little from thence, and caused his helm to be taken off; and now he saw that it was James, and unbound his mouth. And he told him all that had happened between him and Sir Fulk. Emery came immediately to the king, and brought Sir James, who told him how Sir Fulk had served him. And when the king perceived that he was thus deceived, he was much vexed, and swore a great oath that he would not divest himself of his hauberk until he had taken these traitors. And of this Sir Fulk knew nothing.

"The king and his earls and barons pursued them by the footmark of their horses, until they came almost to the wood where Fulk was. And when Fulk perceived them, he wept and lamented for William his brother, and held himself lost for ever. And William begged of them that they would cut off his head and carry it with them, that the king, when he found his body, might not know who he was. Fulk said that he would not do that for the world, and prayed very tenderly and in tears, that God for his pity would be to them in aid; and such grief as was among them, you never saw greater made.

"Rondulf, Earl of Chester, came in the first place; and when he perceived Sir Fulk, he commanded his company to halt, and went alone to Sir Fulk, and prayed him for the love of God to yield himself to the king, and he would answer for him for life and limb, and his peace would be easily made with the king. Fulk replied that he would not do that for all the wealth in the world; 'But, sir cousin, for the

Le roy comaunda meyntenaunt pendre sire Fouke. Atant vint Emery de Pyn, un Gascoyn, qe fust parent à Sire James, e dit qu'il le pendreit; e le prist, e le amena un poy de yleqe, e fist oster son healme; e meyntenant vist qe ce fu James, e delya sa bouche. E il ly conta quange avynt entre ly e sire Fouke. Emery vint maintenaunt au roy, e amena sire James, qe ly conta coment sire Fouke ly avoit servy. E quant le roy se aperçust estre issi desçu, molt fust dolent, e jura grant serement qe jà ne se devestereit de son haubreke avaunt qu'il avoit ces treytres pris. E de ce ne savoit sire Fouke rien.

Le roy e ces countes e barouns les pursiwyrent par le esclot des chivals, tant qu'il vindrent à poy à le boschage là où Fouke fust. E quant Fouke les aperçust, plourt e weymente Willam, son frere, e se tient perdu pur tous jours. E Willam lur prie qu'il coupent sa teste e la emportent ou eux, issi qe le roy, quant trovee son eors, ne sache qui yl fust. Fouke dit qe ce ne freit pur le mounde, e prie molt tendrement en ploraunt qe Dieu pur sa pieté lur seit en eyde; e tiel duel come entre eux est, ne veistes unqe greindre fere.

Rondulf le counte de Cestre vint en prime chef; e quant aperçust sire Fouke, comaunda sa meisné arestier, si voit privément à Sire Fouke, e li pria pur le amour de Dieu rendre sei al roy, e yl serroit pur ly de vie e de membre, e qu'il serroit bien apesée al roy. Fouke redist que ce ne froit pur tut le aver du mounde; "Mès, sire cosyn, pur l'amour de Dieu,

love of God, I pray you for my brother, who is there, when he is dead, that you cause his body to be buried, that wild beasts may not devour it, and ours too, when we are dead. And return to your lord the king, and do your duty to him without feintisé, and without having regard to us, who are of your blood; and we will receive now here the destiny which is ordained for us.' The earl, all weeping, returned to his company. Fulk remained, who very tenderly wept with pity for his brother, whom he was compelled to leave there; and prays God to succour and aid them.

"The earl commanded his retinue and his company to the assault, and they laid on vigorously. The earl himself attacked Sir Fulk; but at last the earl lost his horse, and his retinue were in great part slain. Fulk and his brothers defended themselves bravely; and as Fulk was defending himself, Sir Berard de Blées came behind him, and struck him with his sword in the side, and believed he had killed him. At length Fulk turned round, and returned the blow on his left shoulder with both his hands, and cut through his heart and lung, and he fell dead from his steed. Fulk had bled so much that he fainted on the neck of his steed, and his sword fell from his hand. Then began grief wonderfully among the brothers. John, his brother, leapt behind Fulk on the steed, and held him up that he could not fall; and they took to flight, for they had not power to remain. The king and his retinue pursued them, but they could not take them. Then they wandered all the night, till on the morrow morning they came to the sea to Mador the mariner. Then Fulk revived, and asked where he was, and in whose power; and his brothers comforted him in the best way they

je vus prie qe mon frere qe là gist, quant il est mors, qe vus facez enterrer son cors, qe bestes savages ne le devourent, e les nos, quant mort sumes. E retornez à vostre seigneur le roy, c fetes à ly vostre service sanz feyntyse e saunz avoir regard à nus, qe sumes de vostre sang; e nus receveroms ore issi la destiné qe à nos est ordinée." Le counte tot esplorant retorna à sa meyné. Fouke remcint, qe molt tendrement plour de pieté pur son frere, qe ly covent à force ilege lesser; e prie à Dieu qu'il lur socourt e eyde.

Le counte comande sa meisné e sa compaignie à le asaut, e yl s'i ferirent vigerousement. Le counte meismes asaily sire Fouke; mès à dreyn le counte perdy son chival, e sa meisné fust grant partie ocys. Fouke e ces freres se defendirent hardiement; e come Fouke se defendy, sire Berard de Blées ly vynt derere e ly feri de son espée en le flanc, e le quida aver ocis. Ataunt se retorna Fouke, e ly referi sur le espaulde senestre on ambedeus les mayns, e ly coupa le cuer e le pulmoun, e chei mort de soun destrer. Fouke avoit taunt seigné qu'il palna sur le col de son destrer, e le espeye chey de sa meyn. Donqe comença duel à merveille entre les freres. Johan, son frere, sayly derere Fouke sur le destrer e ly sustynt qu'il ne poeit cheyer; e se mistrent à fuyte, quar poer ne aveient de demorer. Le roy e sa meyné les pursuiwyrent, mès prendre ne les purreynt. Tote la nuit errerent issi, qe lendemayn matyn vindrent à la mer à Mador le maryner. Donqe reverci Fouke, e demaunda où il fust e en qy poer; e ces freres ly confortoyent à mieux

could, and laid him in bed in the ship in a very fair bed, and John de Rampaigne doctored his wounds.

"The Earl of Chester had lost greatly of his people, and saw near him William Fitz-Warine almost dead, and took the body and sent it to an abbey to be doctored. In the end he was discovered there, and the king caused him to be brought in a litter to Windsor before him, and caused him to be thrown into a deep prison, and was much angered against the Earl of Chester because he concealed him. Said the king : 'Fulk is mortally wounded, and this one have I now here ; the others I shall easily take, be they where they will. Truly, I am greatly annoyed at the pride of Fulk ; for had it not been for his pride, he would have been still alive. And as long as he was alive there was not such a knight in all the world ; wherefore it is a great loss to lose such a knight.' "

Fulke recrossed the seas safely, and in this voyage acquired considerable wealth, and brought home a cargo of valuable merchandise. As soon as he reached the English coast, he first care was to learn the fate of his brother William, who had fallen into the king's hands in the encounter in Windsor Forest. John de Rampaigne was employed upon this mission. Dressed "very richly" in the guise of a merchant, he went to London, and took up his lodgings in the house of the mayor, with whom he soon made himself acquainted, and whose esteem he obtained by the valuable presents he gave to him. John de Rampaigne, who spoke "corrupt Latin," which the mayor understood, desired to be presented to the king, and the mayor took him to the court at Westminster. The merchant saluted the king "very courteously," and spoke to him also in corrupt Latin, which the

qu'il purroient, e ly cocherent en la nef en un molt bel lit, e Johan de Rampayne medicina ces playes.

Le counte de Cestre avoit grantment perdu de sa gent, e vist dejouste ly Willam le Fitz Waryn à poy mort, e prist le cors e le maunda à une abbeye pur medeciner. Au drein fust ileqe aparçu, e le roy le fist venyr en litere devant ly à Wyndesoure, e la fist ruer in profonde prisone, e molt fust corocé à le counte de Cestre pur ce qu'il le cela. Fet le roy : " Fouke est naufré à la mort, e cesti ay-je ore ici ; les autres averei-je bien, où qu'il soient. Certes, m'en poise durement de le orgoïl Fouke ; quar si orgoïl ne fust, il ust unquore vesqy. E tant come il fust en vie n'y ont tiel chevaler en tot le mounde ; dont grant pierre est de perdre un tel chevaler."

king understood with the same facility as the Mayor of London,<sup>1</sup> and asked him who he was and from whence he came. "Sire," said he, "I am a merchant of Greece; I have been in Babylonia, Alexandria, and in India the Greater, and I have a ship laden with spicery, rich cloths, precious stones, horses, and other things, which would be of great value to this kingdom." King John, after giving him a safe-conduct for his ship and company, ordered him to stay to dinner, and the merchant with his friend the mayor were placed at table before the king. While they were eating, there came two serjeants-at-mace, who led into the hall a great knight, with a long black beard and a very ill-favoured dress, and they placed him in the middle of the court and gave him his dinner. The mayor told John de Rampaigne that this was the outlaw William Fitz-Warine, who was brought into the court in this manner every day, and he began to recount to him the adventures of Fulke and his companions. John de Rampaigne lost no time in carrying this intelligence to Fulk Fitz-Warine, and they brought the ship as near to London as they could. The day after their arrival, the merchant repaired to court, and presented King John with a beautiful white palfrey, of very great value; and by his liberal gifts he soon purchased the favour of the courtiers. One day he took his companions, and they armed themselves well, and then put on their "gowns" according to the manner of mariners, and went to the court at Westminster, where they were "nobly" received, and William Fitz-Warine was brought into the hall as before. The merchant and his party rose early from table, and watched the return of William Fitz-Warine to his prison, when they set upon his guards, and, in spite of their resistance, carried off the prisoner; and having brought him safely on board their ship, they set sail, and were soon out of reach of their pursuers.

After staying some time in Brittany, Fulke again returned to

<sup>1</sup> "This will be easily understood," Mr. Wright observes, "when we consider that the king and all the better classes of the people at this time spoke the language known by the name of Anglo Norman, which was one of the family of languages derived from the Latin; and that each of these differed from the other hardly more than the English dialects of different counties at the present day. All these languages were, in fact, 'Latin corrupt.'" ('History of Ludlow,' p. 50.)

England, and landed in the New Forest. It happened that at this time King John himself was hunting in the same part of the country, and while closely pursuing a boar, with a slight attendance, he fell a second time into the power of the outlaws. The result was, that the king again pledged his oath to pardon them as soon as he should be at liberty. This time the king kept his word; according to the story, he called a parliament at Windsor, and caused it to be proclaimed publicly that he had granted his peace to Fulke Fitz-Warine and to all his companions, and that he had restored to them their possessions.

However embellished and wide of the actual truth parts of this story may be, the fact of the pardon of Fitz-Warine and the recovery of his possessions is authenticated by public documents of the period, which also show that he continued to enjoy the royal favour until the latter end of the king's reign, when he joined the party of the barons. The date of his death appears to be unknown, but it probably occurred towards the middle of the reign of Henry the Third.<sup>1</sup>

The 'Roman de la Rose,' a French poem of the thirteenth century, and of which Chaucer's 'Romaunt of the Rose' is a partial translation, contains an indirect allusion to Windsor.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of a Rose, which the lover, after frequent obstacles, gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantine and almost impregnable castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities, some of which assist and some oppose the lover's progress.<sup>2</sup>

Our hero is in one adventure invited by "Courtesy" to dance. Among the company is "Largess," who held by the hand a knight, kinsman of Arthur of Brittany; and after them came "Franchise," white as new-fallen snow.

<sup>1</sup> This condensed narrative of a portion of Fitz-Warine's adventures is chiefly taken from Wright's 'History of Ludlow,' pp. 79—83.

<sup>2</sup> Warton's 'History of English Poetry,' edit. 1840, vol. ii, p. 149.

The reference to Windsor occurs in the following lines :

“ Uns bachelers jones s'estoit  
 Pris à Franchise lez à lez,  
 Ne soi comment est apelé,  
 Mès biaux estoit, se il fust ores  
 Fiex au seignor de Gundesores.”

Which are thus rendered by Chaucer :

“ By her [Fraunchise] daunced a bachelere,  
 I cannot tellen what he hight,  
 But faire he was, and of good height ;  
 All had he ben, I say no more,  
 The lordes sonne of Windesore.”<sup>1</sup>

But literally translated, are—

A young bachelor there joined himself  
 With Franchise side by side ;  
 I do not know what is his name,  
 But he was handsome, and he was once  
 Son to the Lord of Windesor.

The Lord of Windsor was no doubt the King of England on the throne at the time the romance was composed—probably Edward the First or Second ; but any further meaning in the allusion is now lost.

<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat remarkable that Warton was under the impression that these lines did not occur in the original romance, but were “added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons.” (‘History of English Poetry,’ vol. ii, p. 150, note (f), edit. 1840.) It is possible that he may have been misled by the following note of Ashmole on ‘The Romaunt of the Rose:’

“‘The Lords son of Windesore.’

“This may seeme strange, both in respect that it is not in the French, as also that there was no Lord Windore in those dayes. But I take it thus : that although it stand not so in the French copy, yet Chaucer upon some conceit did add it, thereby to gratifie John of Gaunt, or some other of the sons of Edward the Third, who might well be called the Lord of Windsor, not only for that he was borne there, but also because at that tyme when as this booke was translated the king had newly builded the Castle of Windsor in such beautifull sort as could be devised by that prvdent and discreet surveyour, Will. Wyckam, and therefore was evy way the right Lord of Wyndesore.” (Ash. MSS., No. 1095, f. 28 a.)

The text examined by Ashmole must have been imperfect.

The wrongs done by bailiffs, fermers, and others, in the name of the king, were, as has been already noticed, the subject of frequent complaints for several centuries. The metrical tale of 'King Edward and the Shepherd,' the scene of which is laid at Windsor and the neighbourhood, furnishes evidence upon this point, as well as upon various others illustrative of the habits and manners of the times, especially the strict preservation of game in the forest. It is one of those popular tales which represent our kings conversing, either by accident or design, with a person in inferior station, who is unacquainted with the rank of his companion.<sup>1</sup>

The king is evidently Edward the Third, as he speaks of Windsor as his birth-place. The date of its composition must have been contemporaneous, or nearly so.

The tale thus begins :

"God that sittis in trinitie  
 Gyffe theym grace wel to the<sup>2</sup>  
     That lystyns me a whyle,  
 Alle that lovys of melody  
 Offe heven blisse God graunte tham perty,<sup>3</sup>  
     Theyre soules shelde fro peryle.  
 At festis and at mangery<sup>4</sup>  
 To tell of kyngs that is worthy  
     Talis that byn not vyle.  
 And 3e<sup>5</sup> wil listyn how hit ferd<sup>6</sup>  
 Betwene Kyng Edward and a sheperd,  
     3e shalle lawgh of gyle.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The poem is printed, but with many inaccuracies, in Hartshorne's 'Ancient Metrical Tales,' from a MS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Mr. Hartshorne says—"It seems to be a different work from the very ancient poem entitled 'John the Reeve,' mentioned in the 'Reliques of Ancient Poetry' (vol. ii, p. 169, edit. 1767), because the adventure here described passed between the king and a shepherd, and because this poem appears to exceed the other in length (what we have here consisting of about 900 lines), and the rubric at the end, 'Non finis sed punctus,' showing it to be imperfect. The language is, I think, as old as Edward the Fourth." Mr. Stoughton, in his interesting little volume of 'Windsor in the Olden Time,' has inserted some extracts, but they are not very correctly printed.

<sup>2</sup> To thrive.

<sup>3</sup> A share.

<sup>4</sup> The festive board or table.

<sup>5</sup> Ye.

<sup>6</sup> Fared.

<sup>7</sup> *i. e.*, at the deception practised.

“ Oure kyng went hym in a tyde  
 To pley hym be a ryver side  
     In a mornynge of May.  
 Knyzt ne squyer wold he non,  
 But hym self and a grome  
     To wende on that jorney.  
 With a shepherde con<sup>1</sup> he mete,  
 And gret<sup>2</sup> hym with wordis swete  
     Without any delay.  
 The shepherde lovyd his hatte so well,  
 He did hit of never a dele,<sup>3</sup>  
     But seid, ‘ Sir, gudday ?’

“ The kyng to the herde seid than,  
 ‘ Off whens art thou, gode man ?’  
     ‘ Also mot I the,<sup>4</sup>  
 In Wynsour was I borne ;  
 Hit is a myle but here beforne,  
     The town then maist thou see.<sup>5</sup>  
 I am so pyled<sup>6</sup> with the kyng,  
 That I most fle fro my wonyng,<sup>7</sup>  
     And therefore woo is me.  
 I hade catell, now have I non ;  
 Thay take my bestis and don them slone,<sup>8</sup>  
     And payon but a stick of tre.’<sup>9</sup>

“ The kyng seid, ‘ Hit is gret synne  
 That thei of sich werks wil not blynnne,<sup>10</sup>  
     And Edward wot hit no<sup>3</sup>t ;  
 But come to morne when it is day,  
 Thou shal be servyd of thy pay,  
     Ther of have thou no tho<sup>3</sup>t ;  
 For in your towne born I was ;  
 I have dwellid in diverse place  
     Sithe I thens was broght ;

<sup>1</sup> *Gan mete* is a Saxon idiom for *met*.

<sup>2</sup> Greeted.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, He did not take it off in the least, or at all.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.*, As I may thrive.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.*, In Windsor was I born. It is only a mile from here. The town you may almost see.

<sup>6</sup> Pillaged, plundered.

<sup>7</sup> Dwelling.

<sup>8</sup> And kill them.

<sup>9</sup> And pay but a stick of tree. This is an allusion to the payment by tallies. See *ante*, p. 170, note 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cease.



In the courte I have sich a frende,  
 The treserer or then I wende  
 Ffor thy luffe shall be soght.<sup>1</sup>

“ This gret lord the herd con frayne,<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘ What wil men of your kyng seyne ?  
 Wel littull gode I trowe.’  
 The herd onsweryd hym riȝt noȝt,  
 But on his shepe was all his thoȝt,  
 And seid agayn, ‘ Charhow.’  
 Then loogh;<sup>3</sup> oure kyng and smyled stille,  
 ‘ Thou onsweris me not at my will ;  
 I wolde thei were on a lowe ;<sup>4</sup>  
 I aske the tythyngs of our kyng,  
 Off his men and his wyrkyng,  
 For sum I have sorow.’

“ ‘ I am a marchant and ride aboute,  
 And fele sithis<sup>5</sup> I am in doute,  
 Ffor myn owne ware ;  
 I tell it the in preveté,<sup>6</sup>  
 The kyngs men oen<sup>7</sup> to me  
 A M pounde and mare.<sup>8</sup>  
 . . . . he ouȝt mycull in the cuntre ;<sup>9</sup>  
 What silver shall he pay the ?  
 Ffor Goddis holy use.<sup>10</sup>  
 Sith thou art noght,  
 I wil my nedis do and thyne—  
 Thar of have thou no care.’ ”<sup>11</sup>

The shepherd replies that four pounds and “ odd two shillings ” was owing to him, for which he held a stick of hazel as a witness or voucher, and he promised the king seven shillings of the amount if he got it for him. In answer to an inquiry, he tells the king

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Before I go thence the treasurer shall be sought for love of thee.

<sup>2</sup> Inquired.

<sup>3</sup> Laughed.

<sup>4</sup> I would the sheep were on a bank.

<sup>5</sup> Oft times.

<sup>6</sup> Privy, *i.e.*, in secret.

<sup>7</sup> Owe.

<sup>8</sup> One thousand pounds and more.

<sup>9</sup> He owes much in the country.

<sup>10</sup> For God's holy usage. Three lines appear to have been omitted before this, or else there is some misprint in Mr. Hartshorne's volume.

<sup>11</sup> Since you are not able (?), I will do my business and thine. Thereof have thou no care.

that men call him "Adam the Shepherd;" and in turn says to the king, "Whose son art thou of our town? Is not thy father Hochon?" The king replies—

" ' My fadur was a Walshe knyzt,<sup>1</sup>  
 Dame Isabell my modur hyzt,  
 For sothe as I tell the ;  
 In the castell<sup>2</sup> was hir dwellyng,  
 Thorow commaundment of the kyng,  
 Whene she thar shuld be.  
 Now wayte<sup>3</sup> thou wher that I was borne,  
 The tother Edward here beforne  
 Ful well he lovyd me.  
 Certainly, withowte lye,  
 Sum tyme I lyve be marchandye,  
 And passe well ofte the see.

" ' I have a son is with the quene,  
 She lovys hym well, as I wene,  
 That dar I savelly say.  
 And he pray hir of a bone,  
 ȝif that hit be for to done,  
 She will not onys say nay.  
 And in the courte I have sich a frende,  
 I shall be servyd or I wende  
 Without any delay.  
 To morne at undern<sup>4</sup> speke with me,  
 Thout shall be servyd of thy moné<sup>5</sup>  
 Er than hye mydday.'"<sup>6</sup>

The shepherd asks in what place he shall find the king, and what he shall call him. "My name," says the king, "is Joly Robyn. Every man knows it well and finely, both in bowers and hall. Pray the porter, as he is free, that he let thee speak with me." Edward remarks that the king is often blamed for the acts of others. This leads the shepherd to tell him of the wrongs done by the king's men. "They go about eight or nine together, and cause the husbands much suffering, 'that carefull is their mele.'"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, Edward of Carnarvon.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.*, Windsor.

<sup>3</sup> Know.

<sup>4</sup> Nine o'clock in the morning.

<sup>5</sup> Money.

<sup>6</sup> Before high midday.

<sup>7</sup> Meal; *i. e.*, they eat with care and sorrow.

They take geese, capons, and hens, and all that ever they can carry off, and 'reeve' us our cattle. Some of them were sore imprisoned and afterwards hanged therefor, yet there are nine more of them, for they were at my house yesterday. They took my hens and my geese, and my sheep with all the fleece." He adds that they drove him into his cart-house, and put his old gray-haired wife out at the door, remarking, "Had I help of some 'lordyng,' I should make reckoning with them, and they should do so no more." He boasts of his skill as an archer and in throwing slings, and—

"With talis he made the kyng to dwell,  
 With mony moo then I can tell,  
 Till hit was halfe gan prime.<sup>1</sup>  
 His hatte was bonde<sup>2</sup> under his chyn;  
 He did hit nothing of to hym,  
 He thoȝt hit was no tyme.  
 'Robyn,' he seid, 'I pray the,  
 Hit is thy will come hom with me,  
 A morsell for to dyne.'  
 The kyng list of his bourds lere:<sup>3</sup>  
 'Gladly,' he seid, 'my lefe fere  
 I will be on of thyne.'"

As they went homeward the king saw several conies (rabbits), and smiling—

"'Adam,' he said, 'take up a ston,  
 And put hit in thy slyng anon;  
 Abyde we here awhile;  
 Gret bourde<sup>4</sup> it wold be  
 Off them to slee<sup>5</sup> two or thre—  
 I swere this be Seynt Gyle.'"

Adam, however, says—

—— "'I wolde not for my hat  
 Be taken with sich a gyle.'<sup>6</sup>"

<sup>1</sup> Half gone prime, or noon.

<sup>2</sup> Tied.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.*, Pleased to hear of his jests.

<sup>4</sup> Jest.

<sup>5</sup> Slay.

<sup>6</sup> *i. e.*, I would not be caught practising such a trick.

“ ‘ Hit is alle the kynges waren ;  
 Ther is nouthur knyjt ne sqwayre  
 That do sich a dede.  
 Any conyng here to sla,  
 And with the trespass away to ga,  
 But his sides shulde blede.  
 The warner<sup>1</sup> is hardy and fell,  
 Certainly as I the tell  
 He will take no mede.<sup>2</sup>  
 Who so dose here sich maistrye,<sup>3</sup>  
 Be thou wel sicur<sup>4</sup> he shall aby<sup>5</sup>  
 And unto preson lede.’ ”

He says, however, that there is no wild fowl that flies that he cannot hit with his sling. “ Such meat I dare thee promise.”

“ The shepherds house full merry stood  
 Under a forest fair and good ;”

and the king, noticing the abundance of game, swears that if he had such a place he would have some of it, “ whether it were evening or morning.” The shepherd, however, stopped him.

—— “ ‘ let sech<sup>6</sup> wordis be :

Sum man myjt here the;  
 The were bettur be still ;  
 Wode has crys, felde has sijt ;<sup>7</sup>  
 Were the forstur<sup>8</sup> here now right  
 They wordis shuld like<sup>9</sup> the ille.  
 He has with hym jong men thre,<sup>10</sup>  
 Thei be archers of this contré,  
 The kyng to serve at wille.  
 To kepe the dere<sup>11</sup> both day and nyjt,  
 And for theire luf<sup>12</sup> a loge is dijt,  
 Full hye upon an hill.’ ”

The king seated in the house, the shepherd lays “ a fair cloth on the board,” and from the bower fetches

“ Brede of whete bultid<sup>13</sup> small,  
 ii penny<sup>14</sup> ale he broujt withall.”

<sup>1</sup> Warriner.

<sup>2</sup> Reward or bribe.

<sup>3</sup> Skil, a clever trick or performance.

<sup>4</sup> Sure.

<sup>5</sup> Make amends, or pay for it.

<sup>6</sup> Such.

<sup>7</sup> Wood has ears, field has sight.

<sup>8</sup> Forester.

<sup>9</sup> Please.

<sup>10</sup> Three young men.

<sup>11</sup> Deer.

<sup>12</sup> Love.

<sup>13</sup> Sifted.

<sup>14</sup> Twopenny.

These, with a crane and other fowls, he set before the king, who exclaimed—

—— “ ‘blessed thou be!  
Here is bettur than thou heytist<sup>1</sup>  
To day when that we mette.’ ”

The shepherd then produced a heron, “with a poplere,” curlews, “bocurs,” “mandlart,” and “hurmech,” and a baked wild swan, observing—

“ ‘I bade<sup>2</sup> fellowes to my dynere,  
And sithin<sup>3</sup> thei will not cum here,  
A deuell have who that rech.’ ”

He tells the king that if he wishes to have anything to drink he must learn the play, or drinking ceremony, which was this: when the king took the cup he was immediately to say “Passelodion,” and Adam was to answer, “Berafrynde.” He explained that “passilodyon,” used by the person who first drank, was equivalent to wassail, and “berafrynde” was the signal to empty the cup and fill it again.

“ ‘Thus shal the game go aboute,  
And who so faly<sup>4</sup>s of the route,  
I swere be Seynt Michell,  
Let hym drynk wher he will,  
He gets non here, this is my skill,<sup>5</sup>  
Mo<sup>6</sup>st to another sele.’ ”<sup>7</sup>

“ Thus they sate withoute strife,  
The kyng with Adam and his wyfe,  
And made hym mery and glade.  
The scheperde bade the cuppe fill;  
The kyng to drynke hade gode will,  
His wife did as he bade.  
When the cuppe was come anon,  
The kyng seid, ‘Passylodion,’  
When he the cuppe hade;

<sup>1</sup> Promised.

<sup>2</sup> Invited.

<sup>3</sup> Since.

<sup>4</sup> May a devil take him who cares!

<sup>5</sup> Fails.

<sup>6</sup> Reason.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., He must try another time.

Hit was a game of gret solas,<sup>1</sup>  
 Hit comford all that ever ther was  
 Therof thai were noght sade.

“The scheperde ete till that he swatte,  
 And than non erst<sup>2</sup> he drew his hatt  
 Into the benke ende,  
 And when he feld<sup>3</sup> the drynk was gode,  
 He wynkid and strokyd up his hode,  
 And seid, ‘Berafrynde.’  
 He was qwyte<sup>4</sup> as any swan,  
 He was a wel begeton man,  
 And comyn of holy kynde.  
 He wolde not ete his cromys<sup>5</sup> drie,  
 He lovyd nothyng but it were trie,<sup>6</sup>  
 Nether fer ne hende.”<sup>7</sup>

The king remarked that to be fed with such dainties in a town would “have cost dear.” Recurring to the subject of game, he remarks that there was no meat he loved so much as buck or doe. The shepherd, thus encouraged, tells him, if he can keep a secret, he shall see good game. The king pledges his good faith, and the shepherd produces three conies, “all baken well in a pasty,” well spiced, and other baked meat (or pies), both of hart and roe. He tells the king they were alive the day before, and came thither by moonlight. The king compliments him on his skill with a sling, and says that if he were equally perfect in the use of the bow he might have plenty of venison without the help of the foresters.

“Then seid the scheperde, ‘No thyng soo;  
 I con a game worth thei twoo,  
 To wyne me a bridde.’<sup>8</sup>  
 Ther is no hert ne bucke so wode<sup>9</sup>  
 That I ne get without blode,  
 And I of hym have nede.

<sup>1</sup> Solace or joy.

<sup>2</sup> Felt.

<sup>3</sup> Crumbs.

<sup>7</sup> Far or near? Probably this is incorrectly printed in Mr. Hartshorne's text.

<sup>8</sup> To gain a bird.

<sup>2</sup> And then and not before.

<sup>4</sup> White.

<sup>6</sup> Choice.

<sup>9</sup> Wild.

I haue a slyng for the nones<sup>1</sup>  
 That is made for gret stouys,<sup>2</sup>  
 Ther with I con me fede;<sup>3</sup>  
 What dere I take under the side,<sup>4</sup>  
 Be thou siker he shall abide  
 Til I hym home will lede.

“ ‘ Conyngis with my nouthers<sup>5</sup> slyng  
 I con slee and hame bryng,  
 Sum tyme twoo or thre;  
 I ete tham not my self alon,  
 I send persandes mony on,<sup>6</sup>  
 And sury fryndes make I me,<sup>7</sup>  
 Til gentlemen and zomanry<sup>8</sup>  
 Thei have them all thet ar worthy,  
 Those that are privé.  
 What so thei have it may be myne,  
 Corne and brede, ale and wyne,  
 And alle that may like me.’ ”

The shepherd's heart warms to the king, whom he addresses as "Joly Robyne." He draws a cup of "lanycoll," and they renew their "game" of "passilodion" and "berafrynd." At last the king rises to take his leave; but, before he leaves, the shepherd wishes to show "Joly Robyn"

“ ‘ A litull chaumbur that is myne,  
 That was made for me.’ ”

The king, gladly assenting, was led to a secret place, dug far under the earth out of sight, and "clergially wrought." In it was plenty of venison and wine so clear. The shepherd again insists on the king, before he goes, "proving" a "costrell" of wine, "the best that might be bought," that good friends sent him. After promising to keep the secret, the king mounts his horse and is about to take his leave, but the shepherd offers to accompany him with his sling, and hit "a fowl or two," and peradventure a cony.

<sup>1</sup> Nonce (occasion).

<sup>2</sup> Can feed myself.

<sup>3</sup> Other.

<sup>7</sup> (There is some error in this line.)

<sup>2</sup> Great stones.

<sup>4</sup> What deer I hit in the side.

<sup>6</sup> I send presents many an one.

<sup>8</sup> Yeomanry.

“The kyng rode softely on his way,  
 Adam folowyd and wayted<sup>1</sup> his pray;  
 Conyngus<sup>2</sup> saw he thre.  
 ‘Joly Robyn, chese<sup>3</sup> thou which thou wytt,<sup>4</sup>  
 Hym that rennyys or hym that sitt,  
 And I shall gif him the.  
 He that sitts and wil not lepe,  
 Hit is the best of alle the hepe,  
 Forsoth, so thynkith me.’  
 The scheperde hit hym with a stone,  
 And breke in two his brest bone,  
 Thus sone ded<sup>5</sup> was he.

“The kyng seid, ‘Thou art to<sup>6</sup> slow,  
 Take hym als<sup>7</sup> that rennyth now,  
 And thou con thy crafte.’  
 ‘Be God,’ seid Adam, ‘here is a stone,  
 It shall be his bane anon’—  
 Thus sone his life was rafte.  
 What fowle that sitts or flye,  
 Whethur it were ferre or nye,  
 Sone with hym it lafte.<sup>8</sup>  
 ‘Sir,’ he seid, ‘for soth I trowe,  
 This is behette<sup>9</sup> any bowe  
 For alle the fedurt schafte.’ ”<sup>10</sup>

The king goes on to the court, and Adam returns to his sheep, where he finds his dogs lying quietly to guard them. At night he returns to his wife, bringing with him “new meat.” He tells her not to be sad, for he is going to court, and narrates what had passed between “Joly Robin” and himself before dinner.

“On morrow, when he shuld to court goo,  
 In russet clothyng he tyret<sup>11</sup> hym tho,  
 In kyrtil and in surstbye,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Watched.

<sup>2</sup> Conies, *i. e.*, rabbits.

<sup>3</sup> Choose.

<sup>4</sup> Wilt.

<sup>5</sup> Soon dead.

<sup>6</sup> Too.

<sup>7</sup> Also.

<sup>8</sup> Soon with him it remains.

<sup>9</sup> Better.

<sup>10</sup> Than all the feathered shafts, *i. e.*, arrows.

<sup>11</sup> Attired.

<sup>12</sup> This is evidently a misreading of Mr. Hartshorne for “courtpe,” a sort of short cloak or mantle.



And a blak furred hode  
 That well fust to his cheke stode,<sup>1</sup>  
     The typet myght not wrye.<sup>2</sup>  
 The mytans clutt for gate he nojt,<sup>3</sup>  
 The slyng even ys not out of his thojt  
     Wherwith he wroujt maystré."

On arriving at the gate, he asks the porter and his man where "Joly Robyn" was? The porter, instructed beforehand, offers to show him. The king in the mean time, seeing his approach, directs two earls to address him in the presence of the shepherd as "Joly Robyn," and offers to lay them a wager of a tun of wine that, although the best lord among them should "avayl" or lower his hood to the shepherd, the latter would not return the courtesy. Sir Ralph Stafford was despatched to ascertain the shepherd's will. "All hail, good man," he said, "whither wilt thou go?" The shepherd replied, without moving his hood—

" ' Joly Robyn that I yondere see,  
 Bid hym speke a worde with me,  
     For he is not my foo.' "

The earl requested him to deliver his staff and mittins to the porter to hold, but the shepherd declined to let them out of his hands, and again presses to see Joly Robyn; and not liking the appearance of things, and desirous of making an excuse for getting away as soon as he can, says—

" ' I am aferd my schepe go mysse  
     On othur mennys lande.' "

After a familiar recognition of the king, he calls him aside to speak a word in private. It is to inquire who the lords are standing by. The king tells him

" ' The Erle of Lancastur is the ton,  
 And the Earl of Waryn Sir John,  
     Bolde and as hardy.' "

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, That stood close to his cheek.

<sup>2</sup> Slip aside.

<sup>3</sup> The mittins or gloves cloth (?) he forgot not.

The king says he will take him to the marshal, and himself tell his tale, in order the better to "speed" him. Arrived in the hall, the king leaves him there alone, the shepherd exclaiming on his departure—

" ' Robyn, dwel not long fro me,  
I know no man here but the;  
This court is noȝt but pride;  
I ne come of no sich fare  
These hyc halles thei are so bare,  
Why ar thei made so wyde? " "

The king directs the marshal, and the marshal tells the steward to pay the shepherd his debt of four pounds and two shillings. The shepherd tells them he has a voucher for it "scored on a tally." He gathers up the money right gladly, and offers the king the seven shillings promised the day before. The king, however, refuses to take it, but insists on the shepherd dining with him. The invitation is reluctantly accepted, the shepherd being loth to eat the king's meat, and in dread that while he is out his house will be again attacked by the rout he spoke of the day before. The king and he walked up and down "as men that said their orison," the shepherd keeping his staff warm under his arm, and refusing to give it up until he should go to meat.

" When tablys were layd and cloths sprad,  
The scheperde in to the hall was lad,"

to the end of the board. His mittens hung by his side, and he was hooded like a friar. When the waiters blew a loud blast close to him, he wondered what it could be, and thought he had heard a fiend! The steward told "Joly Robyn" it was time to go and wash. "Joly Robyn" was placed in the king's seat at the head of the table, under the pretence that it was done for the favour he had enjoyed with the previous king, and when he was seated, the queen, as the "most worthy," was brought in. At each end of the dais sat an earl "and a fayre lady." The steward then prayed the shepherd specially to be seated at a dormant table. The prince, instructed by his father, invites the shepherd to repeat the game of "passilodion" and "berafrynde," and gives him a gold ring, asking

him to wear it for his sake. The shepherd will not have it, remarking that it would not last him half a day. "When it is broken, farewell to it. A hat were more useful for rain and sunshine." When they had eaten and the cloth drawn, and they had washed according to custom, they drank and played "passilodion." Then the lords went to their chamber, and the king sent for the shepherd, who came clawing his head and rending his hair. When he heard French and Latin spoken, he marvelled what it meant, and prayed inwardly to be brought safely out of the place. The king, seeing his sorrow, had great mirth, and said—

" 'Come nere, Adam;  
Take the spices and drynk the wyne  
As homely as I did of thyne.' "

The shepherd complies, but secretly thinks that if he had Joly Robyn again as he had the day before, he would so chastise him with his sling that he should bring no more tidings, although mounted on horseback. The king now determines to disclose his real rank to the disconcerted shepherd.

"The kyng commandit a squyer tere,<sup>1</sup>  
Go telle the scheperde in his ere  
That I am the kyng,  
And thou shalt se sich cowntenance  
That hym had lever<sup>2</sup> be in Fraunce,  
When heris of that tythyng.  
He has me schewid his preveté,  
He wil wene ded to be,<sup>3</sup>  
And make therfore mournyng.  
Hit shalle hym mene al to gode,<sup>4</sup>  
I wolde not ellis, be the rode,<sup>5</sup>  
Nou<sup>3</sup>t for my best gold ryng.

"The squyer pryvely toke his leve,  
And plucked the scheperde be the sleve,  
For to speke hym with.

<sup>1</sup> There.

<sup>2</sup> Rather.

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.*, He will expect to be put to death.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.*, It shall be all for his good.

<sup>5</sup> By the rood or cross.

'Man,' he seid, 'thou art wode,<sup>1</sup>  
 Why dose thou not down thy hode,  
     Thou art all out of kith.<sup>2</sup>  
 Hit is the kyng that spekes to thee;  
 May do what his willes be,  
     Berefe this lym and lith,<sup>3</sup>  
 And gif thou have do any trespass,  
 Ffall on knees and aske grace,  
     And he will gif the grith.<sup>4</sup>

"Then was that herd a careful man,<sup>5</sup>  
 And never so sory as he was than,  
     When he herd that sawe.  
 He wist not that hym was gode,<sup>6</sup>  
 But then he putte down his hode,  
     On knees he fel down lawe.<sup>7</sup>  
 'Lorde,' he seid, 'I crye the mercy,  
 I know the not, be oure Lady,  
     When I come into the sale;<sup>8</sup>  
 Ffor had I wist<sup>9</sup> of the sorowe  
 When that we met jister morow,<sup>10</sup>  
     I had not ben in this bale.'"<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript ends here abruptly, evidently imperfect.<sup>12</sup> We may conclude, however, that the shepherd eventually got well out of his scrape.

Before concluding this episode in the Annals of Windsor, a short political poem or song of the reign of Henry the Third may be inserted, as being expressly connected with the events at Windsor during that reign.

The decisive battle of Lewes, in 1264, was the subject of great exultation amongst the adherents of Simon de Montfort. This song is directed against the king's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, who had become very unpopular by his foreign schemes of

<sup>1</sup> Mad.<sup>2</sup> Knowledge or breeding.<sup>3</sup> Bereave thee limb and member.<sup>4</sup> Give thee grace.<sup>5</sup> *i. e.*, That shepherd was then full of care.<sup>6</sup> He knew not what was good for him.<sup>7</sup> Low.<sup>8</sup> Hall.<sup>9</sup> Known.<sup>10</sup> Yesterday morning.<sup>11</sup> Evil.<sup>12</sup> See note, *ante*, p. 211.

ambition. He took shelter at a windmill after he saw the king's party defeated.<sup>1</sup> Windsor was the stronghold of the royal party, and had been, as has been already stated, in the early part of the reign of Henry the Third, garrisoned by foreigners.

"Sitteth alle stille ant herkneth to me :\*

The Kyn of Alemaigne,<sup>2</sup> bi mi leauté,

Thritti thousand pound<sup>3</sup> askede he

For te make the pees in the countré,

ant so he dude more.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,

trichen shalt thou never more.

"Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he wes kyng,

He spende al is tresour opon swyvyng ;

Haveth he nout of Walingford o ferlyng<sup>4</sup> :—

Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng,

maugre Wyndesore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, &c.

"The Kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,

He saisede the mulne for a castel,<sup>5</sup>

With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,

He wende that the sayles were mangonel

To helpe Wyndesore.

Richard, &c.

\* The following is the translation, as given by Mr. Wright : Sit all still and listen to me :—the King of Almaine, by my loyalty,—thirty thousand pound he asked—to make peace in the country,—and so he did more.—Richard, though thou art ever a traitor,—thou shalt never more deceive.

Richard of Almaine, while he was king,—he spent all his treasure upon luxury ;—have he not of Walingford one furlong :—let him have, as he brews, evil to drink,—in spite of Windsor.

The King of Almaine thought to do full well,—they seized the mill for a castle ;—with their sharp swords they ground the steel,—they thought the sails had been mangonels—to help Windsor.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward the Second,' edited and translated by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c., printed for the Camden Society, p. 68. The song in question is printed from the Harl. MS., No. 2253, fol. 58 v° of the reign of Edw. II. It first appeared in Percy's 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.'

<sup>2</sup> Richard Earl of Cornwall. (See *ante*, p. 103.)

<sup>3</sup> The barons had offered him this sum, if he would by his intermeditation persuade the king to agree to a peace with them, and at the same time accept the terms they demanded.

<sup>4</sup> The honour of Walingford had been conferred on Richard in 1243, on his marriage with Sanchia, daughter of the Count of Provence.

<sup>5</sup> "After the battle was lost, Richard King of the Romans took refuge in a windmill,

"The Kyng of Alemaigne gederede ys host,  
 Makede him a castel of a mulne post,  
 Wende with is prude ant is muchele bost,  
 Brohte from Alemayne mony sori gost  
 to store Wyndesore.

Richard, &c.

"By God that is aboven ous, he dude muche synne,  
 That lette passen over see the Erl of Warynne:<sup>1</sup>  
 He hath robbed Engeland, the mores ant the fenne,  
 The gold, ant the selver, ant y-boren henne,  
 for love of Wyndesore.

Richard, &c.

"Sire Simond de Mountfort hath swore bi ys chyn,  
 Hevede he nou here the Erl of Waryn,  
 Shulde he never more come to is yn,  
 Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn,  
 to help of Wyndesore.

Richard, &c.

"Sir Simond de Montfort hath suore bi ys cop,  
 Hevede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot,<sup>2</sup>  
 Al he shulde quite here twelfmoneth scot,  
 Shulde he never more with his fot pot  
 to helpe Wyndesore.

Richard, &c.

The King of Almaine gathered his host,—he made him a castle of a mill-post,—he went with his pride and his great boast,—brought from Almaine many a wretched soul—to garrison Windsor.

By God that is above us, he did great sin,—who let the Earl of Warenne pass over sea:—he had robbed England, both the moor and the fen,—of the gold and the silver, and carried them hence,—for love of Windsor.

Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his chin,—had he now here the Earl of Warenne,—he should never more come to his lodging,—neither with shield, nor with spear, nor with other contrivance,—to help Windsor.

Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his head,—had he now here Sir Hugh de Bigot,—he should pay here a twelvemonth's scot,—he should never more tramp on his feet—to help Windsor.

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which he barricaded and maintained for some time against the barons, but in the evening was obliged to surrender. See a very full account of this in the 'Chronicle of Mailros.'" (Percy.)

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Warenne escaped from the battle, and fled into France.

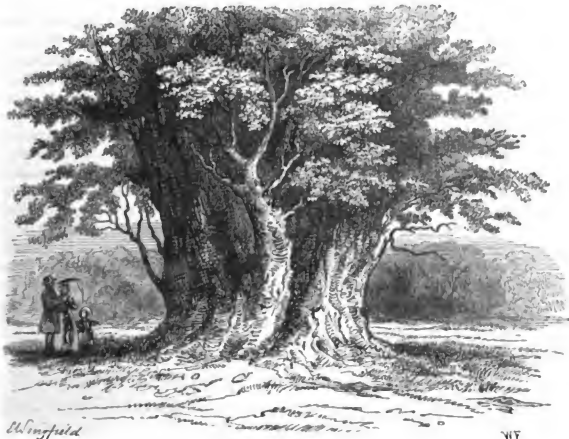
<sup>2</sup> Hugh Bigod escaped with the Earl of Warenne to Pevensey, and from thence to France. He was cousin to the Hugh Bigod who took part with the barons, and was slain at Lewes.

“ Be the luef, be the loht, Sire Edward,  
 Thou shalt ride sporeless o thy lyard<sup>1</sup>  
 Al the ryhte way to Doevere ward ;  
 Shalt thou never more breke fore-ward,  
     ant that reweth sore :  
 Edward, thou dudest ase a shreward,  
     forsoke thyn emes lore.  
 Richard, &c.”

Be it agreeable to thee, or disagreeable, Sir Edward,—thou shalt ride spurless on thy hack—all the straight road towards Dover ;—thou shalt never more break covenant ;—and that sore rueth thee ;—Edward, thou didst like a shrew,—forsake thine uncle’s teaching.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word (in Low Latin, *liardus*) means, properly, a dapple-grey horse.

<sup>2</sup> In 1375 a statute was passed “ Against slanderous reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people,” and it has been suggested that it was occasioned by this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne. (Barrington’s ‘ Observations on the Statutes,’ p. 71.)



The Twin Sisters.

WY

## CHAPTER X.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE SECOND.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1377. SIR SIMON BURLEY.

A.D. 1390. PETER DE COURTNEY.

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#### DEAN OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

A.D. 1380. WALTER ALMALY OR ALMARY.

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The King keeps Christmas at the Castle—Differences between the Dean and Canons and the Poor Knights—Misconduct of the Dean and Chapter—Inventory of the Reliques, &c.—Confirmation of Charter of Edward the Second—Erection of a Cross in High Street—Pontage—Feast of Whitsuntide, 1380—Insurrection of Wat Tyler—The King leaves the Castle—His Marriage—Queen Anne at Windsor—Council at Windsor—The King returns to Windsor from Wales—Address of the Londoners to the King at St. George's Feast—The interview—Imprisonment of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in the Castle—Charges against Sir Simon Burley and others—Movement of the King's Forces, and Proceedings of the Dukes of York and Gloucester—Windsor Bridge broken down—The King at Windsor, on his return to London—Charge against the Judges for Transactions at Windsor—St. George's Feast, 1388—Repair of the Castle—Appointment of Geoffry Chaucer to superintend Repairs of the Chapel—Feasts and Tournaments at Windsor—St. George's Feast, 1391—Imprisonment of John Hinde, Mayor of London, in the Castle—Londoners summoned to the King at Windsor—Froissart—Movements of the King—Entertainment of the Ambassadors sent to propose his marriage with the infant Queen Isabella—Appeal of High Treason by the Duke of Hereford against the Duke of Norfolk—Proceedings at Windsor—Tournament in 1399—Parting of the King and Queen—The King departs for Ireland—Removal of the Queen to Wallingford—Events connected with the Order of the Garter—Grants to St. George's Chapel—Owners of Land at Windsor—Sir Bernard "Brocas."

On the accession of Richard the Second to the throne in 1377, Sir Simon Burley, Knight, was made constable of Windsor Castle for life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 1 Ric. II, p. i, m. 14; Stow, 'Annals.'—Sir Simon Burley was also appointed constable of Wigmore, Guilford, and the manor of Kensington, "and also Master of the



King Richard kept his Christmas of 1378 at Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

Early in this reign, and probably before the termination of the last, differences arose between the dean and canons of St. George's on the one part, and the poor knights on the other, and which have unfortunately continued on one ground or other to the present day. By the statutes of the college it was provided that for every day's absence from the chapel, the poor knights should lose the twelve pence per diem allowed to each, and that the amount of the forfeitures arising from this clause should be converted to the use of the other knights. Notwithstanding this provision, it appears that the dean took upon himself to dispose of their fines at his pleasure. The poor knights complained to Adam Bishop of St. David's and Chancellor of England, of this infraction, and also that the dean disposed of the donations and other offerings of the Knights Companions of the Garter, so that no part of them was applied towards their support. A rigid investigation was instituted by the chancellor, not merely into these alleged grievances, but into the general conduct of the dean, canons, and poor knights; the result of which was, as Sir Harris Nicolas observes,<sup>2</sup> very unfavorable to the moral character of many of them. It certainly shows that only a few years after the institution the purposes of the founder were perverted and abused.

The chancellor went in person to Windsor, and examined the dean, canons, and vicars, and also certain of the military knights and elders; and made a report of the existing abuses.

The fines imposed on the knights for not attending the chapel were pocketed by the dean, and disposed of at his pleasure; and he dealt in the same way with the gifts and bounties of lords and

King's Falcons at his mues neere Charing Crosse." (Ibid.) In 1378 he was directed to superintend in person or by deputy the works in the castle and parks. (Pat., 2 Ric. II, p. i, m. 47.) He was a Knight of the Garter, and had been appointed *Governor* to Richard by the choice of Edward the Third and the Black Prince, and was much attached to the king. The subsequent attempt of Sir Simon Burley to exact £300 for the manumission of one of the burghers of Gravesend, whom he claimed as his, led to an insurrection of the people in Kent, which was immediately followed by that under Wat Tyler. He was executed in 1388, for treason. (See *post.*)

<sup>1</sup> Walsingham. A council was held at Windsor in 1379, at which the Duke of Lancaster was present. (See Walsingham and Holinshed.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 44.

noblemen, made to the chapel and college, to the exclusion of the knights. He also kept the salaries of the vicars too long in his hands, and also appropriated to his own use the dues of the vacant vicars' stalls. The church of "Fokkesaire," appropriated to the college, had been let to farm to Thomas Tuppeleye, a layman, for his life, he living with his wife and family in the rectory house. The gift of £200 by William of Wykeham was wholly lost, no one receiving the interest or knowing what had become of the principal.

In addition to the licentious conduct of Thomas Tawne and John Breton, two of the elder knights,<sup>1</sup> it appeared that Breton was insolent in his manner, late in going to the chapel, and too hasty in leaving it, and when he knelt at prayers he immediately went to sleep, so that he could be scarcely roused to receive the sacrament at the altar.

Edmund Clove, one of the canons, was profligate and irreverent, talking scandal to laymen at mass time and other hours. John Loryng, another canon, neglected his attendance at chapel, and was devoted to hunting and fishing. John Chicester, a vicar, was convicted of adultery.<sup>2</sup> The canons generally slurred over their duties, attending only one hour daily in the chapel, and walking off the moment they received their daily pay.

It appeared that the dean had converted the college close into

<sup>1</sup> "Item. Compertum est quod Domini Thomas Tawne et Johannes Breton, milites scens ejusdem capellæ, conjugati, tenent muliereculas in adulterinis amplexibus, ad magnum scandalum collegii prædicti; ideo volumus et ordinamus quod Decanus dicti loci, pro honestata et honore ejusdem, prædictos milites et alios, in dicto collegio in futurum graviter committentes seu delinquentes, primo moderate corrigat; et perseverantes in criminibus hujusmodi gravius corripiat et corrigat; et tertio, sic incorrigibiles repertos, de consilio concilii Domini nostri regis, a dicto collegio penitus amoveat.

"Item. Compertum est quod Johannes Breton miles prædictus, insolentiis suis nimis deditus, tarde accedit et nimis delicate ad horas canonicas in dicta capella: et cum reclinaverit se ad orandum in eadem, statim dormit, ita quod vix poterit ad sacramentum altaris vigilare; unde per regem et suum concilium apponatur remedium.

"Item. Compertum est quod Dominus Edmundus Clove, canonicus dictæ capellæ, fuit ab antiquo diffamatus de diversis mulieribus, et est laciivus et jocundus, et discurrens inter laicos tempore missæ et aliarum horarum scandalose."

<sup>2</sup> "Item. Compertum est quod Johannes Chicestre vicarius diffamatur de Uxore Thomæ Swyft (cujus mulieris nomen ignoratur) quod relinquimus correctioni decani."

a kitchen garden.<sup>1</sup> The records of the college, moreover, were negligently kept.

It is superfluous to say that the dean, in addition to his own lax conduct, was reported to have exercised no vigilance in checking and correcting the misconduct of those under him, so that the canons paid no respect to his office.

The chancellor took steps to reform these various abuses. The emoluments of the college were ordered to be properly distributed. The offerings or gifts in the college were directed to be equally divided between the dean, canons, and knights; and the same division was expressly ordered to be made of the swans and cygnets given to the college by Oliver de Bordeaux. The dean was severely admonished, and he was directed to reprove, and, if the offences were repeated or continued, to punish the offending canons and vicars. The remedy for the general neglect and offences of the canons was, however, left by the chancellor to the king in council.<sup>2</sup>

The dean and canons had, it appears, by this time acquired considerable riches for their chapel in the shape of plate, jewels, vestments, reliques, and ornaments, most of them, probably, offerings made at the altar. A register of all the books, vestments, reliques, plate, and various other ornaments of the chapel, made in the eighth year of this reign, and in the time of Walter Almaly, dean, is printed in Dugdale's '*Monasticon*,' from an ancient roll formerly in the possession of Elias Ashmole.<sup>3</sup>

This register comprises books in the choir, and books on various subjects chained in the chapel (comprising, among the latter, two volumes of French romances, of which one was the '*Book of the Rose*');<sup>4</sup> vestments and their appendages of great variety of forms and colours, adapted for the different festivals and vigils of the year,

<sup>1</sup> "Item. Præcipimus Decano prædicto quod claustrum, satis honorificum dicti collegii, intrinsecus urticis et aliis herbis nocivis, non delectabilitibus in visu, turpitu dehonestatum, celeritu mundari, et sicut decet claustrum Capellæ Regiæ, honeste faciat præparari, subpœna quæ incumbit."

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 2 Ric. II, p. i, m. 15, printed in the '*Fœdera*.'

<sup>3</sup> Ash. MSS., Nos. 16 and 22.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 209. Books constituted a valuable property at this period. About the year 1400, a copy of John de Meun's '*Roman de la Rose*' (the book mentioned in the text) was sold, before the palace gate at Paris, for forty crowns, or thirty-three pounds six and sixpence. (Warton's '*History of Poetry*,' '*Dissertations*,' vol. i, p. 90, edit. 1840.)

including a set for a private altar behind the great altar; also a vestment of blood-colour, the gift of Henry the Fourth, with white dogs worked upon it; another, the gift of King Richard, containing an altar-cloth with the crucifix of Mary and John; one vestment for Lent, the gift of the Duke of Norfolk; and a number of copes and cloths. Beneath the table of the high altar were jewels and relics, comprising crosses (including the crosse called Gneyth<sup>1</sup>), tabernacles, tables, a salt cellar (for salt to mingle with the hallowed water), a silver gilt image of St. James, and another of the Virgin Mary, the gift of Henry the Fourth; angels,<sup>2</sup> cups, vessels, and phials of various make and workmanship, and set with precious stones. The relics inclosed in some of them comprised a portion of the milk of the Virgin Mary, parts of the skulls of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas the Apostle. Tables and branches of silver and silver gilt stood on the high altar, one of the branches containing an arm-bone of St. William of York ("which can be seen"), and another, part of an arm of St. George. The relics not inclosed comprised an arm-bone of St. Osytho, an arm-bone of St. Richard, and bones of St. Margaret Queen of Scotland, St. Thomas of Hereford, St. David, St. William of England, and St. William of York; part of the jaw-bone of St. Mark, containing fourteen teeth; a bone of St. Gerard, a rib of one of the eleven thousand virgins, bones of St. Maurice and St. Elizabeth, a rib of St. Vitale, part of the brain of St. Eustace; and in a separate division were a bone of St. George, parts of the Lord's supper table and of the Virgin Mary's tomb, and some of St. Thomas of Canterbury's blood. There was also one of the stones with which good Stephen was stoned, a breast-bone of the good Archbishop Edmund, a shirt of St. Thomas the Martyr, a white girdle given by St. John the Evangelist to St. Mary, and a small part of the skull of St. Thomas the Apostle, and a candle end of the Virgin Mary.

The register also comprised a variety of morses,<sup>3</sup> chalices, corporals (white linen cloths laid on the altar, and on which the

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Figures of angels introduced as reliquaries, bearing phials in their hands.

<sup>3</sup> The clasps or fastenings of copes.

elements of the communion were consecrated),<sup>1</sup> paxes<sup>2</sup> (one not quite perfect, of silver and gilt, enamelled with images of the crucifixion and of Mary and John, and having at the top three bosses, with two shields hanging on either side; and another pax of silver gilt, with the image of the Virgin), candlesticks, thuribles (vessels held in the hand for burning incense), ships (also for incense), crosses, phials, dishes, altar covers, mitres (coverings for the head, worn on solemn occasions by bishops, the abbots of some monasteries, and, from special privileges, by the canons of certain churches), pyxes (vessels to contain the Holy Eucharist), a chris-matory (to contain the Holy Oils), a silver bell to ring before the body of Christ, in the visitation of the sick, staves for the precentor and canons, auriculars (one embroidered with two golden eagles and the arms of various noblemen, with the inscription, "Jhesu est timor meus"), towels, albs, stoles and dresses of various colours, veils and curtains, stands, tapestry, swords of King Edward, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Thomas Banaster, King Richard, the Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry the Fourth), of the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Salisbury, and also six helmets and mantles.

There were also a number of jewels and relics in the treasury. One of them was a beautiful "camahu," ornamented with pearls and gold, containing part of the chain with which St. Louis flogged himself. There were three crowns, silver gilt, ornamented with precious stones, one for the Blessed Mary, another for the Son, and the third for St. Edward. Two coffres and two bottles, three sudaria; two banners, with the arms of the King of England, a dragon, and a lion, for procession in Rogation; with six spears, and four new banners with painted figures.

The charter of Edward the Second to the town, which was confirmed by Edward the Third, was in like manner recited and confirmed by Richard the Second, in the third year of his reign.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The expression of a "corporal oath" originated in the ancient custom of swearing solemnly on the corporal cloth, containing the sacred body of our Lord. (Pugin's 'Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume'.)

<sup>2</sup> A pax is a small plate carried round, having been kissed by the priest, after the Agnus Dei in the mass, to communicate the kiss of peace.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 3 Ric. II, p. i, m. 24. The charter of Edward the Third confirms the privileges of the town, as the men and burgesses of the borough ("homines et burgensis

Upon the granting of this last-mentioned Inspeximus Charter, the sum of one hundred shillings was paid into the Hanaper Office.

In 1380 (4 Ric. II) a handsome cross was erected by John Sadler in the High Street of Windsor.<sup>1</sup> Ashmole says that this is the same cross which was "beautified and repaired, and a crucifix placed on its top, in 1635," by Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, some details respecting which will be found in a subsequent part of this work. It is singular that there is no representation of this cross, or anything denoting its existence, to be found in Norden's drawing of Windsor Castle or map of the "Little Park," made in 1607. The accuracy and minute detail evinced in Norden's work render it very improbable that he overlooked such a striking object; and the fair inference is that the original cross of 1380 had been previously removed or destroyed, and that the Bishop of Gloucester not merely beautified and repaired the cross in 1635, but re-erected it. The cross stood where Castle Street on the east, Peascod Street on the west, High Street on the south, and Thames Street on the north (being the four principal streets of the town)

burgi") theretofore held and enjoyed the same; that of Richard is to the burgesses of the borough.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'History of Berkshire,' p. 260, folio edit., Reading, 1736. Ashmole obtained the date from 'Day's Book,' a MS. folio volume written by Matthew Day, who filled the office of Mayor of Windsor five times during the reigns of James the First, Charles the First, and Charles the Second. This volume is supposed to be in the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, having been seen there some years ago and extracts taken from it. The editors have made repeated attempts to obtain a sight of this interesting book, but the answer to all inquiries is that it cannot be found. Ashmole made some extracts from it, which are preserved among the Ash. MSS. at Oxford, and are entitled "Severall things excerpted out of a folio volume written by the hands of Mr. Matthew Day of Windsor. He was 5 tymes maior of that borough." The following is the extract relating to the cross:

"The name of him that builded the Markett Crosse of the Towne and Burrow of New Windsor, and the time when.

"By searching the Records in the Gildhall of the Burrow aforesaid, Mr. Wassington being then major, Mr. Woodward being then steward, Mr. Low and Mathew Day being then both aldermen, wee found an indenture that was lett unto one John Sadler (who had bine of the company) of a lease let unto him from the major, bailefes, and burgesis of so much of the wast of the said corporation as the Crosse containeth; wherupon he covenanted to build the Markett Crosse of the said towne; which lease is deated in the forth yere of Richard the Second, w<sup>ch</sup> was in the yeere of our Lord 1380." (Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 86.)

meet. In 1691, being in a ruinous state, it was taken down, but all proclamations and public orders are read and declared at this spot, which still bears the name of the Cross.<sup>1</sup>

In this year (1380) there was a grant of pontage made to the inhabitants of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

The king held the feast of Whitsuntide at Windsor the same year;<sup>3</sup> and there, "in the octaves of Easter, the king's half-sister, the Lady Joan de Courtney, was married to Lord Valeran, Earl of St. Paul's. The solemnization of the marriage was accompanied by great triumphing." The king endowed his sister with the township and manor of Byfleet in Surrey.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of the insurrection under Wat Tyler, and the advance of the people towards London, the king was at Windsor. Accompanied by his cousin, Henry Earl of Derby, Simon Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, Master of the Knights of St. John, and Treasurer, and about one hundred sergeants and knights, Richard left the Castle of Windsor, and repaired for greater security to the Tower of London, escorted by the mayor, and there he was joined by his mother, the Princess of Wales.<sup>5</sup>

On the 12th of June, 1381, the king descended the river to meet Tyler and his multitude, and, according to Stowe, he requested the leaders to come to him at Windsor on the following Monday, "where they should have sufficient answer to all their demands." The king, however, returned to the Tower; and the death of Wat Tyler in Smithfield, at the hands of Walworth the mayor, three days afterwards, led to the dispersion of the mob.

<sup>1</sup> Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 10. On referring to Norden's map of the "Little Park," it will be seen that there is a building represented a little to the south of where the above four streets meet, having a cross at each end of the roof; but this building could not be identical with *the cross*. It evidently represents the old Town Hall. Evidence of the existence of the cross in 1639 is met with in the books of the corporation of Windsor. The following entry occurs in the accounts of Hercules Trew, Mayor of Windsor, in the above year: "P<sup>d</sup> Thos. Chervyll, for mending the doors of the cage, and setting the wayne of the crosse uprighte, 1s. 6d." There is an entry in the "order book," that "at a meeting of the corporation on the 7th April, 1691, the market cross being ruinous, was ordered to be taken down and the pillory removed," and the same year, the sum of 13s. 6d. was paid "for pullinge downe the crosse and cleansing the place."

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 4 Ric. II., p. iii, m. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed, who follows Walsingham.

<sup>3</sup> Froissart.

<sup>5</sup> Lingard.

Richard the Second married Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, "in the chapel of the palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas [1382]. On the wedding-day there were great feasting. The king carried his queen to Windsor, where he kept an open and noble house. They were very happy together. She was accompanied by the Princess of Wales, and the Duchess of Brittany, aunt to the king."<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after a parliament holden in May, in the fifth year of his reign (1382), the king re-assembled a great council at Windsor, at which a considerable number of prelates and lords of the realm were present; and there the king, by their advice and the advice and deliberation of others of his council, came to the determination to proceed in person to France with his army.<sup>2</sup>

In 1384 Sir Simon Burley appointed Thomas Tyle his deputy-constable of Windsor Castle during his life, which appointment was confirmed by the king;<sup>3</sup> and soon afterwards the appointment of Sir Simon Burley himself, as constable for life, appears to have been renewed.<sup>4</sup>

In the following year a grant of pontage for New Windsor Bridge was issued.<sup>5</sup>

In 1386, an invasion of the French being apprehended, Richard, being then in Wales, was written to by his uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, to return to London, "as the whole country was much dissatisfied with him and his advisers." The king and his council, not daring to refuse, left Wales, where he and his queen had resided a considerable time. On his arrival at Windsor, he staid some days, and there leaving his queen, came to his palace of Westminster.<sup>6</sup>

It having been reported throughout England in the same year (1386) "that a new tax was to be levied on every fire, and that each was to pay a noble, the rich making up for the deficiencies of

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iii, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 7 Ric. II, p. ii, m. 9. Two years afterwards permission was granted to Thomas Tyle to inclose and impark 70 acres of land in the forest of Windsor, adjoining his place called 'Tylestenement,' in Old Windsor. (Pat., 9 Ric. II, p. ii, m. 41.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., m. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 8 Ric. II, p. i, m. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Froissart.



the poor," great dissatisfaction was produced, and the Londoners addressed the Duke of Gloucester, one of the king's uncles (who were known to sympathise with the people, and were opposed to the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and others who had the control of the king), requesting him to take upon himself the government of the country. The duke, however, recommended the Londoners to address a personal remonstrance to the king, entreating him to assemble the three estates of the realm, in order to inquire into the conduct of his then advisers.

"When you shall have made this remonstrance to the king," said the Duke of Gloucester to the Londoners, "he will give you an answer. If he should say, 'We will consider of it,' cut the matter short, and declare you will not have any delay; and press it the more to alarm him, as well as his minions. Say, boldly, that the country will not longer suffer it, and it is wonderful they have borne it so long. My brother and myself will be with the king, and also the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Northumberland; but say nothing should we not be present, for we are the principal personages in England, and will second you in your remonstrance, by adding that what you require is but reasonable and just. When he shall hear us thus speak, he will not contradict us, unless he be very ill-advised indeed; and will appoint a day accordingly. This is the advice and the remedy I offer you." The Londoners replied, "My lord, you have loyally spoken; but it will be difficult for us to find the king and as many lords as you have named at one time in his presence." "Not at all," said the duke; "St. George's Day will be within ten days, and the king will then be at Windsor; you may be sure the Duke of Ireland and Sir Simon Burley will be there also. There will be many others: my brother, myself, and the Earl of Salisbury will be there. Do you come, and you will act according to circumstances."

The Londoners promised to be at Windsor on St. George's Day, and left the Duke of Gloucester, well pleased with their reception. When that day came, the King of England held a grand festival, as his predecessors had done before him, and, accompanied by his queen and court, went to Windsor. On the morrow the

Londoners came thither with sixty horse, and those from York and other principal towns in like numbers, and lodged themselves in the town. The king was desirous of leaving the place for another three leagues off, when he heard of the arrival of the commons of England, and still more so when told they wanted to speak to him, for he dreaded greatly their remonstrances, and would not have heard them; but his uncles and the Earl of Salisbury said, "My lord, you cannot depart, for they are deputed hither by all your principal towns. It is proper you hear what they have to say; you will then give them your answer, and take time to consider of it." He remained, therefore, but sore against his will.

"The commons were introduced to the presence, in the lower hall, without the new building, where the palace stood in former times.<sup>1</sup> The king was attended by his two uncles, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Northumberland, and several others of the nobility. The commons made their harangue to the king, by their spokesman, a citizen of London called Simon de Sudbury, a man of sense and oratory. He formed his speech from what the Duke of Gloucester had said to them; and, as you have heard that, I need not take more notice of it. The king having heard it, replied—'Ye commons of England, your requests are great and important, and cannot be immediately attended to; for we shall not long remain here, nor are all our council with us—indeed the greater part are absent. I therefore bid each of you return quietly to your homes, and there peaceably remain, unless sent for, until Michaelmas, when the parliament shall be assembled at Westminster. Come thither and lay your requests before us, which we will submit to our council. What we approve shall be granted, and what we think improper refused. For think not we are to be ruled by our people. That has never been; and we can perceive nothing but what is right and just in our government, and in those who govern under us.' Upwards of seven instantly replied to the king, and said, 'Most redoubted lord, under your grace's favour, your justice is weak, indeed, in the realm, and you know not what

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 164.

behoveth you to know ; for you neither make inquiry, nor examine into what is passing ; and those who are your advisers will never tell you, for the great wealth they are amassing. It is not justice, sir king, to cut off heads; wrists, or feet, or any way to punish ; but justice consists in the maintaining the subject in his right, and in taking care he live in peace, without having any cause of complaint. We must also say that you have appointed too long a day by referring us to Michaelmas. No time can be better than the present ; we therefore unanimously declare that we will have an account, and very shortly too, from those who have governed your kingdom since your coronation, and know what is become of the great sums that have been raised in England for these last nine years, and whither they have passed. If those who have been your treasurers shall give a just account or nearly so, we shall be much rejoiced, and leave them in their offices. Those who shall not produce honest acquittances for their expenditure shall be treated accordingly, by the commissioners that are to be nominated by you, and our lords your uncles.'

"The king, on this, looked at his uncles to see if they would say anything, when the Duke of Gloucester said 'that he saw nothing but what was just and reasonable in the demands they had made. What do you say, fair brother of York?' 'As God may help me, it is all true,' he replied, as did the other barons who were present ; but the king wished them to give their opinions separately. 'Sir,' added the Duke of Gloucester, 'it is but fair that you know how your money has been expended.' The king, perceiving they were all united, and that his minions dared not utter one word, for they were overawed by the presence of the nobles, said, 'Well, I consent to it ; let them be sent away, for summer is now approaching, and the time for my amusement in hunting.' Then, addressing the Londoners, he added, 'Would you have the matter instantly despatched?' 'Yes, we entreat it of you, noble king ; we shall likewise beg of these lords to take part, more particularly our lords your uncles.' The dukes replied they would willingly undertake it, as well on the part of their lord and king as for the country. The commoners then said, 'We also wish that the reverend fathers, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

and the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, be parties.' They said they would cheerfully do so. When this was agreed to, they nominated the lords present, such as the Earls of Salisbury and Northumberland, Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Guy de Bryan, Sir Thomas Felton, Sir Mathew Gournay; and said there should be from two to four of the principal persons from each city or large town, who would represent the commons of England. All this was assented to, and the time for their meeting fixed for the week after St. George's Day, to be holden at Westminster; and all the king's ministers and treasurers were ordered to attend, and give an account of their administrations to the before-named lords. The king consented to the whole, not through force, but at the solicitations and prayers of his uncles, the other lords, and commons of England.

"It indeed concerned them to know how affairs had been managed, both in former times and in those of the present day. All having been amicably settled, the assembly broke up; and the lords, on leaving Windsor, returned to London, whither were summoned all collectors and receivers from the different counties, with their receipts and acquittances, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods."<sup>1</sup>

Upon the impeachment of the ex-chancellor, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, by the commons, in October 1386, and their subsequent order that he should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, Windsor Castle was the place of his confinement. He was released by the king soon after the dissolution of parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Among the articles assigned against Sir Simon Burley, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir John Salisbury, and Sir James Berners, on their trial for treason in 1388, was one alleging that when Michel de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was attainted of treason and ordered to prison, Sir Simon Burley, as constable of Windsor, craftily besought the king to let him have the keeping of the earl at Windsor, in order that the king might converse with him, and to place the latter near the king, to counsel him, and also intending to let the earl

<sup>1</sup> Froissart (Johnes' translation). See also Walsingham.

<sup>2</sup> See Grafton's 'Chronicle,' and Holinshed.

escape and get out of the kingdom, and defeat the judgment against him.<sup>1</sup>

In 1387, Richard having determined to wage war against his uncles, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, the Duke of Ireland, as lieutenant-general, headed the king's forces, and fixed his quarters at Oxford. "The duke, to sound the Londoners, resolved to send thither Sir Nicholas Bramber, Sir Peter Gouloufre, and Sir Michael de la Pole. They were to enter the town by the Thames, and to hoist the king's flag, and observe how the citizens, on seeing it, would act. These three knights, in compliance with the duke's orders, left Oxford with only thirty horse, and rode secretly to Windsor, where they lay that night. On the morrow they crossed the Thames at the bridge of Staines, and dined in the king's palace at Shene (Richmond), where they remained until late in the evening, when they departed and rode for another of the king's palaces at Kensington, nearer London, three leagues distant, where they left their horses, and, having entered boats, took advantage of the tide, and passed through London Bridge unobserved, for the watch had not any suspicions of their arrival. They entered the Tower of London, and found the governor whom the king had appointed." From him they received no encouragement as to the state of feeling among the Londoners, and were assured that they ran personal risk in remaining there, "so that the following night, when it was dark and the tide flowing, they embarked in a large boat, and left the Tower without having dared to display the king's banners. They slept that night at Kennington, and on the morrow at daybreak mounted their horses and rode by Chertsey to Windsor, where they dined and lay. The next day they arrived at Oxford, where was the Duke of Ireland and his army."

The duke was much cast down at the intelligence of the state of London, and sent off to the king, who was at Bristol, to apprise him of his situation and to ask for more men. In the mean time the Dukes of York and Gloucester called a council in London, at which it was determined to take the field against the Duke of Ireland. "This army marched from London and lodged at

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iii, p. 242 a. Sir Simon Burley was executed, notwithstanding the intercession of the queen with the Duke of Gloucester in his behalf.

Brentford and the adjoining villages; on the next day at Colebrook—their force increasing all the way. They followed the road to Reading, to gain a passage over the Thames; for the bridges of Staines and Windsor had, by command of the Duke of Ireland, been broken down, by which they would have had a better and more level country for their march.”

The Duke of Gloucester and his forces subsequently forded the Thames “three leagues from Oxford,” and encountered and vanquished the Duke of Ireland’s army.

When the latter heard that the Duke of Gloucester’s army had passed the Thames, he exclaimed, “How the devil could they have crossed the Thames!”<sup>1</sup>

From this account it appears that the Duke of Ireland had destroyed the bridges of Windsor and Staines, in order to prevent the London forces getting across to his own quarters. It is difficult to understand this, unless the direct road westward from London to Reading was at this period through Maidenhead, where a bridge certainly existed.

The Duke of Ireland having fled into Holland, and other of the king’s adherents having been executed, the Dukes of York and Gloucester sent the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bristol, to communicate with the king and solicit his return to London, to which Richard at last assented. “The king did not remain at Bristol long after this, but, leaving there his queen, set out with his retinue towards London, the archbishop accompanying him. On his arrival at Windsor he stopped three whole days.

“When news was brought to London that the Archbishop of Canterbury had so far succeeded in his mission that the king was on his return to the city, the whole town was rejoiced; and they determined to go out to meet and conduct him in the most honorable manner to his palace. The day on which he left Windsor, the whole road from London to Brentford was covered with people on foot and horseback. The Dukes of York and Gloucester and Prince John of York, the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Northumberland, and many barons and prelates, went in great state to conduct the king. They met him within two miles

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

from Brentford, and received him most affectionately, as good subjects should their lord. The king, who had their late proceedings still rankling in his heart, scarcely stopped when he met them, nor cast his eyes towards them. The person he talked the most to on his road was the Bishop of London. On their arrival in Westminster the king dismounted at his palace, which had been prepared for him. He there partook of wines and spices, as did his uncles, the barons, prelates, and knights, who were entitled to the honour. Several of them now took leave, and those who resided in London went home; but the king's uncles, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole of the council, remained to keep him company, to be on better terms together, and to consult on the affairs of the nation; for they had formed their plans, and were lodged, some in the palace and others in the abbey."<sup>1</sup>

Upon the arraignment and trial of the judges before the parliament, commonly called Gloucester's Parliament, holden at Nottingham in 1388 (11th of Richard II), upon the charge of high treason, for giving their opinion that a commission issued in the previous parliament for transferring the power of the crown to certain commissioners (of whom the Duke of Gloucester was one) was against the king's prerogative, and that the advisers thereof were punishable with death, Sir Robert Bleaknap, chief-justice of the King's Bench, alleged in his defence that, by command of the king, he went to the manor of Windsor, and there, in the Archbishop of York's chamber, the archbishop charged him as being the imaginer and contriver of the commission and statute, and that he was of all persons in the world, France or England, the one the king most hated, and that, unless he devised some means whereby the said commission and said statute should be defeated and annulled, and the king restored to his regal power, he should be executed as a false traitor; to which he replied that the authors of the commission and statute intended that it should be for the good and honour of the king and all his realm; and that he then departed from Windsor in great fear and doubt of his life; that at Woodstock the same threat was repeated, and the same answer given by him, and that ultimately his opinion was obtained by force or menace.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

The king held St. George's Feast at Windsor in 1388. It was attended by the Earl of Arundel, and a number of the lords who were about to accompany the earl with forces to Brittany, to assist in the war with France. At Windsor, on this occasion, the Earl of Arundel took leave of the king, the queen, his uncles, and ladies.<sup>1</sup>

In the twelfth year of the king's reign (1389), a commission was issued for the repair of the castle of Windsor and of the forest, and sales of all the king's other parks.<sup>2</sup>

In the following year, Peter de Courtney was appointed constable of the castle during his life.<sup>3</sup>

In 1390 the most remarkable incident of the reign of Richard the Second connected with Windsor occurred in the appointment of Geoffrey Chaucer, the "Father of English Poetry," to superintend the repairs of St. George's Chapel.<sup>4</sup>

In the summer of the previous year he was appointed, by letters patent, bearing date at Windsor the 12th of July, clerk of the king's works at the palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, the castle of Berkhamstead, the manors of Kenyngton, Eltham, Clarendon, Shene, Byfleet, Childern-Langley, and Feckenham, and also at the royal lodge of Hatherberg in the New Forest, at the lodges in the parks of Clarendon, Childern-Langley, and Feckenham, and at the mews for the king's falcons near "Charyng Crouch" (Charing Cross).<sup>5</sup>

This was in lieu of his former employment of comptroller of the customs, which he had lost in consequence of the intrigues and convulsions of this reign.<sup>6</sup> His salary as clerk of the works of the above places was two shillings a day, making an annual income of thirty-six pounds ten shillings, and equivalent in denominations of modern money to an income of six hundred and fifty-seven pounds.<sup>7</sup>

It is doubtful if this appointment arose from Chaucer's peculiar fitness for the situation, though passages of his writings might be

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 12 Ric. II, p. ii, m. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 13 Ric. II, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Poynter.

<sup>5</sup> Pat., 13 Ric. II, p. i, m. 30. See a copy of this patent in the Appendix to Godwin's 'Life of Chaucer.'

<sup>6</sup> Godwin's 'Life of Chaucer,' chap. xxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., chap. li.



adduced to show that he possessed some knowledge of architecture.<sup>1</sup>

Chaucer's commission to repair St. George's Chapel bears date at Westminster, the 12th of July, 1390.<sup>2</sup>

It states the chapel to be in a condition which threatens ruin, and on the point of falling to the ground unless it be speedily and effectually repaired. Power is given to Chaucer to impress masons, carpenters, and other workmen and labourers, wherever they should

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas, *Life of Chaucer* prefixed to the 'Romaunt of the Rose,' 3 vols., 8vo, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a copy of the letters patent :

"Rex dilecto armigero nostro Galfrido Chaucer, clerico operacionum nostrarum, salutem.

"Scias quod assignavimus te ad capellam nostram collegialem Sancti Georgii infra castrum nostrum de Wyndesore, que minatur ruine, et in punctu ad terram cadendi existit, nisi cicius facta et emendata fuerit, sufficientem fieri faciendam. Et ad latornos, carpentarios, et alios operarios ac laboratores, pro operacionibus ejusdem capelle necessarios, ubicunque, infra libertates vel extra (feodo ecclesie excepto), inveniri poterunt, per te et deputatos tuos, eligendos et capiendos, et eos super operacionibus predictis ponendos, ibidem ad vadia nostra, quamdiu indigerit, moraturos. Et ad petras, merenum, vitrum, plumbum, et omnia alia pro operacionibus predictis necessaria, et etiam cariagium pro premissis ad castrum nostrum predictum, ad locum ubi dicta capella facta fuerit, ducenda et capienda, pro denariis nostris rationabiliter solvenda, tam pro premissis, quam pro cariagio predicto, per supervisum et testimonium contrarotulatoris operacionum nostrarum palatii nostri Westmonasterii. Et ad omnes illos, quos in hac parte contrarios inveneris seu rebelles, capiendos, et prisonis nostris mancipandos, ibidem moraturos, quosque de eis aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo tibi precepimus quod circa premissa diligenter intendas et exequaris in forma predicta. Damus autem universis et singulis vicecomitibus, majoribus, ballivis, ministris, et aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris, tam infra libertates quam extra, tenore presentium, in mandatis, quod tibi et deputatis tuis predictis intendentes sint, consulentes et auxiliantes, prout decet. In cujus, &c., per tricumium duraturas. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, duodecimo die Julii."

The following writ of privy seal was subsequently addressed to William Hanney :

"Rex dilecto nostro, Willelmo Hanney, contrarotulatori operacionum palatii nostri Westmonasterii, salutem. Sciatis quod cum, per literas nostras patentes, assignaverimus dilectum armigerum nostrum, Galfridum Chaucer, clericum operacionum nostrarum, ad capellam nostram collegialem," &c. (*ut supra usque ibi supervisum et tunc sic*), "et testimonium vestra prout in literis patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur, nos, de fidelitate et circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos, ad quoscunque denarios per prefatum Galfridum, super reparationem et emendacionem capelle predictae apponendos, et pro cariagio et aliis premissis solvendos, contrarotulandum, et super computo suo ad saccharium nostrum testificandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis, et ea faciatis et exquaminis in forma predicta. In cujus, &c., per tricumium duraturas. Teste (*ut supra*)."

(Pat., 14 Ric. II, p. i, m. 33. See Godwin's 'Life of Chaucer,' Appendix, No. xxii.)

be found, to work at the king's wages ; to seize materials of every description and carriages for their conveyance, and to imprison refractory persons.

These appear to be merely the general powers given in all similar appointments of this period, and occur in some of those mentioned in the preceding reign.

By writ of privy seal, William Hanney, the controller of the works at the palace of Westminster, was ordered to assist and co-operate with Chaucer.<sup>1</sup>

As clerk of the works, Chaucer had the advantage of being entitled, by precedent and patent, to the assistance of a deputy, for whom a salary was provided by the crown ; whereas, in his former office of comptroller of the customs, it had been usual to require the principal to discharge his functions in person, and to keep the accounts of his place with his own hand.<sup>2</sup>

As St. George's Chapel had not at the time of the above commission been completed forty years, the fact of its falling into decay may appear extraordinary, but can be easily accounted for on the supposition of some failure either in the foundation or construction (for such things did happen in the Middle Ages), which was probably remedied, as far as might be practicable, without delay.<sup>3</sup>

Chaucer does not appear to have possessed the appointment of clerk of the works longer than about twenty months. "My researches," says his biographer, "have not enabled me to find the patent conferring the office upon his successor ; but, without this direct evidence, I have discovered documents sufficient very nearly to fix the length of time for which he occupied this situation. The name of the person who was clerk of the works in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Richard the Second is John Gedney ; and I find a record of this person appointing a deputy, of the date of 16th September, 1391.<sup>4</sup> In the Rolls of the preceding year of Richard the Second, there is an instrument to the same purpose, by which Chaucer appoints a deputy, dated 22d January, 1391.<sup>5</sup> It was therefore at some period in the interval between these dates

<sup>1</sup> See the note in the preceding page.

<sup>2</sup> Goulwin's 'Life of Chaucer,' chap. li.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 15 Ric. II, p. i, m. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 14 Ric. II, p. ii, m. 34.

that Chaucer retired to a private station. He received payments, however, 'as late clerk of the works,' down to 1393.<sup>1</sup>

"We have no information to guide us as to the cause of his retirement, and are therefore at liberty to conjecture, either that the office was taken from him that it might be given to some more useful and consummate courtier, or that, satisfied with the hurry and turmoils of public life, he voluntarily determined, being now sixty-three years of age, to spend the short remainder of his life in the midst of that simplicity and solitude which he so ardently loved."<sup>2</sup>

The commission for the repairs of St. George's Chapel was evidently subordinate to the office of clerk of the works, and was probably only issued because the terms of the original writ appointing Chaucer did not extend to any of the works at Windsor. Chaucer does not appear to have derived any emolument from the superintendence of the repairs of the chapel, independently of his salary as clerk of the works at other places.<sup>3</sup> It may be inferred, therefore, that the commission did not endure, or at least was not acted upon, beyond the period when Chaucer resigned the office of clerk of the works. As the commission is dated July 12th, 1390, and Chaucer went out of office between the months of January and September of the following year, it is probable that the repairs of the chapel were completed by that time, or at least that Chaucer thenceforward ceased to exercise any control over them.

There is a record in existence of the work done and expenses incurred at Windsor Castle in the fifteenth year of this reign, and in the constablership of Peter Courtenay; but it does not throw any light on the particular subject of Chaucer's appointment.<sup>4</sup>

In 1390, the king held feasts and tournaments in London, which lasted from Sunday, the day after Michaelmas Day, until the following Friday; and were resumed at Windsor in honour of Sir William de Hainault, Count d'Ostrevant, son of the Count of Hainault, who came over, contrary to the advice of his father, to

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas's 'Life of Chaucer.'

<sup>2</sup> Godwin's 'Life of Chaucer,' chap. li.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Poynter ('Essay on Windsor Castle,' Sir J. Wyatville's 'Illustrations') is under a misapprehension in this particular.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Brit. Mus., Lansdowne, No. 19, art. 71.

"make acquaintance with his cousin King Richard and his uncles, whom he had never seen." The Count d'Ostrevant was on this occasion made a Knight of the Garter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, who gives the following account of the festivities, and the jealousy of the French king:—"On Saturday the king and his court left London for Windsor, whither the Count d'Ostrevant, the Count de St. Pol, and the foreign knights who had been present at the feasts, were invited. All accepted the invitation, as was right, and went to Windsor, which has a handsome castle, well built and richly ornamented, situated on the Thames, twenty miles from London. The entertainments were very magnificent in the dinners and suppers King Richard made, for he thought he could not pay honour enough to his cousin, the Count d'Ostrevant. He was solicited by the king and his uncles to be one of the Companions of the Order of the Blue Garter, as the chapel of St. George, the patron, was at Windsor. In answer to their request, he said he would consider of it, and instantly consulted the Lord de Gomegines and the bastard Fierabras de Vertain, who were far from discouraging him from accepting the order. He returned to the king, and was admitted a Knight Companion of the Garter, to the great surprise of the French knights then present. They murmured together, and said, 'This Count d'Ostrevant plainly shows that his heart is more inclined to England than France, when he thus accepts the Order of the Garter, which is the device of the kings of England. He is purchasing the ill will of the court of France, and of my lord of Burgundy, whose daughter he has married, and a time may come for him to repent of it. However, to say the truth, he must know what concerns him best; but he was well beloved by the King of France, his brother the Duke of Touraine, and all the royal family, so that when he came to them at Paris or elsewhere they showed him more kindness than to any other of their cousins.'

"Thus was the Count d'Ostrevant blamed by the French without the smallest cause; for what he had done was no way to injure the crown of France, nor his cousins and friends of that country. Nothing was farther from his mind than any hostility to the King of France; but he had accepted the Garter to oblige his cousins in England, and on occasion to be a mediator between the two countries. When he took the oaths usual on the admission of knights to the order, it ought to be known publicly that nothing was said or done prejudicial to France, nor any treaties entered into with that intent. I mention this, since it is impossible to prevent the envious from spreading abroad their tales. When the entertainments at Windsor had lasted a sufficient time, and the king had made handsome presents to the knights and squires of France, particularly to the young Count d'Ostrevant, the company took leave of the king, the queen, and the court, and departed for their different homes.

"Rumour, which magnifies everything, carried to the King of France, his brother, and uncles, every particular that had passed at this feast in England. Those who had been there confirmed it; nothing was forgotten, but rather additions made, with the intent of doing mischief in preference to good. They related that William of Hainault, who called himself Count d'Ostrevant, had taken great pains to honour this feast, that he had had the prize given him at the tournament in preference to many other foreign knights, and that he was loud in the praise of the English, and was become the liegeman to the King of England by taking the oaths and accepting the Order of the Blue Garter, in the chapel of Saint George at Windsor, which order had been established by King Edward and his son the Prince of Wales; that no one could be admitted a knight

The king kept St. George's Feast at Windsor in the following year (1391). Two French knights, Sir John de Chateaufort and Sir Taussin de Cautemerle, who came over to obtain an answer to the proposals made by the French at Amiens for a peace between England and France, were present, together with "a brilliant company of barons, and the king's uncles."<sup>1</sup>

The Londoners having incurred the displeasure of the king by refusing to lend him the sum of one thousand pounds, and also by ill-treating and nearly killing a Lombard who was willing to advance it, the mayor of London, the sheriffs, and the "best citizens" were arrested and brought to the king at Nottingham, "where, on the 11th of June, John Hinde, the mayor, was deposed and sent to Windsor Castle. The sheriffs were also deposed, and sent, the one to the Castle of Wallingford, the other to the Castle of Odiham, and the other citizens to other prisons, till the king, with his council, had determined what should be done with them."<sup>2</sup>

The king was subsequently "somewhat pacified, and by little and little abateth the rigor of his purpose, calling to mind the divers honors and the great giftes hee had received of the Londoners, whereupon he determineth to deale more mildly with them; and, to call them to some hope of grace and pardon, he sendeth commandement to them to come to Windsore, there to shew their privileges, liberties, and laws."<sup>3</sup>

In consequence apparently of this order, on Monday in the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and others, assembled at Eton, to inquire amongst

companion of that order without making oath never to bear arms against the crown of England, and this oath the Count d'Ostrevant had taken without the smallest reservation.

"The King of France and his uncles, on hearing this, were much troubled and vexed with the Count d'Ostrevant, who was summoned to Paris to do homage for the county of Ostrevant in the presence of the peers of France, and which, notwithstanding the support of the Duke of Burgundy, he was forced to do, otherwise he would have had war instantly carried into Hainault."

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, citing Walsingham.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

other things of the mismanagement of the city of London, the misbehaviour of William Venour, the late mayor; John Walcote and John Loveye, late sheriffs; and of William Baret and others, aldermen; upon which the king in council ordered that the city should be governed by a warden (*custos*), two sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen. And thereupon Thomas Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor lodged the said William Venour and others in the Castle of Windsor, to appear the same day before the king's council to hear the king's will in that behalf; and accordingly they appeared before the council in a room in the castle, and the chancellor, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Salisbury, Coventry, and Lichfield, the Dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, the Earl of Rutland, and others of the council, nominated Sir Baldwin Radington<sup>1</sup> to the office of *custos*, by the king's commission; and Gilbert Maghefeld and Thomas Newton, sheriffs, likewise by the king's commission; and certain others as aldermen.<sup>2</sup> Among the names of the latter are Venour, the late mayor, and also Loveye and Baret; so that their offence does not appear to have been considered of any great enormity, and it is probable the whole charge was an excuse for getting the property of the city into the king's hands.<sup>3</sup>

"The king, at this assembly at Windsor, had got together almost all the lords, and so great an armie, that the Londoners had cause to be afraid thereof, about the which preparation he was at great charges, for the which it was sure that the Londoners must pay. They, therefore, not ignorant that the end of these things was a money matter, submitted themselves to the king's pleasure, offering ten thousand pound. They were yet dismissed home to

<sup>1</sup> Stow, citing Walsingham, says—"The king then, on the one and twentieth of June, first appointed to be warden of the citie a certain knight called Sir Edward de Dalingrige, but he was quickly deposed by the king, because (men said) he favoured the Londoners, and Baldwin Radington was constituted in his place." ('Annals,' p. 306, edit. 1631.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Rot. Parl., vol. iii, p. 406 *b*; and see Holinshed, citing Hen. Knighton.

<sup>3</sup> See Bohun's 'Privilegia Londini,' 3d edit., p. 47. This and other acts of the king procured him the odium of the people, especially of the Londoners, and ultimately the loss of his crown and life, and none of his successors ever attempted the like seizure. (*Ibid.*)

returne againe, uncertaine what satisfaction and sum they should pay.

“When the citizens were returned, and that the nobles and others were gone home: the king hearing that the Londoners were in heavinesse and dismayed, hee said to his men, I will goe (saith he) to London, and comfort the citizens, and will not that they any longer despaire of my favour, which sentence was no sooner knowne in the citie, but all men were filled with incredible joy, so that every of them generally determined to meete him, and to be as liberrall in gifts as they were at his coronation.”<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding a variety of costly presents, and attentions paid to the king and the queen, the Londoners were compelled to give the king £10,000, “collected of the commons in great bitternesse of minde, for the which summe the king became benevolent to the citizens, and forgave them all trespasses, by his patents dated at Westminster the 23. of February, and so the troubles of the citizens came to quietnesse.”<sup>2</sup>

In the seventeenth year of the king’s reign (1393), Thomas de Walton, the king’s “valet and butler,” was appointed surveyor and comptroller for life of the Castle and Park of Windsor, with the accustomed fees.<sup>3</sup>

Froissart, speaking of this period (circa 1393), says, “I remained in the household of the King of England as long as I pleased; but I was not always in the same place, for the king frequently changed his abode. He went to Eltham, Leeds-castle [in Kent], Kingston, Shene, Chertsey, and Windsor; none very far from London.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stow.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 17 Ric. II, p. i, m. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Froissart says, in a subsequent part of his history, when speaking of the death of Richard the Second—“Now consider, ye kings, lords, dukes, prelates, and earls, how very changeable the fortunes of this world are. This King Richard reigned twenty-two years in great prosperity, and with much splendour; for there never was a King of England who expended such sums, by more than one hundred thousand florins, as King Richard did in keeping up his state and his household establishments. I, John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, know it well, for I witnessed and examined it, during my residence with him, for a quarter of a year. He made me good cheer, because in my youth I had been secretary to King Edward his grandfather, and the Lady Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England. When I took my leave of him at Windsor, he presented

The ambassadors sent by Richard, in 1396, to the court of France, to make proposals for his marriage with the Princess Isabella, were on their return received by the king at Windsor. The Earl of Rutland and the earl marshal, the principal persons of the embassy, landed at Sandwich, "and in less than a day and a half arrived at Windsor, where the king then was. He was much rejoiced at their arrival, and with the answers they had brought back."<sup>1</sup>

The memorable appeal of high treason by the Duke of Hereford (afterwards Henry the Fourth) against the Duke of Norfolk was in one of its scenes so closely associated with Windsor as to require a notice here, although the story must be familiar to every one acquainted with English history.

The Duke of Norfolk, riding from London to Brentford, overtook the Duke of Hereford, and in the course of conversation unbosomed himself to his friend, detailed his apprehensions as to the king's conduct and motives, and pointed out the most suspicious characters in the king's council.<sup>2</sup> Whether it were that

me, by one of his knights called Sir John Golofre, a silver gilt goblet, weighing full two marcs, filled with one hundred nobles, which were then of service to me, and will be so as long as I live. I am bound to pray to God for him, and sorry am I to write of his death." Froissart, however, does not take Richard's part in his history—quite the contrary.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart; where see a curious story of "Robert the Hermit," a native of Normandy, who about this time, having a vision relating to the wars between France and England, was sent by the French king to England, at Richard's request, to describe his supernatural communication to the king, who entertained the Hermit at Windsor very handsomely, "as well in honour to the King of France, who sent him, as on account of his eloquence and good manners."

<sup>2</sup> As the alleged conversation alludes to an attempt on the king's part to capture or murder the Duke of Lancaster and his son at Windsor, it is given here. According to Hereford, it was as follows:—"Norfolk. We are on the point of being undone.—Hereford. Why so?—Norf. On account of the affair of Radcotbridge.—Heref. How can that be, since he has granted us pardon, and has declared in parliament that we behaved as good and loyal subjects?—Norf. Nevertheless, our fate will be like that of others before us. He will annul that record.—Heref. It will be marvellous indeed if the king, after having said so before the people, should cause it to be annulled.—Norf. It is a marvellous and false world that we live in; for I know well that, had it not been for some persons, my lord your father of Lancaster and yourself would have been taken or killed when you went to Windsor after the parliament. The Dukes of Albemarle and Exeter, and the Earl of Worcester and I, have pledged ourselves never to assent to the undoing of any lord without just and reasonable cause. But this malicious project belongs to the Duke of Surrey, the Earls of Wiltshire and Salisbury, drawing to themselves the Earl of



Hereford incautiously divulged the secret, or that he betrayed it clandestinely to Richard, is uncertain. But he received an order to attend the monarch at Haywood; was charged on his allegiance to communicate to the council the whole conversation; and was remanded with an injunction to appear before the parliament, and to submit every particular to the cognizance of that tribunal.<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Hereford accordingly, having previously obtained a general pardon for his own offences, appeared on the 30th of January, 1398, in the parliament assembled at Shrewsbury, to prosecute the Duke of Norfolk, and exhibited in writing the whole of the conversation between them. The charge was referred to a committee. The Duke of Norfolk surrendered on proclamation, and was introduced to Richard at Oswestry. He loudly maintained his innocence against his accuser; and, bending his knee, said to the king, "My dear lord, with your leave, if I may answer your cousin, I say that Henry of Lancaster is a liar; and in what he has said and would say of me, lies like a false traitor, as he is."<sup>2</sup>

"Ho!" said the king, "we have heard enough of that;" and he then commanded the Duke of Surrey, who was then marshal of England, to arrest the two lords. The Duke of Hereford was bailed; but the Duke of Norfolk, unable to find bail, was taken to Windsor, and a guard appointed over him.<sup>3</sup>

Lancaster. They have sworn to undo six lords, the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, and myself; and have sworn to reverse the attainder of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, which would turn to the disherison of us and of many others.—*Heref.* God forbid! It will be a wonder if the king should assent to such designs. He appears to make me good cheer, and has promised to be my good lord. Indeed, he has sworn by St. Edward to be a good lord to me and the others.—*Norf.* So has he often sworn to me by God's body; but I do not trust him the more for that. He is attempting to draw the Earl of March into the scheme of the four lords to destroy the others.—*Heref.* If that be the case, we can never trust them.—*Norf.* Certainly not. Though they may not accomplish their purpose now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence." (Rot. Parl., iii, 360, 382, as cited by Lingard.) The visit of the Duke of Lancaster to Windsor "after the parliament," probably means after the parliament of 1388 (11 Ric. II), called Gloucester's Parliament. No other mention or allusion to this visit, or to the plot against the duke and his son, is to be met with than the above.

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing the Rolls of Parliament (Rot. Parl., iii, 360, 382).

<sup>2</sup> Lingard.

<sup>3</sup> 'Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre,' by Williams. Printed for the Historical Society, 8vo, 1846.

It was subsequently determined that the controversy between the two dukes should be referred to a high court of chivalry. For this purpose, the barons, bannerets, and knights of England were summoned to assemble at Windsor on the 29th of April.<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Norfolk had master armourers at Windsor, "as many as he pleased," to make his armour.<sup>2</sup>

On the day appointed, "King Richard was seated on a platform which had been erected in the square of the castle, and all the lords and prelates of his kingdom with him; and there they caused to appear the Duke of Hereford, Earl Derby, appellant, and then the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, defendant. Then Sir John Bussy<sup>3</sup> opened the proceedings on the part of the king, saying, 'My lords, you know full well that the Duke of Hereford has presented a petition to our sire the king, who is here present in his seat of justice to administer right to those who shall require it this day, as it becomes him and his royal office.' And three days before was it proclaimed on behalf of the king, that none of the parties, on the one side or the other, should be so daring as to carry arms, on pain of being drawn and hung. And the king caused the parties to be asked if they would not agree and make peace together, saying it would be much better. Accordingly the constable and the marshal went, by the king's desire, and besought them to make up the matter and be reconciled, and that then the king would pardon all that they had said or done against him or his kingdom. But they both answered that never should peace be made between them. And when the king was told this, he commanded that they should be brought before him, that he might hear what they had to say. Then a herald cried, on the part of the king, that the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk should come forward before the king, to tell, each his reason, why they

<sup>1</sup> Lingard; Rot. Parl., *ut supra*. The writ to the constable of Windsor to receive them is dated from Oxford, the 26th of February. Shakspeare, in his play of 'Richard the Second,' places this scene at the palace in London. The last scene of the play, after the murder of Richard, is fixed at Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> 'Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart,' previously cited.

<sup>3</sup> Speaker of the House of Commons. Executed in the following year by order of the Duke of Hereford, then Duke of Lancaster.

would not make peace together. And when they were come before the king and his council, the king said to them himself, 'My lords, make matters up; it will be much better.' 'Saving your favour, my dear sovereign,' said the Duke of Norfolk, 'it cannot be; my honour is too deeply concerned.' Then the king said to the Duke of Hereford, 'Henry, say what it is you would have to say to the Duke of Norfolk, or why you will not be reconciled.' The Duke of Hereford had a knight, who, having asked and obtained permission from the king and the council to speak on behalf of the duke, said, 'Dear and sovereign lord, here is Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford and Earl Derby, who declares, and I also for him, that Thomas Duke of Norfolk has received from you eight hundred thousand nobles to pay your men-at-arms who guard your city of Calais, whom he has not paid as he ought to have done. I say this is great treason, and calculated to cause the loss of your city of Calais; and I also say that he has been at the bottom of all the treasons committed in your kingdom these last eighteen years, and has, by his false counsel and malice, caused to be put to death my dear and beloved uncle the Duke of Gloucester, son of King Edward (whom God absolve!), and who was brother of my dearly-beloved father the Duke of Lancaster. The Duke of Hereford says, and I on his part, that he will prove the truth of this by his body between any sunrise and sunset.'<sup>1</sup>

"Then the king was wroth, and asked the Duke of Hereford if he acknowledged these as his words. To which he replied, 'My dear lord, I do; and I also demand of you the right of wager of battle against him.' Then the Duke of Norfolk's knight, who was very aged, demanded leave to speak; and when he had obtained leave, he began thus: 'Most dread sovereign, behold here Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who answers, and I for him, that with respect to all which Henry of Lancaster has said and shown, such as it is, Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, says, and I on his part, saving the reverence of yourself and your council, that it is all falsehood, and that he has lied falsely and wickedly like a false and disloyal knight; and that he has been more false and

<sup>1</sup> The words of the Chronicle are "entre deux soleils."

disloyal towards you, your crown, your royal majesty, and your kingdom, than he ever was, in intention or in deed. 'This will I prove, and defend myself as a loyal knight ought to do in encounter against him. I beseech you, and the council of your majesty, that it may please you, in your kingly discretion, to consider and bear in mind what Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, such as he is, has said.' Then the king asked the Duke of Norfolk if that was his speech, and if he wished to say anything more. The Duke of Norfolk, in person, answered the king: 'My dear lord, it is true I have received so much gold from you to pay your people of your good city of Calais, which I have done. I say that the city of Calais is as well guarded and as much at your command now as it ever was, and also that no person of Calais has lodged any complaint to you against me. My dear and sovereign lord, for the journeys that I have performed in France on account of your noble marriage, and for the journey that the Duke of Albemarle and I took in Germany, where we expended much treasure, I never received from you either gold or silver. It is true, and I acknowledge, that I once laid an ambush to kill my lord of Lancaster, who is there seated; and it is true that my lord forgave me, and peace was made between us, for which I thank him. This is what I wish to say and to reply, and to support it I will defend myself against him. I beseech you to grant me justice, and trial of battle in tournament.' The two parties were then withdrawn, and the king consulted with his council. Afterwards the two lords were summoned to hear the decision. Again the king desired them to be asked if they would be reconciled, or not. They both replied they would not; and the Duke of Hereford threw down his pledge, which the Duke of Norfolk received. Then swore the king by Saint John the Baptist that he would never more endeavour to reconcile those two; and Sir John Bussy, on the part of the king and council, announced that they should have trial of battle at Coventry, on a Monday in the month of August, and that there they should have their day and their lists."<sup>1</sup>

The sequel is well known. The king, when the parties were

<sup>1</sup> 'Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart.'

assembled at Coventry and all was ready for the battle, forbade it; and, after consultation with the committee, the Duke of Hereford was ordered into banishment for ten years and the Duke of Norfolk for life. They took their final leave of the king and queen at Windsor, on the 3d of October, 1398.<sup>1</sup> The same day, Master Peter de Bosco, Bishop of Aast in Gascony, the pope's legate, gave to each of them a bull from the pope, and presented a parrot to the queen.<sup>2</sup> The banished noblemen then departed, and quitted the kingdom; and the king made preparations for leaving, to carry on the war in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Norfolk died of a broken heart at Venice in 1399; the Duke of Hereford, who became Duke of Lancaster on the death of his father three months afterwards, returned to England, dethroned Richard, and was crowned king by the title of Henry the Fourth on the first anniversary of the day he went into banishment.

In April, 1399, previously to his departure for Ireland, Richard held a tournament at Windsor.

Froissart gives the following account of the entertainment, from which it appears that it was but ill attended. It must have taken place on the 23d or 24th of April, as the king arrived at the castle from Westminster on the former day, and left on the 25th of that month.

"Soon after the return of the Earl of Salisbury from France to England, King Richard had proclaimed throughout his realm and in Scotland that a grand tournament would be held at Windsor, by forty knights and forty squires, clothed in green, with the device of a white falcon, against all comers; and that the Queen of

<sup>1</sup> The order to the captain of the Castle of Sandgate to let Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, and his family, pass, is dated October 3d, 1398, from Windsor. (Rot. Franc., 22 Ric. II.)

<sup>2</sup> A parrot, from its extreme rarity, was at that time considered a present not unworthy of a queen. In 1403, Louis Duke of Orleans bought a parrot at Avignon for fifty golden crowns; and moreover paid two crowns for its food, and for a cover to the cage, and two other crowns to the *men* who brought it from Avignon to his house at Pont Saint-Esprit. (Actes Originaux de Louis d'Orleans, Bibl. du Roi, cited by the editor of the '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre*,' p. 161.) The legate also gave the queen a frontlet of rubies and large pearls, which was said to be worth more than three thousand francs. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre*.'

England, well attended by ladies and damsels, would be at this feast. The queen was, indeed, present at the tournament in magnificent array, but very few of the barons attended. The greater part of the knights and squires of England were disgusted with the king for the banishment of the Earl of Derby,<sup>1</sup> the injuries he was doing the earl's children, the murder of the Duke of Gloucester that had been committed in the Castle of Calais, the death of the Earl of Arundel, whom he had beheaded in London, and the perpetual exile of the Earl of Warwick. None of the kindred of these lords came to the feast, which was of course very poorly attended."

On the 25th of April, the king left Windsor and took leave of his young queen Isabella, whom he never saw again. The parting scene is thus minutely described in the contemporary '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre,*' already cited.<sup>2</sup>

"After that the good John of Gaunt, the late Duke of Lancaster, was dead and buried,<sup>3</sup> the king took leave of the noble Queen of England at Windsor, and ordered and besought his uncle, the Duke of York, and Sir William Scrop, that they should take every care of the queen, and that she and her people should want for nothing. And the king commanded his physician, named Master Pol, that he should pay the same attention to the queen as to himself; and ordered Sir Philip la Vache, the queen's chamberlain, to appoint Master Pol the physician, and the confessor, to be the queen's guardians. He then desired the confessor, Sir Philip la Vache, and Master Pol to come to him in his chapel, for he wanted to speak to them; and the king begged them that they should tell the truth of what he should ask them; and then asked them upon their oath, 'Do you consider the Lady de Coucy<sup>4</sup> to be

<sup>1</sup> Duke of Hereford.

<sup>2</sup> Edited and translated for the Historical Society by Benjamin Williams, F.S.A., 1846. The author is not known. He seems to have been a Frenchman, and Mr. Williams says he was probably a Benedictine, and, from his intimate knowledge of Windsor, suspects that he generally resided near or was attached to St. George's Chapel.

<sup>3</sup> As already mentioned, John of Gaunt did not survive his son's banishment more than three months.

<sup>4</sup> Mary de Coucy was the eldest daughter of Lord de Coucy, and wife of Henry de

sufficiently good, 'gentile,' and prudent, to be guardian and governess of such a lady as Madame, the Queen of England, my consort? And consider well among yourselves, that you may advise me.' Then Sir Philip la Vache and Master Pol replied, 'My dear lord, here is the confessor, who knows more of the ladies from the other side of the water than we do; let him say what appears good to him.' And the king charged him upon his conscience that he should speak the truth; and the confessor begged the king's pardon, and entreated him to make Sir Philip la Vache or Master Pol speak, for the lady might conceive an ill-will to him for it. Then the king commanded them on their consciences to say whether it were an advantage, or not, that she should be governess of the queen. The confessor replied, 'I do not, upon my conscience, consider her prudent enough to be governess of such a lady as the Queen of England.' The king then asked Sir Philip la Vache and the physician what was their opinion. Sir Philip la Vache replied, 'My dear lord, my Lady de Coucy does not appear to me to be sufficiently discreet to be the governess, nor fit to be trusted with the controul of such a lady.' Master Pol was of the same opinion, and told the king his reasons; 'For,' said he, 'she lives in greater state, all things considered, than does the queen; for she has eighteen of your horses at her command, besides those belonging to her husband and in his livery, when he comes here. She keeps two or three goldsmiths, six or eight embroiderers, two or three mantua-makers, and two or three furriers, constantly employed,—as many as are kept by you or the queen. She has also built a chapel which cost fourteen hundred nobles.'<sup>1</sup> Both Sir Philip la Vache and the confessor remarked, that if she had remained in France, she would have done nothing of the kind. The king then called Sir William Scrop, treasurer of England, and said, 'I tell you what I wish you to do: when I

Bar, Count de Cilley, eldest son of Robert Duke de Bar. Her husband, whom she married in 1383, was taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis, in Hungary, in 1396; and in the autumn of the same year she accompanied Isabel to England. (Editor of the '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart*,' &c., p. 165.)

<sup>1</sup> It does not appear to what chapel allusion is made. Possibly it may refer to the completion of the chapel restored some years before under the superintendence of Chaucer. See *ante*, p. 245.

shall have gone to Ireland, and you shall have received letters from me: cause to be paid, on my account, all the debts which the Lady de Coucy, or her people, have contracted in our kingdom, and give her sufficient money to take her to Paris, and provide a ship for her passage; and send to the Lady Mortimer,<sup>1</sup> and appoint her principal lady of honour and governess of the queen, by my desire.' This ordinance finished, King Richard and the Queen of England walked, hand in hand, from the castle to the lower court, and thence to the Deanery of St. George; where the canons brought St. George's mantle to the king, and the king wore it over his shoulders, as is the custom of the country, and then entered the church. The canons chaunted very sweetly, and the king himself chaunted a collect, and afterwards made his offering; he then took the queen in his arms, and kissed her twelve or thirteen times, saying sorrowfully, 'Adieu, ma chere, until we meet again; I commend me to you.' Thus spoke the king to the queen in the presence of all the people; and the queen began to weep, saying to the king, 'Alas! my lord, will you leave me here?' Upon which the king's eyes filled with tears on the point of weeping, and he said, 'By no means, mamye; but I will go first, and you, ma chere, shall come there afterwards.' Then the king and queen partook of wine and comfits together at the deanery, and all who chose did the same. Afterwards the king stooped, and took and lifted the queen from the ground, and held her a long while in his arms,<sup>2</sup> and kissed her at least ten times, saying ever, 'Adieu, ma chere, until we meet again,' and then placed her on the ground and kissed her at least thrice more; and, by our Lady! I never saw so great a lord make so much of, nor shew such great affection to, a lady, as did King Richard to his queen. Great pity was it that they separated, for never saw they each other more. Afterwards the king embraced<sup>3</sup> all the ladies, and then mounted his horse. There many knights kissed hands on taking their departure, and trumpets sounded, and men-at-arms and archers from every country arrived

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor Holland, widow of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Lieutenant of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that the queen was only eleven years of age at this time.

<sup>3</sup> "Baisa," but "manda" in the MS. No. 9848, Regius, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.



to serve the noble King Richard, who was careful to ride early and late, until he arrived at Milford, where was a very fine port, with many fine ships.<sup>1</sup> From Milford the king wrote a most affectionate letter to the queen, commending himself to her many times, for she was ill with grief from losing her lord. The king then commanded the Duke of York to dismiss the Lady de Coucy, as he had before ordered; and then passed in review his men-at-arms and archers, and made his ordinances for provisions and necessities for the voyage, and gave daily orders to hasten the embarkation; so great was his desire to pass the sea into the country of great Ireland, where his enemies are, who have given him much annoyance, and have done great damage, as well to him as to his lords, and the people of the kingdom of England."<sup>2</sup>

After the departure of the king, the queen was ill of grief<sup>3</sup> a fortnight or more. When she was recovered, she removed to Wallingford, by the advice of the Duke of York and the other lords. The Lady de Coucy was then dismissed, as the king had ordered.<sup>4</sup>

The Duke of Lancaster landed in England in August 1399, and on the 19th of that month the king became, in fact, his prisoner, at the Castle of Flint, from whence he was immediately removed to London.<sup>5</sup> On the 30th of September Richard was

<sup>1</sup> Richard did not, however, as this passage would imply, proceed direct from Windsor to Milford. From Windsor he went to Westminster, and remained there until the 1st of May, on which day he left London on his Irish expedition. (See Mr. Hardy's 'Introduction to the Close Rolls,' p. xv.)

<sup>2</sup> He sailed on the 29th of May.

<sup>3</sup> "De courroux." (MS. No. 9848, Regius, Bib. du Roi, Paris.)

<sup>4</sup> Lady de Coucy did not leave England, however, until January, 1400. The queen was taken from Wallingford to Sunning, near Reading. Miss Strickland, in her *Life of Queen Isabella*, has made the not unnatural mistake of confounding *Sunning-hill*, near Windsor, with Sunning, near Reading. It was at the Bishop of Salisbury's manor-house at the latter place that the queen resided.

<sup>5</sup> Froissart makes the route taken by the Duke of Lancaster and his royal prisoner, by Oxford and Windsor, and says—"The Duke of Lancaster, on leaving Windsor, did not follow the road to Colnbrook, but that of Shene, and dined with the king at Chertsey. King Richard had earnestly requested his cousin not to carry him through London, which was the reason they had gone this road." This is, however, beyond all doubt, an erroneous account, for the duke took the king by way of Lichfield, Coventry, Northampton, and St. Alban's, and reached Westminster on the 2d of September. (See the '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart*,' &c., p. 215, and the editor's notes.)

formally deposed, and Henry ascended the throne by the title of Henry the Fourth.

Although the feasts of the Order of the Garter were, as might be expected from the tastes of Richard, duly kept up during this reign, there is nothing to call for particular notice in a work which does not profess to give a detailed account of the Order. Ashmole describes the magnificent dresses "assigned to the queen and great ladies" on these occasions, detailing with his usual zest for pageants and processions, their quality, dimensions, and colour. In this reign women of quality first wore trains.<sup>1</sup> The tournaments of this as well as of the preceding reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the highest rank, who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct, soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> In a tournament

<sup>1</sup> This novelty induced a well-meaning divine of those times to write a tract, '*Contra caudas dominarum*'—against the Tails of the Ladies. (See '*Collectanea Historica*,' ex Dietion. MS. Thomæ Gascoign, apud Hearne's W. Hemingford, p. 512, cited by Warton, '*History of English Poetry*,' vol. ii, p. 482, edit. 1840.)

<sup>2</sup> Knyghton. Down to this period ladies are generally supposed to have ridden their horses *en cavalier*, the introduction of side saddles being attributed to Anne of Bohemia, the first queen of Richard the Second. Dr. Warton, in speaking of the introduction of trains, mentioned in the text, says—"As an apology, however, for the English ladies in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen, a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms, and whose authority and example were so powerful as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles." ('*History of Poetry*,' vol. ii, p. 482, edit. 1840.)

Mr. T. Wright, however, a high authority, in his '*Domestic Manners of the English during the Middle Ages*,' after giving a woodcut of two of a party of Saxon travellers from MS. Cotton., Claudius, B. IV, in which the female figure is represented sitting sideways, says—"The lady, it will be observed, rides sideways, as in modern times, and the illuminated manuscripts of different periods furnish us with examples enough to show that such was always the practice; yet an old writer has ascribed the introduction of side-saddles into this country to Anne of Bohemia, the queen of Richard the Second, and the statement has been repeated by writers on costume, who blindly compile from one another without examining carefully the original sources of information." He adds, "This erroneous statement is given by Mr. Planché, in his '*History of British Costume*.' Statements of this kind made by old writers are seldom to be depended upon: people were led by political bias or personal partiality, to ascribe the introduction of customs that were odious, to persons who were unpopular, or whom they disliked, while they ascribed everything of a contrary character to persons who were beloved." ('*Art-Journal*,' vol. iii, new series, p. 170.) Notwithstanding this observation, an examination of the

exhibited at London, sixty ladies appeared mounted on horses, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the Tower to Smithfield.<sup>1</sup>

The only grants by Richard to St. George's College were of the advowson of the Church of Northmolton, in the diocese of Exeter, and of one croft or piece of ground in that town, in the thirteenth year of his reign;<sup>2</sup> and the confirmation, in the twentieth year, to the dean of the chapel, of two pastures in the village of Bray.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that vines were cultivated in the Little Park, and wine made from them, in this reign, has been already noticed.<sup>4</sup>

In Eton, we find that in this reign Robert de Stretton, parson of the Church of Llanbadern Vawr, held half of the manor, and also a house and one carucate of land there, called Bardenneys.<sup>5</sup>

In the seventeenth year of Richard's reign, John Holbrooke was appointed surveyor of the king's swans in the Thames between the bridges of Oxford and Windsor, during the king's pleasure.<sup>6</sup>

Among the owners of land at and in the neighbourhood of Windsor, in the reign of Richard the Second, was Sir Bernard Brocas, who was beheaded at the commencement of the reign of Henry the Fourth, and who held lands in New and Old Windsor, Didworth or Dudworth Maunsell, at Clewer, Winkfield, Bray, and elsewhere, and also the manors of Clewer, Clewer Brocas,<sup>7</sup> Dud-

drawing in the particular instance given, shows that the lady is certainly not seated on a side-saddle of the present construction. Both her feet appear at the same level, and her position more nearly resembles a person seated on that kind of saddle called a pillion. It may be observed, on the other hand, that Chaucer's representation of his 'Wife of Bath' as having "on her feete a paire of spuris sharpe" can scarcely be considered as conclusive of her riding *en amazon*, as at the present day it is not unusual for ladies to wear spurs, although of course only one can be effectively applied to the horse.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 13 Ric. II, p. ii, m. 11. (Ashmole, p. 169.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 20 Ric. II, p. i, m. 18.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Escaet., 19 Ric. II, n. 98.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 17 Ric. II, p. i, m. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Surnames were occasionally appended to the proper names of towns and manors, for the sake of distinction, or, as Camden says, "to notifie the owner," as Hurst-Perpoint and Hurst-Monceux; Tarring-Neville and Tarring-Peverell; Rotherfield-Greys and Rotherfield-Pypurd. (Lower's 'English Surnames.') Another example occurs in Stoke-Pogis, already mentioned.

worth Maunsell, and Bulstrode.<sup>1</sup> "The Brocas," familiar to every Etonian and inhabitant of Windsor and Eton, doubtless derives its name from the ancient owners.<sup>2</sup> In the eighth of Richard the Second, Sir Bernard Brocas endowed a chapel in Clewer Church ("Our Lady's Chantry"<sup>3</sup>), with a house and land at Clewer, and with the manors of Clewer, Clewer Brocas, and Bulstrode.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* *Escaet.*, 7 Ric. II, n. 109; 8 Ric. II, n. 46; 19 Ric. II, n. 3; 22 Ric. II, n. 8. (*Cal., Inq. P. M.*) Some of these lands appear to have been held by Sir Bernard Brocas in right of his wife Katherine.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Williams's note at p. 259 of the 'Chronicle of the Betrayal, &c., of Richard King of England.' The Brocas is a large field on the left bank of the Thames above Windsor Bridge. It is well marked by the group of elms near its western extremity, forming, with the river, one of the most beautiful objects in the view from the north terrace of the castle. The entrance to the Brocas from Eton is called Brocas Street.

<sup>3</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.' vol. i, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Escaet.*, 8 Ric. II, n. 46.



The Font in Clewer Church

## CHAPTER XI.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH.

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CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE—A.D. 1409. SIR JOHN STANLEY.

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DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

A.D. ——. WALTER ALMALY.

A.D. 1403. THOMAS BUTTILLER.

A.D. 1412. RICHARD KINGSTONE.

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Imprisonment of the Earl of March—Plots against the King's life—Sir Bernard Brocas—  
Ruinous condition of the Castle—Pontage—Attempt to liberate the Earl of March  
—Imprisonment of James Prince of Scotland—St. George's Feast, 1406—Illness  
of the King—Grants of Pontage—Grant of the "Woodhawe" to the Canons—  
Welch Prisoners received at the Castle—The King keeps his last Christmas at  
Windsor.

ON the assumption of the throne by Henry the Fourth, in October 1399, Windsor was chosen as the place of confinement of the infant Earl of March, who was the rightful presumptive heir to the crown, entitled to it upon Richard's deposition or resignation, being sprung from Lionel Duke of Clarence, an elder brother of Henry's father, John of Ghent. The friends of the Earl of March, however, withheld his right from discussion; and the king was satisfied with keeping him and his brother (the eldest was only in his seventh year) in honorable confinement in Windsor Castle.<sup>1</sup>

At the following Christmas, Windsor became the scene of one of those plots against the king by which he was from time to time harassed during his reign.

At the head of this conspiracy were the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Rutland (formerly Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing Rot. Parl., iii, 425—436; Rymer, viii, 91—94.

Albemarle respectively, but deprived by Henry of these titles), the Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Despenser (late Earl of Gloucester).

The following account is taken from the '*Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre* :'<sup>1</sup>

"The eighth day before Christmas, thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, the following parties were dining in the rooms of the Abbot of Westminster; that is to say, the first duke was the Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon; the second, the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent; the third, the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland. The first earl was the Lord Despenser Earl of Gloucester, and the second the Earl of Salisbury; the late Archbishop of Canterbury, named Walden, was also there, and so was the good Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and Maudeleyn who resembled Kyng Richard, with Master Pol, King Richard's physician, and a wise baron, Sir Thomas Blount. When the lords had finished dinner, they went into a side council-chamber, and a secretary was present who had prepared six small deeds, which were all cut and indented one to fit the other; to which each of the said lords affixed his seal, and swore by their souls to be faithful to one another even unto death, and to restore King Richard to his kingdom and seignory, or to die in the attempt. They resolved to surprise King Henry and his sons at a tournament to be held on the day of the Three Kings;<sup>2</sup> for which purpose they were to assemble on New-Year's Day at a town called Kingston, ten leagues from London; and that Maudeleyn should ride with them, to represent King Richard. Item. King Henry sent letters to all the lords of his kingdom, inviting and commanding that they would come to the feast of the new king at his Castle of Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated and edited for the Historical Society by B. Williams, F.S.A. 8vo, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Twelfth Day. "They all agreed that a great feast should be held at the ensuing Christmas in the strong and fair castle of Windsor." (Creton's '*Metrical History*,' translated by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A., '*Archæologia*,' vol. xx, p. 209. See also Walsingham.)

<sup>3</sup> "They caused large wagons to be made, in which they purposed to put a great number of men well armed, who were to be brought under cover to the place where they were to prepare their harness (for the lists), the better to gain entrance into the Castle of Windsor, where the duke was to be. Strict orders were also given them, that as soon as they could see their lords each should do his duty by killing all the porters who guarded the fortress, and so while they were doing this business their lords would run to attack Duke Henry, and put him to death without delay. Thus stood the matter till the approach of Christmas, when the duke went to Windsor to be judge of the approaching tournament (*feste*).'" (Webb's translation of Creton's '*Metrical History*,' '*Archæologia*,' vol. xx, p. 210.)

“ Item. On New-Year’s Day, King Henry had in his company his four sons, his two brothers, four earls, and four dukes ; to wit, the Dukes of York, Surrey, Aumarle, and Exeter, who all wore the same uniform ; and the same day, after Henry and all the lords had dined, eleven persons, viz. an archbishop, a duke, four earls, two knights, and three of the men of London, these went down upon their knees, and presented a petition to King Henry, beseeching him to remember what he had said the day before, that he wished to deliver King Richard from this world and put him to death.<sup>1</sup> King Henry looked at them and said, ‘Cousin Archbishop of Canterbury, good uncle of York, you Earl of Arundel, and you Constable Earl of Northumberland, you Marshal Earl of Westmorland, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Erpingham, and Harry Percy, consider well amongst yourselves what it is you require of me ; for King Richard has been our sovereign lord a long time, and was sentenced and condemned in open parliament to perpetual imprisonment ; and I say, if there shall be any rising in arms in the country in his favour, he shall be the first who shall die for it. For I have great marvel that you should ask me such a thing. Do you think that I would do this at your bidding ? So God help me, I will by no means act in opposition to the open parliament.’ And, the Friday after New-Year’s Day, all the lords left Windsor, and went to London to prepare their armour, their horses, their lances, and everything appertaining to the joust, that they might be ready on the day of the Kings ; and, having taken leave of King Henry, each departed to his own county, to raise his men and be in readiness for the rendezvous they had agreed upon at Kingston.”

After describing the parting of the Earl of Huntingdon with his countess, the chronicler proceeds :

“ Item. On the first Sunday of the year, the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury met at Kingston, with eight thousand archers and three hundred lances of men-at-arms, the flower of all England ; and, on setting off from Kingston, the lords sent letters to the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland, in London, urging

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an allusion to the saying of Henry, reported by Froissart and repeated by Hall : “Have I no faithful friend which will deliver me of him whose life will be my death, and whose death the preservation of my life ?” Mr. Webb considers this deputation an improbable event ; but, looking at the strongly marked opposition of the men of London throughout the whole history, it appears to be but in keeping with their usual conduct. (Williams, ‘Chronicle of the Betrayal, &c., of Richard King of England,’ p. 231, note 1.)

him not to fail to be at Colnbrook on the night of the Kings. The Duke of Aumarle was dining, the first Sunday of the year,<sup>1</sup> with his father the Duke of York; and, after he had seated himself at table, he placed the indenture of their confederacy upon the table. When the duke saw it, he demanded, 'What letter is that?' The earl, taking off his bonnet, replied, 'My lord, do not be angry, it does not touch you.' 'Shew it to me,' said the duke to his son, 'for I will know what it is.' Aumarle then handed the letter to his father. And when the Duke of York saw the six seals, he read the letter throughout; which done, he said, 'Saddle the horses directly. Hey! thou traitor thief, thou hast been traitor to King Richard, and wilt thou now be false to thy cousin King Henry?'<sup>2</sup> Thou knowest well enough that I am thy pledge-borrow, body for body, and land for goods, in open parliament; and I see plainly thou goest about to seek my destruction. By St. George! I had rather thou shouldst be hung than I.' And so the Duke of York mounted on horseback to ride to Windsor to reveal the matter to King Henry, and to show him the letters which he had taken from his son. The Duke of Aumarle, seeing that his father was gone to King Henry at Windsor, set off himself, and arrived there a good time before his father, who was advanced in years; he then caused the castle-gates to be shut, and carried the keys with him to King Henry, before whom he bent the knee, beseeching his forgiveness. The king replied, 'Fair cousin, you have done nothing amiss.' Then he declared unto him the power of the confederated lords, their names, and the whole of the conspiracy; how he and his sons were to have been seized, and King Richard and his queen restored, and that he had been a party to the enterprise; for which he begged for mercy and forgiveness. 'If this be true,' said Henry, 'we pardon you; but if I find it false, upon our word you shall repent it.' Whilst they were talking together, the Duke of York arrived, and presented to the king the indenture he had taken from his son; and, when the king saw the indenture with its six seals, he

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Williams observes that the correctness of the day here mentioned is borne out by the fact that a warrant for the arrest of the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon was made out on January 5th. (See Rymer's '*Fœdera*,' tom. viii, 120.) Henry arrived at London at too late an hour on Sunday (January 4th) to have the order made out on that day.

<sup>2</sup> According to Creton's '*Metrical History*,' the betrayal by the Duke of Aumarle (Earl of Rutland) was voluntary. Stowe, who, it seems, was acquainted with the narrative in the text, says the Earl of Rutland, having changed his mind, voluntarily showed his father letters he had received, and the Duke of York then caused his son to be carried to the king. The account in the text is certainly so far improbable, that it is very unlikely that a formal instrument with seals would be sent, or even prepared, by the conspirators.



ordered eight horses to be saddled, for he would go to London presently. The king mounted on horseback, and reached London at nine o'clock at night: on his road he met the mayor with four attendants, hastening to inform him that the lords had taken the field with six thousand followers.<sup>1</sup> A proclamation was immediately issued that all those who were willing to serve their king and the city of London should repair to the council-house, enrol their names, and swear to serve loyally; promising, for fifteen days, eightpence for every lance, and ninepence for every archer. By the morrow morning at eight o'clock, more than sixteen thousand men were enrolled and paid, and ready to follow the king.

"On the day of the Kings, the sixth day of the year thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, at the hour of noon, King Henry set out from London, to encounter the other lords who were his enemies, with only fifty lances and six thousand archers. When he had reached a fine common a little way out of town, he gave orders to draw up his men, and he waited till three o'clock in the afternoon the arrival of his reinforcements from the city."

In the mean time, the Earl of Rutland, having left the king, went to Colnbrook, where the insurgent lords were assembled, and pretended that he was willing to live and die with them. On the night of Monday, the 5th of January, they entered the Castle of Windsor, without opposition, with about five hundred horse.<sup>2</sup> They searched the king's apartments and the houses of the canons in the hope of finding him.<sup>3</sup> Disappointed, they left the castle and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Creton, whose account is adopted by Stowe, says that the king would not believe the story until the arrival of the mayor of London, who came to Windsor the same morning to communicate information of the conspiracy. Froissart says the king's ministers advised him not to attend the jousts, as they had heard "whispers of plots."

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Pat., 2 Hen. IV, p. i, m. 20. Creton's 'Chronicle' says they were in the castle before the king reached London.

<sup>3</sup> Froissart. "This yere, on the twelfth day after Cristemasse, the Erle of Kent, the Erle of Hunt', the Lord Spenser, Sr Rauf Lumley, and manye othere knyghtes and squyres, were purposyd to have selayn the kyng and hise children at Wyndesore, and thoo that helde with them be a momunynge; but, as it fortuned, the kyng hadde warnynge; and anon he rood to London in gret haste, and made hym strong to ryde on his adversaries afore said; the whiche lordes were assembled at Redynge, purposyng for to do as they hadde ment; and fro thens they come to Wyndesore, and deden moche harme thereaboutge. And whanne they hadde aspied that the kyng was forth to London, they token there wey to Surcetre, and made cryes be the weye," &c. ('Chronicle of London from 1189 to 1483,' edit. by Sir H. Nicolas, 4to, 1827.)

ceeded westward. "When the lords and their army had passed the two bridges of Maidenhead, four leagues beyond Colnbrook, the two vanguards of King Henry came in sight; and the Earl of Rutland, perceiving that they were so near, returned towards them, crying out, 'They all flee,' making pretence that he had had a skirmish with those who passed the bridge: and the lords of King Richard's party perceiving that the Earl of Rutland was against them, held the bridge with the Duke of Surrey, who is called Earl of Kent, and begged the Earl of Huntingdon that he would lead on the army until they had fairly passed Henley and Oxford, and he would hold [the bridge with] those of the rearguard who were best mounted, in spite of them. The vanguard of King Henry could not succeed in passing the bridge of Maidenhead; and the Duke of Surrey skirmished so well that he captured from them two pack-horses, two baggage-wagons, and a chariot of the king's. He would not let a single person pass the bridge for three days before King Henry came up:<sup>1</sup> and when he knew that the king had arrived, he and his companions held the bridge bravely till night, and then stole away quietly, taking with him all of the town, both horse and foot, to serve King Richard. The Earl of Huntingdon had already gone on with all the army, clearing the town of its provisions and victuals, that King Henry and his people might not find any. The Duke of Surrey rode with such speed that he reached Oxford the same night; and, after leaving that city, he overtook on the morrow King Richard's brother and the other lords, with the people of Woodstock; and they marched to a town called Cirencester.<sup>2</sup> There the army encamped in the fields, but all the lords went to lodge in an inn."<sup>3</sup>

On their way to Cirencester they called at Sunning, where Queen Isabella still remained, persuading her to accompany them, telling her that they had driven Henry from Windsor to the Tower, and that Richard had escaped and was at the head of an army.<sup>4</sup>

The inhabitants of Cirencester were summoned by the mayor

<sup>1</sup> Three hours are perhaps intended. (Williams.)

<sup>2</sup> See Rymer's 'Fœdera,' viii, 165.

<sup>3</sup> 'Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux, Roy Dengleterre.'

<sup>4</sup> Walsingham; Stowe; and see 'Archæologia,' vol. xx, p. 82, note.

to resist them, and at midnight the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were attacked and captured, and beheaded on the following day, and a similar fate awaited the other ringleaders of this attempt.<sup>1</sup>

Among those who were engaged in this affair was Sir Bernard Brocas, whose landed possessions in the neighbourhood of Windsor have been mentioned at the conclusion of the last chapter. He was beheaded in London,<sup>2</sup> and the estates escheated to the crown;<sup>3</sup> but in the following year the king granted them to William Brocas, his eldest son, to hold by the accustomed services,<sup>4</sup> Johanna, the widow, retaining (apparently as her dower) the third part of the manor of Clewer and parts of the manors of Cookham and Bray; also lands called "Le Worthe" and some other property in Windsor.<sup>5</sup>

There is a story told of another attempt upon the king's life, at Windsor, about this period. An extraordinary instrument, called a "caltrappe," was concealed in his bed. It was reported to have been laid there by one of Queen Isabella's household.<sup>6</sup>

Among divers complaints and requests made by the commons to Henry the Fourth, on the 25th of January, 1404 (5 Hen. IV), they represented to him that the castles and other royal manors were very ruinous and in need of great repair, and that the profits of them were given to various persons and the king had to bear the charge, especially of the Castle of Windsor, for the reparation of which, particular funds were assigned, but had been given

<sup>1</sup> There is an old satirical ballad entitled 'A Requiem to the Conspirators' (Ritson's 'Ancient Songs,' p. 51), which has been supposed to refer to this plot. Mr. Webb, however, inclines to doubt whether it refers immediately to the affair in question. ('Archæologia,' vol. xx, p. 211, note 2.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Hall's 'Chronicle.'

<sup>3</sup> Among the possessions of Sir Bernard Brocas at this time were houses and lands in Windsor and Clewer, and the manors of Bray, Cookham, and Horton. (*Vide* Escaet., 1 Hen. IV, n. 17.)

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 2 Hen. IV, p. i, m. 19. The manors of Clewer Brocas and Didworth were at the commencement of the present century the property of the Hon. Mrs. Keppel, widow of the Bishop of Exeter, having been bequeathed to her by her father, Sir Edward Walpole, who purchased them of Topham Beauclerk, Esq.; previously to this they had been many years in the family of Topham. (Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 263.)

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Escaet., 7 Hen. VI, n. 53.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Brit. Mus., Sloane, 1776, cited by Tyler in his 'Life of Henry the Fifth.'

to certain individuals; for this, and other matters, they prayed measures might be adopted in that parliament.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year a grant of pontage was made to Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning of the year 1405, Lady de Spenser, the relict of Lord de Spenser, who was executed at Bristol, in 1400, for his share in the plot already described, undertook to liberate from the king's custody the young Earl of March and his brother, who were still imprisoned in Windsor Castle. By means of false keys, she on the 15th of February procured access to their apartment, conducted them out of the castle, and hurried them away towards the frontiers of Wales, where Owen Glendower was in arms against Henry. The alarm of the escape was, however, soon given; the fugitives were quickly pursued and retaken; and the lady, on her examination before the council—perhaps to soothe the king's resentment, perhaps to excite his alarm,—accused her brother, late the Earl of Rutland, but now (in consequence of the death of his father) Duke of York, of being privy, not only to her attempt, but to several other conspiracies against him. In proof of her assertion, she produced her champion, William Maidstone, and offered to be burnt if he should be vanquished. The duke accepted the challenge; but Henry, who could not but recollect, says Dr. Lingard, “how often that prince, under the titles of Duke of Albemarle and Earl of Rutland, had proved faithless to his associates, ordered him to be immediately arrested. If we may believe the suspicious language of the royal writs, he confessed his guilt; in his own petition he appears confident of proving his innocence. All his estates were seized for the king's profit; and the duke himself was confined in the Castle of Pevensey. At the end of three months he was released, admitted to favour, and recovered his lands.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iii, pp. 523, 524.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 5 Hen. IV, p. i, m. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard; Rymer, vol. viii, pp. 386, 388; Walsingham; Otterbourne. The ‘Chronicle of London’ says—“Also the same yere (1405) were the children of the Erle of Marche stolen out of the castell of Wyndesore, aboughte mydnyght as it was seid, and were led into Walys to Owayn Glendore, for he was a rebell to oure kyng that tyme, and alle Walys for the more partye be v. yere before. Also the forseid children were brought ayene to the kyng; and the Lady Spenser was accused, and here brother, that was called Duk of York, of gret treson for the forseid children,” &c.

The unfortunate smith who made the false keys for Lady de Spenser, did not escape so easily. He "had first his hands and then his head cut off."<sup>1</sup>

The parliament of the seventh and eighth of Henry the Fourth was adjourned from the 3d, to Monday the 25th day of April, 1406, on account of the solemnity of St. George's Feast, held at Windsor on Sunday, the day before the said Monday.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after this feast we find the king lying ill at Windsor.

By letter dated at his manor in Windsor Park, the 28th of April, 1406, written to the council, he informed them that, in consequence of having suddenly hurt his leg, and "not only that," but also having been attacked with ague, his physicians would not allow him to travel, and especially not on horseback, as his dearly-beloved esquire, William Phelip, the bearer, would more fully inform them, and the Duke of York explain to them; but that he hoped, nevertheless, to be at Staines that night, and thence to proceed to London by water, where he would by the help of God arrive in three or four days.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the same day, the king wrote a second letter to the council, also dated at his manor in Windsor Park, stating that, since his previous letter written before noon, his illness had so

<sup>1</sup> Stow. In the Lansdown MSS., 860 A, fol. 288 b, written about the time of Queen Elizabeth, the following account is given of this transaction:

"The Fryday aft' S<sup>r</sup> Vallerynes day, anno 6 H. 4, y<sup>e</sup> Erll of Marches sons was secretly conveyd out of Wyndsor Castell yerly in y<sup>e</sup> morninge: and fond againe by dylligent serche. Bot y<sup>e</sup> smythe for making y<sup>e</sup> key lost fyrst his handes, after his hed; and y<sup>e</sup> lady Spenser, wydow to the Lo. Spenser executed att Bristow, and sister to y<sup>e</sup> D. of York, was comytted cloase pryson', whare she accused her brother aforesaid for y<sup>e</sup> actour for y<sup>e</sup> children aforesaid, and y<sup>e</sup> he sholde entende to breake into y<sup>e</sup> kings manour att Elitham y<sup>e</sup> last Crystmas by scalinge y<sup>e</sup> walles in y<sup>e</sup> nighte, and there to murth<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> kinge; and for better proaffe thereof, y<sup>e</sup> yf eyth<sup>r</sup> knight or squyer of Engl<sup>d</sup> wold combatt for her in the quarrell, she wold endure her boddy to be burned yf he ware vanquished. Then W. Maydston, one of her sqyres, und<sup>r</sup> his m<sup>rs</sup> quarrell w<sup>th</sup> gage of his whord (?), and was presently arrested by lord Thomas, y<sup>e</sup> kyng's son, to y<sup>e</sup> Tower, and his goods confyscatt.

"Tho. Mowbray, y<sup>e</sup> E<sup>r</sup> Marshall, accused to be privy to y<sup>e</sup> same, bott was pardoned."

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iii, p. 571 a.

<sup>3</sup> 'Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council,' edit. by Sir H. Nicolas, vol. i, p. 290.

much increased as to prevent his travelling at his ease in so short a time as he had mentioned in his former letter, and desiring the council to proceed with the public business in his absence; to make arrangements for the safety of Guienne, and the departure of his daughter Philippa to Denmark.<sup>1</sup>

The manor in Windsor Park was probably a lodge used as an occasional place of retirement for the sovereign. We shall find it occupied at a later period by Sir Bulstrode Whitelock during the Commonwealth.

The Manor Farm near Virginia Water, now generally known as the Flemish Farm, is probably the site of the more ancient edifice called the Manor-house. It is marked in Norden's Plan of the Great Park, early in the reign of James the First, as "The Manor," and is represented as a place of considerable size.

In the ninth year of the king's reign, pontage was granted for Windsor Bridge,<sup>2</sup> and this grant was repeated or renewed four years afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

In the tenth year, John de Stanley, seneschal, was appointed constable of the castle and bailiff of the "New Park of Windsor."<sup>4</sup> On the 13th of November in the following year, the sum of £38 6s. 8d. was paid to him, by assignment made that day, by the hands of John Horsey, for the expenses and costs of the Earl of Fyff and other Scotchmen under his custody in the castle.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have been knighted on his appointment as constable.

In the same year, Henry the Fourth gave the canons of St. George's Chapel a vacant place in the castle, called the Wodehawe, near the great hall, for the erection of houses and chambers for the vicars, clerks, choristers, and the other ministers assigned to the service of the chapel.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council.'

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 9 Hen. IV, p. ii, m. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 13 Hen. IV, p. ii, m. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10 Hen. IV, p. ii, m. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 11 Hen. IV; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 10 Hen. IV, p. ii, m. 13. "Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis, quod de gratia nostra speciali, et pro eo quod dilecti nobis in Christo custos et canonici libera capelle nostræ infra castrum de Wyndesore, de donibus et cameris pro vicariis, clericis, et choristis, ac servientibus suis plenariè dotati non existunt, ut accepimus, con-

Thomas Kingestone, appointed dean of the chapel in 1412, was the first who filled the office by the title of "dean." The previous nominations described the party as "custos."<sup>1</sup>

In October 1409 (11th Hen. IV), the following Welsh prisoners, in the custody of the constable of Windsor Castle, were delivered over to William Lisle, Marshal of England, viz.:—Ho ap Iwan ap Howell, Walther ap Iwan Vethan, Rys ap Iwan ap Rys, Iwan Goz ap Morgan, David ap Tudor, Rys ap Meredyd, Madok Berg, Jenkyn Backer, David ap Cad, and Thomas Dayler.<sup>2</sup>

These were some of the adherents of Owen Glendower, whose forces were at this time completely subdued.

The object of the transfer is not stated in the writ, but it was probably for the purpose of their execution.<sup>3</sup>

No other event connected with Windsor appears to have occurred during this reign. The violent manner in which Henry the Fourth obtained the crown, and the constant effort required to preserve it, account for nothing more having occurred respecting the institution of the Order of the Garter in his reign than supplying vacancies and observing the annual feasts, which, when the king was not engaged in more important duties, were celebrated by himself in person.<sup>4</sup> At the time of the creation of his eldest son as Prince of Wales, the stall belonging to the possessor of that title was filled by Sir Philip la Vache, who, as Ashmole tells us, was removed, but "no lower than to the stall which King Henry the Fourth

cessimus eisdem decano et canonicis quandam vacuam placeam infra castrum nostrum prædictum, vocatum Wodehawe juxta magnam aulam ad hujusmodi domos, pro vicariis, clericis, et choristis prædictis ibidem ædificandis: habendam et tenendam placeam prædictam sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Et eisdem custodi et canonicis, quod ipsi placeam prædictam a nobis recipere, ac domos et eameras ibidem, ut præmittitur, ædificare; et eas sic ædificatas tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis prædictis imperpetuum, sicut prædictum est, tenore præsentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem; statuto de terris et tenementis, ad manum mortuam non ponendis, edito, non obstante, &c. In cujus, &c. T. rege apud Westmonasterium xxix<sup>o</sup> die Maii. *Per ipsum regem.*" (See Dugdale's 'Monasticon' and Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 135.)

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, p. 153. See *post*, Chapter XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Claus., 11 Hen. IV, m. 37; Rymer's 'Fœdera,' tom. viii, p. 599. The spelling of some of the names is evidently incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Tyler, 'Life of Henry the Fifth,' vol. i, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 54.

lately held when Earl of Derby, viz. the third on the sovereign's side, and had now relinquished for the sovereign's royal stall." <sup>1</sup> Henry the Fourth, on account of his ill health, kept his last Christmas at Eltham, in great seclusion, with his queen Joanna, and died at Westminster on the 19th of March, 1413, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 319.



The Castle, from the Great Park



## CHAPTER XII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH.

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CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE.

SIR JOHN STANLEY.

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DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

A.D. ——. RICHARD KINGSTONE.

A.D. 1417. JOHN ARUNDEL.

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Liberation of the Earl of March—The King's discussion with Sir John Oldecastle—Permission to the Queen Dowager to reside at Windsor—St. George's Feast, 1416—Attempt to release James King of Scotland, his education, &c.—The Queen at Windsor—Birth of Henry the Sixth—Traditional expression of the King—His Death—Inventory of his Goods—His love for Minstrelsy—Grants to St. George's College.

ONE of the first acts of Henry the Fifth was to set at liberty the Earl of March, who from his childhood had been kept in confinement at Windsor, by the late king, as before mentioned, for no other crime than his right to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

Another royal prisoner soon afterwards became an inmate of Windsor Castle.

James, the eldest surviving son and heir of Robert the Third, King of Scotland, was sent in the fourteenth year of his age, under the care of the Earl of Orkney, with a recommendatory letter to Charles King of France, to be educated at the French court, and safely kept out of the way of the intrigues of his uncle, the Duke of Albany, into whose hands King Robert had suffered the reins of government to fall.

Unfortunately, the young prince, on the 30th of March, 1405, in his passage, was, with his attendants, taken off Flamborough-

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

Head by an English cruiser, though a truce subsisted between the two crowns. The prince, in the first instance, was imprisoned in the Castle of Pevensey,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently in the Tower of London.<sup>2</sup> In August 1413 he was removed to Windsor,<sup>3</sup> where he was detained for eleven years.

The intelligence of the prince's capture broke the heart of his father; and the Duke of Albany, sensible that the continuance of his own power depended on the duration of his nephew's confinement, became from that moment the obsequious servant of Henry.<sup>4</sup>

It appears that during the king's absence in France, and the regency of the Duke of Bedford, an attempt was made by Thomas Payne, a Welsh priest, who had been one of the principal advisers of Sir John Oldcastle,<sup>5</sup> to release the Scotch king. Thomas Haseley, who effected the capture of Payne and discovered the plot, presented a petition in 1438 (he being then one of the clerks of the crown) to Henry the Sixth, for the grant of an annuity, and narrates his services, stating that in the absence of Henry the Fifth, the king's father, in France and Normandy, "by the commandment of your most gracious uncle, the Duke of Bedford (on whom God have mercy!), that time regent of this your noble realm, and advice of all the great council here, a commission was assigned to take and arrest Thomas Payne, of Glamorganshire, Welshman, that brake the Tower of London, now being in Newgate,<sup>6</sup> sometime clerk and chief counsellor to Sir John Oldcastle, traitor attaint to your said gracious father; the which Thomas Payne as traitor was in the field armed against your said father, with the Lollards,

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing Fordun. Hall speaks of the prince delivering the letter intended for the French king, to Henry at Windsor, as if he were conveyed there immediately.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. V, m. 22; 'Fædera,' tom. ix, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. v, Pref., p. xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> By a minute of council dated 1st October, 1 Hen. VI (1422), the sheriffs of London were strictly commanded by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench to keep this Thomas Payne securely in the prison of Newgate, on pain of being deemed guilty of treason, in case Payne should be convicted of that offence; and if not, under penalty of the law, which would be arbitrary and severe. (*Vide* Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii, p. 4.) See also the Issue Roll, Easter, 10 Hen. V; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' pp. 372, 373.

beside St. James's next Charing Cross, and escaped unhurt or taken till your said beseecher, accompanied, at his cost and all manner [of] expenses, with notable power, by the space of five days and six nights, lay for him in the most secret ways that they could, and so, with help and grace of Almighty God, your said servitor took him and arrested him at midnight in a place beside your Castle of Windsor, where at that time was the King of Scots kept as prisoner to your said father, and that same night this said traitor should have broken the said castle by treason,<sup>1</sup> and gone with the said king towards Scotland; in proof whereof I found in the traitor's purse a schedule written of all places of gistes [entertainment] and lodgings appointed for him from Windsor unto Edinburgh in Scotland, and so he confessed. The which traitor and schedule I delivered to the Bishop of Durham, then chancellor, and William Kynwolmersh, then treasurer of this your said noble realm; and the said traitor then was there committed to prison until the coming again of your said most gracious father into this realm from your said duchy of Normandy, and then in his next parliament here, in the council-chamber of the said parliament, afore your said right wise father and all his lords present there, the said traitor was brought and the schedule aforesaid, and your said suppliant in that presence examined of all matters above said, and other circumstances and incidents, and the manner of taking of him, at which time your said most noble father declared and said, before all his lords, that taking pleased him more than [if] I had gotten or given him £10,000, for the great inconveniences that were then like to afall [happen] in his long absence out of this realm, and so committed this traitor to the Tower of London, there safely to be kept, and then immediately, of his own royal largess and bounteous grace, without any asking of your said suppliant or any man for him, granted to hym £40 a year." And then further stating that the annuity, on account of the king's death, did not take effect; that in consequence of sickness he had been prevented from attending to his duties as second clerk of the parliament, to which office he had been appointed by the command of the late

<sup>1</sup> i. e., Would have released the King of Scotland by treachery or breach of faith on the part of some one in guard.

king, in his first parliament holden at Leicester, and had not received the yearly sum of £10 due therefore; that in the tenth year of the king's reign he had seized in the River Thames two vessels, freighted with woollen cloth and other valuable merchandize, which had sailed without having paid the customs; and had in this same year arrested divers persons impeached of high treason; and concluding by praying that, in consideration of his long and continual service, the king would grant him an annuity.<sup>1</sup>

Haseley's petition was successful, for on the 1st of March, 1438, a grant was made to him, by the description of "Thomas Haseley, one of the clerks of the crown in Chancery," of forty marks per annum, in reward of the services which he had rendered to the king, to his father, and to his grandfather, in addition to former grants made to him.<sup>2</sup>

James was not kept a close prisoner in the castle. His maintenance was fixed by Henry the Fifth at £700 per annum, and there can be no doubt that subsequently his expenses considerably increased.<sup>3</sup> He was present at the queen's coronation at Westminster, in 1421, and sat on her left hand, and served in covered silver dishes after the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Beaufort.<sup>4</sup>

During his captivity, the Scotch king fell in love with Jane or Joanna Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset and half-niece to Henry the Fifth, whom eventually he married. From the top of the Maiden's Tower<sup>5</sup> in Windsor Castle he saw her walking in the garden below.

The king's education had not been neglected. He studied the poets Chaucer and Gower in his captivity, and was a poet of no

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. v, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Rot. Pat., 16 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 12, and Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. v, p. 104. This article (with the letters patent alluded to, and other illustrative documents) is printed in the 'Excerpta Historica,' pp. 144—148.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard, referring to Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. x, pp. 293—296.

<sup>4</sup> Fabyan; Holinshed.

<sup>5</sup> The Maids of Honour's Tower, called also the Devil's Tower, and originally the Earl Marshal's Tower, situated on the south side of the castle, and south-east of the Round Tower, or keep. It is represented in Hollar's view of the south side of the castle, and is the tower immediately to the right of the Round Tower.

mean pretensions himself. His poem entitled 'The King's Quair,'<sup>1</sup> in which his love for the Lady Jane forms the leading theme, contains, as has been observed,<sup>2</sup> a description of the garden under the walls of the castle.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Quair" is book.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's 'Chronicle of Scottish Poetry' (4 vols., 8vo, 1803), vol. i, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The king, after narrating his capture at sea and his confinement "in straye ward, and in strong prison," says—

"The long dayes, and the nyghtis eke,  
I wold bewaile my fortune in this wise.  
For qwhich, again distresse comfort to seke,  
My custom was on mornis for to rise  
Airly as day, O happy exercise!  
By the come I to joye out of turment!  
Bot now to purpose of my first entent.

"Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,  
Despeired of all joye and remedye,  
For-tirit of my thought and wo-begone,  
And to the wyndow gan I walk in hyc,  
To see the world and folk that went forbye,  
As for the tyme, though I of mirthis fude  
Mycht have no more, to luke it did me gude.

"Now was there maid, fast by the Touris wall,  
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set,  
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small,  
Railit about, and so with treis set  
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,  
That lyf was non, walkyng there forbye,  
That mycht within scarce any wight aspye.

"So thick the beuis, and the leves grene,  
Beschadit all the allyces that there wcre,  
And myddis every herbere mycht be sene  
The scharp grene suete jenepere,  
Growing so fair, with branches here and there,  
That, as it semyt to a lyf without,  
The beuis spred the herbere all about.

"And on the small grene twistis set  
The lytil suete nygtingale, and song  
So loud and clere the ymynis consecrat  
Of luvys use, now soft, now lowd among,  
That all the gardynis and the wallis rong  
Rycht of thaire song."

Washington Irving has given an interesting account of a visit to Windsor to see the remains of the royal poet's prison. ('Sketch Book,' vol. i, p. 157.) Mr. Stoughton

James, having been sixteen years in captivity, consented to serve Henry as a volunteer in France, on a promise that he should revisit his own country within three months after his return. "He probably was not aware," Dr. Lingard observes, "of the object of Henry, who indulged a hope that the Scots in the pay of the Dauphin would not venture to fight against their native sovereign." In this he was disappointed; but the presence of James afforded him a pretext to gratify his revenge on the Scots, who had killed the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, at the battle of Beaujé.

James probably left England with Henry in June 1421. The death of the latter in France in the following year may have prevented the fulfilment of the promise that James should visit Scotland on his return; at all events, James does not seem to have had this privilege until his ransom in 1424.

In August 1413, Windsor Castle was the scene of a curious discussion between the king and his former companion, Sir John Oldcastle, called, from the inheritance of his wife, the Lord of Cobham.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Oldcastle had taken up the doctrines and become the chief of the sect called the Lollards. "The convocation of the clergy," says Dr. Lingard, "to spare the honour of a man who had been one of Henry's most intimate companions, instead of summoning him before the usual tribunal, denounced him to the king, who with the zeal of an apostle undertook the task of working his conversion. But the obstinacy of the disciple speedily exhausted the patience of the master: after a few days the king began to enforce his arguments with threats, and Oldcastle thought

feelingly expresses his mortification at finding, on a subsequent visit, "the workmen dismantling the walls, pulling up the floors, and sweeping away, with most unromantic diligence, all the romantic charms with which poetry had clothed the spot." ('Notices of Windsor in the Olden Time,' p. 50.)

<sup>1</sup> "From Fuller (p. 168) we derive the curious information that Sir John Oldcastle was, among our more ancient dramatists, the debauched but facetious knight, who now treads the stage under the name of Sir John Falstaff." (Lingard. See *post*, Chapter on 'The Merry Wives of Windsor.') Henry the Fifth had, before his coronation, dismissed him on account of his opinions. (*Ibid.*, citing Tit. Liv., *vita Henrici V.*, p. 6; Elmhamb, p. 31.)

it time to withdraw from Windsor to his own residence at Cowling. His flight was followed by a royal proclamation, ordering the magistrates to arrest not only the itinerant preachers, but their hearers and abettors; and by a mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him to proceed against the fugitive according to law."<sup>1</sup> Sir John Oldcastle was convicted by the primate of heresy, but, making his escape from the Tower, he, although eventually executed, eluded for several years the pursuit of his enemies.

In the first year of his reign, the king appointed John Wyntershull, Esq., as the deputy of Sir John Stanley, constable of Windsor Castle.<sup>2</sup>

By letters, dated at Winchester, 30th June, 1414, Henry granted of his especial grace to his step-mother, the queen-dowager, whom he describes as his dearest mother, Joanna, Queen of England, licence to live during his absence in any of his castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Berkhamstead, and Hertford.<sup>3</sup>

The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and others of the French nobility, taken prisoners at the battle of Agincourt, were imprisoned for some time at Windsor. Records exist of various payments made on their account, in the third year of this reign, to William Loveneye, Esquire, ordered and appointed by the king to provide for the charges and expenses of the household of these prisoners during their temporary abode at the castle.<sup>4</sup>

At St. George's Feast in May, the fourth year of Henry the Fifth (1416), his cousin, the Emperor Sigismund, who came over in April, attended the Feast of the Garter, and was chosen as a Companion of the Garter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing Rymer, ix, 46; Conc., 375; and see Tyler's 'Memoirs of Henry the Fifth,' vol. ii, p. 363, citing Archbishop Arundel's 'Register.'

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 1 Hen. V, p. 3, m. 34. Robert Wythele, it appears, was seneschal, and John Haydoun and William Tyler, bailiffs of Windsor, in the first year of this reign. (Ashmol. MS., No. 1115, f. 38 b.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Feadera.'

<sup>4</sup> Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 3 Hen. V; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 60, where it is shown that the statement of some of the chroniclers, that the Duke of Holland and the Duke of Brabant were present and elected Knights of the Garter, is erroneous. (See Walsingham and Hall, cited by Holinshed. See also 'The order (*i. e.*, list) of Knights of the Garter made at

The emperor brought with him the supposed heart of St. George, which was preserved at Windsor until the time of Henry the Eighth.<sup>1</sup>

"The finery of the guests" on this occasion, "the order of the servants, the variety of the courses, the invention of the dishes, with the other things delightful to the sight and taste, whoever should endeavour to describe would never do it justice."<sup>2</sup>

The following curious letter was addressed on this occasion by the king to the Dean and Chapter of St. George, requesting accommodation for the numerous guests :

"By the King.—Oure welbeloved, we grett you well, because of the greate multitude of peop<sup>ul</sup>, straungers and others, yt shal be in oure Castell Royal of Wyndesore this next solemnite the fest of Saint George, for the comyng of the empero<sup>r</sup> and ye duc of Holand, we desiryng and willing that this maeny and all other estates of oure compeyny may have favour, help, and soco<sup>r</sup> as moch as may be for ther logyng in oure saide castell ; wherefor now we send oure welbeloved esquier and huissier of oure chambre, the berrer of this, into oure seid castell, for to provyde and ordeyne agaynst oure com<sup>yng</sup>. Therefore we desire you that ye wyll seuffre oure sayd huissier to oversee your logyns and mansions of oure college, and for to loge and recepve as many p<sup>ersons</sup> as may be honestly and oonly for this tyme. And yf ye so do, ye do unto us a singulier pleasir ; and it ys not oure myn or

Windsore the yere that Sigismount Kyng of Rome and Emperour of Almayne was in England,' by Stowe, MS. Brit. Mus. Lansdown, No. 564, art. 1.) A contemporary chronicle says—"This yere (a<sup>o</sup> iv Hen. V), the vij. day of Maij, came themperour of Almayne, Segismundus, to London ; and the fest of Seint George was deferrid til his comyng, and than solempnely holden at Wyndisore ; and at the procession the kyng went on the upper side of themperour, and so alle the masse tyme stode in the higher place, and at mete he sate on the right side of themperour ; and the Duke of Bedford, and the Chauncellor of England, and the Bisshop of Develyn sate on the lefte side of themperour ; and the Duke of Briga and another duke of themperours compeigny sate upon the kings side ; and all these saten on that oon side of the table. And the first sotelte (device) was oure Lady armyng Seint George, and an angel doying on his spores ; the ijde sotelte was Seint George ridyng and fightyng with the dragon, with his spere in his hand ; the iijde sotelte was a castel, and Seint George, and the kynges doughter ledynge the lambe in at the castle gates. And all these sotelties were served to the emperor and to the kyng, and no fether ; and other lordes were served with other sotelties after their degree." (Cotton MS., Julius, B 1 ; 'Chronicle of London,' ed. by Sir H. Nicolas, notes, p. 159.) The Duke of Holland was expected, as is evident from the letter to the Dean of the College.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter.'

<sup>2</sup> Black Book of the Order.



entend yt by colou' of the same to put you hier after in any fether charge. And thus faerre you well. Gyven under our sygnet, at Lambeth, the 18 day of May, the yere of oure reigne four."<sup>1</sup>

Three years afterwards (1419), the Feast of St. George was held at Windsor, the Duke of Bedford presiding as the representative of the king, who was absent in France.<sup>2</sup>

After the coronation, at Westminster, in February 1421, of Queen Katherine (to whom Henry was married in France the year before), the king and queen retired for a short time to Windsor. About the middle of March they appear to have gone to Leicester, and made a progress through the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

The Feast of St. George, which fell this year on the 23d of April, was postponed, apparently on account of the king not having returned from Yorkshire, and it was directed to be celebrated at Windsor on the Sunday after Ascension day.<sup>4</sup> It took place accordingly on the 3d of May, and at the chapter some alterations were made in the ceremonials and statutes.<sup>5</sup> The young King of Scots was knighted at the castle on St. George's day in this year.<sup>6</sup>

On the 6th of December, 1421 (being St. Nicholas's day), at four o'clock in the afternoon, Henry, afterwards Henry the Sixth, was born in the Castle of Windsor. The king was at this time in France. John Duke of Bedford, Lord Warden of England, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, the uncles of the infant prince, were his godfathers, and were present at his baptism, as was also Jaqueline Duchess of Holland, his godmother. The ceremony was performed by Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>7</sup>

The chroniclers state that the king, being informed of the news of the birth of his son, "as he lay at siege before Meaux, gave God thanks, in that it had pleased his divine providence to send him a

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 101 b. The same letter is also given in French at f. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Fabyan says the king and queen kept Easter at Windsor, but he is evidently in error. Holinshed notices the discrepancy of the chroniclers on the point; and see Tyler's 'Henry the Fifth,' vol. ii, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Walsingham, cited by Tyler, vol. ii, p. 290, note.

<sup>5</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> Walsingham; Stowe, 'Chronicle of London.' See Elmham, cap. cxxiv.

son, which might succeed in his crown and sceptre. But when he heard reported the place of his nativity, were it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some foreknowledge, or else judged himself of his son's fortune, he said unto the Lord Fitz-Hugh, his trusty chamberlain, these words: 'My lord, I, Henry, born at Monmouth, shall small time reign and much get; and Henry born at Windsor shall long reign and all lose: but as God will, so be it.'"<sup>1</sup>

It is also narrated that the king had commanded the queen to choose some other place than Windsor for her confinement.<sup>2</sup>

Rejecting this latter part of the story as unworthy of credit, it is by no means improbable that the king gave utterance to some expressions to the effect above stated, without attributing to him any supernatural foresight, or prejudice against his royal residence at Windsor.

Henry the Fifth was a statesman of considerable skill and discernment. At the time he uttered the supposed prophecy he was "the regent and heir of France;" but his constitution was already undermined by the malady which in seven months deprived him of his life. He felt he had not long to live, and that there was certainly every prospect of his infant son having a long reign; but at the same time he could readily foresee that, although leaving his heir a magnificent empire, the dominion over France could not be preserved. The king spoke on French soil; France absorbed his thoughts; the "all" to be lost, was the sovereignty of France. Recollecting the vicissitudes of his life, and that, born in comparative obscurity in the little Welsh town of Monmouth, of royal

<sup>1</sup> Hall; Holinshed; Grafton.

<sup>2</sup> Speed. In a subsequent passage, at the end of the reign of Henry the Fifth, Speed, speaking of Queen Katherine, says—"This queene, either for devotion or her owne safety, tooke into the monastery of Bermondsey in Southwarke, where dying, Jan. 2, A.D. 1436, shee was buried in Our Ladies Chappell within St. Peter's Church at Westminster; whose corps taken up in the raigne of King Henry the Seventh, her grand-child (when he laid the foundation of that admirable structure), and her coffin placed by King Henry her husbands tombe, hath ever since so remainued, and never reburied: where it standeth (the cover being loose) to be seene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, saith report (which doth in this, as in most things, speake untruth), in regard of her disobedience to King Henry, for being delivered of her soune at the place hee forbod." Mr. Tyler rejects the whole of the story as a fiction. ('Memoirs of Henry the Fifth,' vol. ii, p. 302.)

blood, it is true, but without any apparent prospect of ever succeeding to a throne, he had risen to a splendid position, but had scarcely attained it when his life was drawing to a close, it was but the natural expression of his thoughts to say, "I, Henry, born in an obscure place, have acquired an extent of dominion unexampled by my predecessors, only to enjoy it for a short time; Henry, my son, born amid the splendour of a magnificent palace, and succeeding to a throne almost at his birth, with the prospect of a long reign, will nevertheless, I foresee, lose all I have acquired."

The solemnisation of the purification of the queen appears to have taken place at Windsor, with considerable state, on the 12th of January, 1422; for entries of payments occur to various king's messengers, sent to different counties of England, to divers lords and ladies, knights and esquires, with the king's letters of privy seal, requiring their attendance at Windsor on the above day, for that occasion.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of May, 1422, the queen proceeded to France, where she joined her husband, who died at Vincennes on the 31st of August following. The infant prince remained at Windsor Castle.

Nothing important can be told of the castle during this reign.<sup>2</sup> Ashmole, however, styles Henry as the "happy restorer of the honor of the Order" of the Garter, who "having, at his entrance to the royal throne, found its glory upon abatement, not only raised it to its former lustre, but very much increased the honor thereof. For he renewed the Grand Festival and other solemnities; he commanded a strict observation of all the founder's statutes, and brought many more to a like perfection, which he subjoined to such of them where they properly might be inserted."<sup>3</sup>

We find a payment of £30 8s. 4d., in the sixth year of this reign, to Conus Melver, goldsmith, for the value of 20 lb. 3½ oz. of silver in mass, at 30s. the lb., purchased for repairing an image

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 9 Hen. V; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> 'Order of the Garter, p. 191; and see Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i.

of the Blessed Mary, for the king's chapel of Saint George, in Windsor Castle.<sup>1</sup> The goldsmith appears to have received £30 for his own workmanship.<sup>2</sup>

There is a curious entry of a payment of 6*s.* 8*d.*, in the eighth year of this reign, to John Sewalle, messenger, for his expenses when sent, by command of the treasurer, from Southampton to Windsor, with a letter directed to Roger Noble, keeper of the vests of the king's chapel of Windsor, to take certain books, vestments, and other ornaments of the king's chapel, from Windsor to Roan.<sup>3</sup>

The Duke of Bedford, Henry the Fifth's brother, gave to St. George's College, by his deed dated the 3d of December, in the ninth year of this reign, the Priory of Okeborne (Ogbourne), in the county of Wilts (a cell to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy), together with all and singular the possessions thereunto belonging or appertaining.<sup>4</sup> This grant was confirmed by Henry the Fifth.<sup>5</sup>

An inventory and valuation of the personal effects of this king, made at his death, affords, as Mr. Poynter remarks,<sup>6</sup> some very interesting particulars concerning the furniture and decoration of the apartments in the castle. The list of the tapestry which covered the walls, describing the subjects represented and the histories or inscriptions by which they were explained, is extremely curious. Nine pieces of arras of large dimensions are specified, varying in length from eighteen yards to seven, and in breadth

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 6 Hen. V; Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Easter, 8 Hen. V.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, in *Ex ipso Autogr. in Ærar. hujus Colleg.*

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., *Ex Lib. vocat. Arundel in Ærar. præd.*, f. 91. In order that it might be more valid (says Ashmole) it was confirmed by Edward the Fourth. (*Vide Cart. de anno 1 Edw. IV, m. 20.*) In the will of Lord Scrope, in this reign, there is a bequest to St. George's College in the following terms:—"Item. Lego Collegio de Windsor unum vestimentum nobile de alba veste de Cipre, cum una Casula, ij. tunicis, ij. tablementis, et iv. capis ejusdem sectæ, cum orfeis et perulis, benè et nobiliter inbrondatis cum armis meis; et x. marcas; sub ista conditione, quod exequiæ meæ dicantur solemniter, tam in collegiis et in dicta Ecclesia Christi, quàm in abbatiiis et locis prædictis, et *Placebo*, et *Dirige*, cum *Commendatione*, et *Missæ in Crastino*; et quòd quilibet presbiter, in collegiis, abbatiiis, et locis prædictis, dicat unam missam devotè et specialiter pro animæ meæ; et postea habeant animam meam recommendatum in capitulis suis, et in martirlogiis, sub suis orationibus generalibus." ('*Fædera*,' tom. ix, p. 274.)

<sup>6</sup> Essay on Windsor Castle in Sir J. Wyatville's 'Illustrations.'

from four yards to three and a quarter, and in value from 13*s.* 4*d.* to 3*s.* the square yard. They are as follows:—One piece of arras without gold, the history beginning "*Cesty Roys*;" one piece without gold, the history beginning "*Vers le Emperour*;" one piece of arras of gold, the history beginning "*Cristofle teis de Dene*;" one piece of gold arras of St. George, of which the inscription in letters of gold begins "*Geaus est Angles*," with the arms of Monsr. de Gloucestr'; one piece of rich arras, the history beginning "*Coment Reynaut*;" another rich piece of arras of gold, the inscription beginning "*Chi comence l'estory de Charle*;" one piece of gold arras of the Three Kings of Cologne, the inscription beginning "*Chi est l'Eagle*;" another piece of arras without gold, the inscription beginning "*Vescy amoureux*;" another piece of gold arras of the Salutation of our Lady, and two "graundez carpetz, pris le pece lxxj.*s.* viij.*d.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parliament Roll, 2 Hen. VI; Poynter's 'Essay.' The following articles are described as being at the same time "en la garde de divers' officers n're S'r le Roy, a Wyndesore":

"Item, vi chargers d'argent, signez des arm' d'Engleterre et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	xvii.tb' v.unc'.
Item, i potte d'argent covert, gravez des arm', avec iii testes des libard sur le covercle, pois' . . . . .	ii.tb' x.unc'.
Item, i autre potte d'argent covert, signez sur le covercle avec les armes d'Engleterre et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	iii.tb' ii.unc' di'.
Item, i autre potte d'argent poteler, signez sur le haucer avec arm' d'Engler' et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	ii.tb' vi.unc' di'.
Item, xii esquelx d'argent, signez avec les arm' d'Engl' et de Fraunce, pois' ensemble . . . . .	xviii.tb'.
Item, xii autres esquelx d'argent, de mesme le signe, pois' ensemble . . . . .	xviii.tb'.
Item, x autres esquelx d'argent de diverses sortes, signes avec l'arm d'Engl' et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	xiii.tb' xi.unc' di'.
Item, iii autres chargers d'argent de diverses sortes, pois' . . . . .	xi.tb' v.unc'.
Item, iii chargers d'argent d'un sort, sign' avec arm' d'Engl' et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	xi.tb' x.unc' di'.
Item, i esquel d'argent depesche, avec les arm' d'Engl' et de Fraunce, pois' . . . . .	i.tb' vii.unc' di'.
Item, i tasse covert d'argent, avec ung flat topet, pois' . . . . .	iii.tb' ii.unc' di'.
Item, i potte poteller, saunz covercle, pois' . . . . .	ii.tb' xi.unc' di'.
Item, ii basyns d'argent, dount l'un avec arm' de Lovell, et l'autre escript Jh'us, pois' . . . . .	vii.tb' ii.unc'.
Item, ung ewer d'argent covert depesche, pois' . . . . .	i.tb' vi.unc' iii.q'.
Item, xii esquelx d'argent de divers' sortes, pois' ensemble . . . . .	xviii.tb'.
Item, xii autres esquelx de divers' sortes, pois' ensemble . . . . .	xv.tb' ix.unc'.

With reference to this king's love of minstrelsy, his biographer says—"Whether in their home at Windsor, or during their happy progress through England in the halls of York and Chester, or in the tented ground on the banks of the Seine before Melun, our imagination has solid foundation to build upon when we picture to ourselves Henry and his beloved princess passing innocently and happily, in minstrelsy and song, some of the hours spared from the appeals of justice, the exigencies of the state, or the marshalling of the battle-field."<sup>1</sup>

Item, xii autres esquelx d'argent de diverses sortes, pois'	. xv. lb' vi. unc'.
Item, ix esquelx d'argent de diverses sortes, pois'	. xii. lb' ix. unc'.
Item, xvii espiçes plates de diverses sortes, pois' ensemble	. xiii. lb' x. unc'.
Item, vi saucers d'un sort, signez en les bordures avec arm' d'Engl' et de Fraunce, pois'	. iii. lb' iii. unc' di'.
Item, i covercle d'un squar' saler, saunz topet, pois'	. i. lb' ii. unc' di'.
Item, i covercle d'argent dorrez d'un saler, saunz topet, poun- sone avec foillez de hauthorn, pois'	. i. lb' i. unc' di'.
Item, xiiii colers, dount ii sount petitz, d'arg' blanc, pois'	. i. lb' iii. unc' i. q'.

(Parliament Rolls, 2 Hen. VI, A.D. 1423, vol. iv, pp. 223, 224).

<sup>1</sup> Tyler's 'Henry the Fifth,' vol. i, pp. 327-8.



The Castle from the Breca.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. ——. WALTER HUNGEFORD.

A.D. 1443. EARL OF DORSET.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. ——. JOHN ARUNDEL.

A.D. 1452. THOMAS MANNING.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1446. ROGER FASNAM AND ROGER SCHERMAN.

A.D. 1448. WILLIAM TOWE AND ROGER SHEREMAN.

A.D. 1449. RICHARD FORSTER AND HENRY FRAUNCEYSS.

A.D. 1450. RICHARD FOSTER AND ROGER SHERMAN.

A.D. 1452. RICHARD FORSTER AND ROGER SHERMAN.

A.D. 1459. JOHN TOLLER AND JOHN FRAMPTON.

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#### PROVOSTS OF ETON.

A.D. 1441. HENRY SEVER

A.D. 1447. JOHN CLERC.

A.D. 1442. WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE.

A.D. ——. WILLIAM WESTBURY.

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Surrender of the Great Seal—Parliament summoned at Windsor—Proclamation in favour of the People of Windsor—Release of James King of Scotland—Infant King at Windsor—Removal to London—Owen Tudor keeps guard at the Castle—The Queen's Marriage—Property at Windsor let to farm—Accusation of Cardinal Beaufort—Windsor appointed as a Winter Residence for the King—Payment of French Players at Windsor—Rules for the guidance of the Earl of Warwick, the King's Governor—Deer in Windsor Park—Dispute between Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester as to the performance of Divine Worship at St. George's Feast—Petition of John Arundell, Dean of the College—Renewal of the disputes between the Canons and Poor Knights—Committal of Prisoners to the Castle for Sorcery—Other Prisoners confined there—Revenues of Windsor—Inquisition for the Relief of the Rent there—Charter of Henry the Sixth—Charter to Windsor, 23 Hen. VI—Petition of Richard Jordan—Illness of the Queen—Members of Parliament for Windsor—The King ill at Windsor—Deputation from the Parliament wait upon him—The Duke of York nominated Protector—The King's relapse—Kemer, Dean of Salisbury, ordered to attend as physician—Rioters in London sent to Windsor Castle—Letter to the Mayor of Windsor—Local Records of the Borough—Jurisdiction of the Castle Court—Escheats of this reign affecting property at Windsor.

THE form of surrendering the Great Seal to the infant king (not yet ten months old) took place at Windsor before the return of

the queen to England with the corpse of her late husband. The Bishop of Durham, Chancellor of England, on the 28th of September, 1422, at the hour of vespers, at Windsor Castle, in the chamber of the infant king, surrendered the Great Seal of gold, in a purse of white leather, sealed with the chancellor's seal, to the king, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, Exeter, and Lincoln, the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Ormond, the Lords Talbot and Clynton, Mr. John Stafford, keeper of the Privy Seal of the late king, Simon Gannsted, keeper of the Rolls of Chancery, and others,<sup>1</sup> "doing fealty and homage there;" and the king then, by the hand of the Duke of Gloucester, delivered it to Simon Gannsted, who conveyed it to London, and the next day sealed various instruments with it, and retained it until the 20th of November following, on which day he gave it to the Duke of Gloucester, in full parliament. The duke countersealed the purse in which it was contained, and gave it to a clerk to be deposited in the treasury.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time that the Bishop of Durham delivered up the Great Seal to the king, the Bishop of London, chancellor of the duchy of Normandy, also delivered his seals of office.<sup>3</sup>

At a council held two days afterwards (the 30th of September), it was ordered that writs should be addressed to all the lords of parliament, spiritual and temporal, summoning them to attend the king's first parliament, to be holden at "Wyndesore," on Monday next before the Feast of St. Martin, in the ensuing winter.<sup>4</sup>

The parliament appears, however, to have assembled in London, on the 7th of November.

Immediately after the funeral of Henry the Fifth, at West-

<sup>1</sup> Lord "Ponynges" among the rest. (Rot. Parl., vol. iv, p. 170 *b*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. VI, m. 21, *in dorso*. Printed in the 'Fœdera,' vol. x, p. 253, and in Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vi, Addenda, p. 343; and see Preface, *id.* vol., p. clxxvi, and Rot. Parl., vol. iv, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iv, p. 171 *a*.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolas' 'Privy Council,' vol. iii, p. 4. Sir H. Nicolas observes (citing Appendix to the 'Reports of the Lords' Committees on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm,' p. 555) that the writs to this parliament were tested at Windsor on the day before, *viz.*, the 29th of September, 1422.



minster, on the 10th of November, in the presence of the whole parliament, the queen retired to Windsor Castle.<sup>1</sup>

The following curious entry, relating to the Great Seal, occurs in the Issue Rolls of the second year of this reign, under the date of the 18th of October :

“To John Bernes, of London, goldsmith. In money paid to his own hands, in discharge of 20s. which the present lord the king, with the advice and consent of his council, commanded to be paid to the said John for his labour, costs, and workmanship, in lately riding to the king's castle at Windsor, at his own costs, and there engraving the Great Seal of the said lord the king with the privy signet; and also for newly engraving an inscription around the king's Privy Seal. By writ of Privy Seal amongst the mandates of this term, £1.”<sup>2</sup>

In April, 1424, James King of Scotland, having obtained his freedom, returned to Scotland. After much negotiation between the English council and the king and the Scottish envoys, it was mutually agreed, on the 10th of September, 1423, that the king should be set at liberty; and that, in return, he should forbid his subjects to enter into the service of France; should pay by instalments, in six years, the sum of forty thousand pounds; and should give hostages as a security till the whole of the money were paid.

The sum was claimed as a compensation for the king's expenses during the time of his detention. It is probable that so large a sum was demanded under that pretence, because it could not decently be claimed as a ransom.<sup>3</sup>

James did not leave England without obtaining the hand of the fair lady whom he had sighed for from the battlements of his prison-house. With not merely the consent, but the cordial approval of the ambassadors of his own country and the English council, he was married at Hertford, in February, 1424, to Lady Jane Beaufort. The protector, Gloucester, to express his satis-

<sup>1</sup> Speed.

<sup>2</sup> Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer;' Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 2 Hen. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard. The English commissioners had private instructions to accept £36,000, if the Scots objected to £40,000. The greater part of the money was never paid.

faction on this occasion, remitted, with the consent of the council, a sixth part of the sum stipulated to be paid by the treaty.<sup>1</sup>

Windsor appears to have been the head-quarters of the young king for some time. On the 13th of November, 1423, the queen dowager removed with him from Windsor to London, to attend the parliament there, travelling, by easy stages, in a litter or chair. The following account of the journey is given by a contemporary chronicler :

"This yere upon Satyrday, that is to sey, the xiiij day of Novembre, the kyng and the quene his modir remeved from Wyndesore toward the parlement at London, the whiche began at Westm' on the xxj day of Octobre before; and on the forsaid xiiij day of Novembre at nyght, the kyng and the quene were logged at Stanes; and upon the morwe thanne beyng Soneday the kyng was born toward his modir chare, and he schriked and cryed and sprang, and wolde nought be caryed forthere; wherefore he was born ageyne into the inne, and there he bood the Soneday al day; and on the Moneday he was born to the chare, and he beyng thanne gladd and merye chered; and at even come to Kyngeston, and there rested the nyght; and on the Tuesday he come to Kenyngton; and upon Wednesday he cam to London with a glad semblance and mery chere, in his modyr barm in the chare rood thorough London to Westm'; and on the morwe brought into the parlement."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, citing Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. x, p. 323. According to Holinshed and Hall, the Scotch king, before his departure in April, "did his homage unto the young King of England, Henry the Sixth, at the Castle of Windsor, before three dukes, two archbishops, twelve earls, ten bishops, twenty barons, and two hundred knights and esquires, beside others, in order of words according to the tenor hereafter following:—'I, James Steward, King of Scots, shall be true and faithful unto you, Lord Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France, the noble and superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelity of life and limb and worldly honour against all men; and faithfully I shall knowlege and shall do you service due for the kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So God help me, and these holy Evangelists.'"

"There can be little doubt," says Dr. Lingard, "that this is a mistake, for in all the public records James is treated, not as a vassal, but an independent sovereign; and Henry, in a private letter, styles him 'Ríjt heigh and myghty prince, by the grace of God Kyng of Scotcs.'" (Rymer, vol. x, p. 635.)

Hall, and Grafton citing him, upbraids the poor prince, and all Scotchmen, for his ingratitude in subsequently assisting the French against England—after an illegal imprisonment of eighteen years by the latter country!

<sup>2</sup> 'Chronicle of London,' p. 112, edit. by Sir H. Nicolas, 4to, 1827.

The fact that the infant evinced his unwillingness to leave Staines, "of some writers is noted for a divine monition that he would not travel upon the Sunday."<sup>1</sup>

The queen and infant did not return to Windsor until after Christmas, as that festival was kept at Hertford, James of Scotland being present. In 1425, we find the queen again moving, after Easter, from Windsor to London, with the king, to be present at the meeting of parliament.

"Also this yere after Eastre the king helde his parliament at Westm', which bigan the laste day of Aprile; and the kyng come to London the xxvj day of Aprile, which was Saturday, with his moder in his chare from Wyndisore unto Seint Paulis; and at the west dore he was taken out of his chare by his uncle the Duke of Gloucestre, and by his bele uncle the Duke of Excestre: and he went upon his fete fro the west dore to the steires, and so up into the quere; and than he was borne up and offred: and than was set upon a courser and so rood thurgh the Chepe and London to Kenyngton. And the kyng held his see diverse daies in the parliament."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Lingard says it was probably owing to the queen's marriage with her second husband, Owen Tudor, that Henry, when he was only in his third year, had been taken out of the hands of his mother, and intrusted to the care of Dame Alice Botiller. That lady, however, received her appointment early in 1424, and more than a year afterwards, the queen, as already stated, moved from Windsor to London, with the king, to attend the parliament.

Except as a residence for the young king, the castle appears to have been neglected. All the royal property in New and Old Windsor, at Shaw, and in Eton, consisting of houses and lands, were let out to farm in 1424.<sup>3</sup>

In the third year of the king's reign (1425) a grant of pontage was made to the town.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan, edit. 1516.

<sup>2</sup> 'Chronicle of London,' Cottonian MS., Julius B, i. See Sir H. Nicolas' edition (already cited), note 2, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 2 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 3 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 10.

The second article of accusation, in the bill of impeachment by the Duke of Gloucester, in 1426, against the chancellor, his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort, alleged that the latter, without the advice and assent of the Duke of Gloucester, the protector, or of the king's council, was purposed and disposed to set hand on the king's person, and to have removed him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, "to the intent to put him in governance as him list."<sup>1</sup>

A form of reconciliation was subsequently effected between the uncle and nephew, and the former resigned his office, obtained permission to travel, and, in the following year, went into France.

No objection appears to have been entertained to Windsor as a residence for the king, independently of its being a place selected by Beaufort; for at a council held on the 8th of May, 1428, in the sixth year of Henry's reign, the Castles of Wallingford and Hertford<sup>2</sup> were appointed for the king to inhabit during summers, and those of Windsor and Berkhamstead in winter.<sup>3</sup>

At the same council, several knights and esquires, who were selected to attend upon the king's person, were ordered to appear before the council, and it was agreed that each of the said knights, the greater part of whom had been old and faithful servants of Henry the Fifth, should remain with the Earl of Warwick, the king's master, in attendance on the monarch, and have in the king's household one esquire and two valets, with provisions for their chambers, together with a salary of 100 marks per annum.<sup>4</sup>

It had been previously determined by the peers in parliament

<sup>1</sup> Hall; Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> "Hereford" in the original; but Sir H. Nicolas thinks that *Hereford* was inserted by mistake for Hertford, and there can be little doubt that he is correct. ('Proceedings of Privy Council,' Preface, p. lii.) A previous minute of council, dated 23d February, 1428, directs a writ of Privy Seal to be issued, commanding the keeper of the king's wardrobe to make allowance, in the account to be rendered by Thomas Chaucer, the chief butler, for certain tuns of wine lost at sea, intended for the king's residences, and amongst others for "v. ton<sup>r</sup> xvij. sex<sup>r</sup> vin de Gasc<sup>r</sup> despenduz et gastez en outrageous cunisons sur leawe de iiij<sup>xx</sup>xij ton<sup>r</sup> de vin chargez en dids schonces a Loundres, et dy amesnez p<sup>r</sup> eawe tangz a Wyndesore et Henle, deinz le suisdit temps." (Ibid., vol. iii, p. 286.)

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii, p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, p. 294, and Preface, p. li.

that the young Duke of York, who was at that time about seventeen years of age, should continually reside with the king.<sup>1</sup>

A minute of council, dated 30th April, 1428, directs £10 to be paid for the installation of the Duke of Coimbra as a Companion of the Order of the Garter in the college at Windsor; and ten marks to certain French players and dancers, who performed before the king at Windsor on the Feast of St. George.<sup>2</sup>

"The rules laid down by the council, in June in this year (1428), for the guidance of the Earl of Warwick, who was appointed governor of the king's person, with respect to his education, are extremely interesting. The young monarch was to be instructed to fear God, to reverence virtue, and to eschew vice; the best 'mirrors and examples of former times of the prosperity which attended virtuous kings, their lands and subjects, and the misfortunes which befell sovereigns of an opposite character, were to be exhibited to his view.' The king was to be taught 'nurture, literature, languages,' and other knowledge suitable to his age and station. Warwick was authorised to chastise him when he was negligent, disobedient, or acted improperly."<sup>3</sup>

A special provision for that purpose occurs in the Earl of Warwick's appointment, in these words:—"And if we are negligent in learning, or commit any fault, or do any thing contrary to the instructions of our said cousin, we give him full power, authority, licence, and directions reasonably to chastise us from time to time, according to his discretion, in the manner that other princes of our age, as well in this kingdom as in others, have hitherto been accustomed to be chastised, without being impeached or molested by us or by any other person in future for so doing."<sup>4</sup>

Power was given to the earl to dismiss any individual, excepting the great officers of state, from being about the royal person;

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Privy Council,' vol. iii, Preface, p. li.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, p. 294. The order as to the first-mentioned sum was repeated in a minute of the 8th July following. (Ibid., p. 302, and Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. x, p. 405.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, Preface, p. lii.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 297, 298, and Preface, p. lii. A similar power had been conferred in the king's name on his former governess, Alice Botiller.

and in cases of emergency, whether arising from a pestilence or from any other cause, he was to remove the king to such place as he might think most advisable.<sup>1</sup>

Although the royal property in the neighbourhood of the castle was let to farm in the early part of the reign, the park and the deer appear to have been kept up.

A petition was presented from John Gedeney, mayor of London, to the council, on the 16th of July, 1428, praying the king for six fat deer, namely, two out of the Park of Eltham and four out of Windsor Park; which petition was granted.<sup>2</sup> And by a minute of council, dated the 5th of June, 1437, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the parkers of Pleshey, Amphyll, and Windsor, were directed to deliver deer for the Chancellor of France, one from each of the former places, and two from Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

Early in April 1429, Cardinal Beaufort became involved in a dispute with his old enemy, the Duke of Gloucester, respecting his right to perform divine service at Windsor on the Feast of St. George, in right of the bishopric of Winchester.

By the constitution of the Order of the Garter, the Bishop of Winchester has always been, *ex officio*, prelate of that order, in consequence of the Chapel of Windsor being in his diocese. Beaufort, who had filled that see about twenty-four years, and had received a cardinal's hat on the 25th of March, 1427, intended to resume his duties as Prelate of the Garter on the next festival of St. George, in this year, which appears to have been the first anniversary of the feast after his return to England. The Duke of Gloucester was, however, determined to contest his right to retain the see of Winchester, on the ground that it was incompatible

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii, pp. 296—300, and Preface, p. liii.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton MS., Vespas., F xiv; *vide* Ellis' 'Letters,' 2d series, vol. iii, p. 51, and Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii, p. 312. Lord Tiptoft, one of the councillors present who signed the instrument, wrote the words "*nolens volo*" opposite his name. "Several instances occur of members of the council having expressed their dissent from the opinion of the majority; and this petition proves that whether a member agreed or dissented, he nevertheless signed the instrument to which the majority of his colleagues attached their names, but that he might signify his disapprobation of the measure in the manner adopted by Lord Tiptoft on that occasion." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii, Preface, p. liv.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 28.

with the dignity of cardinal; and he took that opportunity of raising the question, by assembling a great council, which consisted of more than eighteen spiritual, and thirteen temporal peers; and the case was heard in the king's presence, at Westminster, on the 17th of April, six days only before St. George's day.

It was then debated whether the lord cardinal ought, as he claimed, to officiate at Windsor on the Feast of St. George by reason of his bishopric of Winchester, which he asserted he could retain with his rank of cardinal? The question being put seriatim to every member of the council, it was agreed, in substance, that, as the point was doubtful, he should be directed to refrain from officiating there on that occasion as Bishop of Winchester; which decision the king confirmed and ordered with his own mouth.

On the next day, the cardinal appeared before the king at Westminster, in consequence of the preceding decision, which was communicated to him by the Earls of Stafford and Northumberland and the Lords Tiptoft and Cromwell, and stated that he had for twenty-four years peaceably officiated at the solemnities of St. George at Windsor, in right of the bishopric of Winchester, and prayed for justice therein, or that reasons should be stated to the contrary. The lords, being severally interrogated, replied that as it was an unusual thing to be a cardinal and to retain the bishopric of Winchester in England, they were equally unwilling to prejudice the king during his minority, or to prejudice the cardinal, or his church, for which reasons they entreated him to refrain from attending.

The subject was renewed in November, 10 Hen. VI (1431); but Gloucester's efforts to deprive the cardinal of his see did not succeed, as he retained it until his decease, eighteen years afterwards. It appears also that he performed the duties of Prelate of the Garter in the 13th Hen. VI, as in that year, and again in the 17th Hen. VI, he received the usual livery of robes, even if he did not, as there is reason to believe, officiate at the Feast of St. George in the 11th Hen. VI (1433).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii, Preface, p. lxii, and see pp. 323, 324; 'Fædera,' vol. x, p. 414; *vide* also Austis' 'Register of the Garter,' vol. ii,

In the eighth year of this reign, John Arundell, Dean of the College of St. George, in the castle, observing that the grants of land to the college were sometimes made in the name of the custos, and at other times in the name of the dean and custos, or of the dean only, and fearing that this diversity of terms might be injurious to the college, he petitioned the parliament to provide for the security of the college; and thereupon letters patent were issued under the Great Seal declaring that John Arundell should be custos or dean for his life, and that for the future he and every other custos should be called "custodes" or "decani" (viz. wardens or deans) of the free chapel of St. George within the Castle of Windsor, and that the custos or dean and canons, and their successors, by the name of custos or dean and canons of the said free chapel, should hold, to them and their successors for ever, all the lands, possessions, and immunities granted to the college at any time before.<sup>1</sup>

The disputes between the canons and the poor knights of St. George's College, which broke out in the reign of Richard the Second, were renewed in the beginning of the present. It appears the dean and canons, on some pretence or another, withheld the daily distributions, and also the forty shillings yearly, to which each knight was entitled by the statutes of the founder. Complaint was made to John Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England, and visitor of the college, who, by injunctions issued upon his visitation in the tenth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, ordered the arrears of both kinds to be forthwith paid, free

p. 105. Sir Harris Nicolas observes that "Austis, in alluding to this affair, does not seem to have been aware that the *real question* at issue was the bishoprick of Winchester, as he introduces these proceedings, which he reprinted from the 'Fœdera,' with this observation:—'A doubt arose whether the Bishop of Winchester, being promoted to be a cardinal, and having obtained, as it was alleged, an exemption from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, ought to attend this feast as prelate of the order, which we shall see remained undetermined in the tenth of Henry the Sixth.' It is singular that no mention occurs in the Minutes of the Council on this subject of the office of *Prelate* of the Garter, but that the right to officiate at the Feast of St. George is merely stated to belong to the bishoprick of Winchester."

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' citing Rot. Parl., an. 8 Hen. VI., n. 31. The college had, at the commencement of this reign, obtained a full confirmation of all property previously granted.



of charge; and directed that, in case the treasurer of the college became negligent in future payments, he was to incur the loss of his own "quotidians" from the time of his voluntary delay, the amount to be divided among the poor knights.<sup>1</sup>

William Pope, Esquire, presented a petition to the parliament holden in the 10th Hen. VI (1432), alleging that the king, on the 17th of March, in the sixth year of his reign, by the advice and assent of his council, had granted to the said William the office of verger or usher of the Order of the Garter in the Castle of Windsor, together with a house in the castle appurtenant to the office, and also of verge-bearer before the king and his heirs in processions on festival days, with the wages of twelve pence a day out of the revenues and profits of the manor of Kenyngton, otherwise called Colde Kenyngton, in Middlesex, so long as the king pleased, but which grant was not available to the petitioner for the term of his life, by reason of the words "so long as the king shall please." The petitioner therefore requested, "for God and in tender mercy," that he might have a grant for life; which was acceded to.<sup>2</sup>

The following entries of payments on the Issue Roll of Michaelmas Term, in the ninth year of this reign (1431), relate to Margery Jourdain, the witch of Eye, and John Asshewell, a priest, who were imprisoned in Windsor Castle on a charge of sorcery:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter.'

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. iv, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> At this period prosecutions against supposed sorcerers and witches became very numerous. Early in the fifteenth century (A.D. 1406) we find Henry the Fourth giving directions to the Bishop of Norwich to search for and arrest witches and sorcerers of different kinds, who were then reported to be very numerous in his diocese, and to convert them from their evil ways or bring them speedily to punishment. (Rot. Pat., 7 Hen. IV, printed in the 'Fœdera,' tom. iv, part i, p. 93, cited by Mr. T. Wright in his Introduction to the 'Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler,' printed for the Camden Society, 1843.) In France, the belief in sorcery appears to have been more prevalent, at an earlier period even than in England, and about the middle of the fifteenth century it became the ground of one of the most remarkable acts of wholesale oppression that the history of that age has preserved to us. It may be observed, moreover, that it has been an article of popular belief from the earliest period of the history of the nations of Western Europe that women were more easily brought into connexion with the spiritual world than men. Priestesses were the favorite agents of the deities of the ages of paganism, and the natural weakness and vengeful feelings of the sex made their power an object of fear. To them especially were known the herbs, or animals, or other articles

"22nd November.—To John Collage, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, lately sent, by command of the king's council, from the city of London to Windsor, with a certain woman, committed to his care, by assent of the said council, for him safely and securely to take her to Windsor Castle, and there to deliver her into safe custody upon certain causes moving the said council. In money paid to him, &c., 13*s.* 4*d.*"

"28th November.—To John Talbot, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, lately sent, with the advice and assent of the king's council, from the city of London to Windsor, with a certain brother, called John Asshewell, Prior of the Holy Trinity, London, committed to his care, by the assent aforesaid, to be by him safely and securely conducted to Windsor Castle, and there delivered to be securely kept for certain causes interesting the said council. In money paid to him, &c., 13*s.* 4*d.*"<sup>1</sup>

John Virley, a priest, appears to have been subsequently sent to Windsor on the same charge, for on the 9th of May, 1432, Margery Jourdain, John Virley, clerk, and John Asshewell (then described as a friar of the Order of the Holy Cross), who had been lately committed to Windsor Castle for sorcery, having been brought before the council, by virtue of a writ directed to Walter Hungeford, constable of the castle, it was agreed that John Virley and John Asshewell should be released from prison on finding sufficient security for their good behaviour, and that Margery should in like manner be released on her husband's security.

The required security being given in each case, they were respectively released.<sup>2</sup>

Although Margery Jourdain escaped on this occasion, she was involved in the celebrated charge of sorcery brought against "Dame Eleanor Cobham," the Duchess of Gloucester, in 1441, and arraigned with her before the ecclesiastical court. While the

which were noxious to mankind, and the ceremonies and charms whereby the influence of the gods might be obtained to preserve or to injure. (Wright's 'Narratives of Sorcery and Magic,' vol. i, p. 6.)

<sup>1</sup> Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 9 Hen. VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Minute of Council, Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. x, p. 505; MS. Cott., Ceop. F iv, f. 58; Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iv, p. 114.

duchess's life was spared, the unfortunate Jourdemain was condemned to be burnt as a relapsed witch.<sup>1</sup>

There is further evidence of the continued use of the castle at this period as a place of imprisonment.

In 1433, David Coch (?), taken prisoner for an insurrection in South Wales, was sent from London to Windsor, and delivered to the constable of the castle by the hands of Thomas Collage, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms.<sup>2</sup>

At a council held on the 12th of November, 1437, a letter was

<sup>1</sup> The following short narrative of the circumstances of this case is given by Dr. Lingard, compiled from the various contemporary chronicles and authorities :—"One of the Duke [of Gloucester]'s chaplains, Roger Bolingbroke, was accused of necromancy, and exhibited, with the instruments of his art, to the admiring populace, on a platform before St. Paul's, 'arrayed in marvellous attire,' bearing in his right hand a sword and in his left a sceptre, and sitting in a chair, on the four corners of which were fixed four swords, and on the points of the swords four images of copper. The second night afterwards, Dame Eleanor secretly withdrew into the sanctuary of Westminster—a step which naturally excited suspicion. She was confronted with Bolingbroke, who declared that it was at her instigation that he had first applied to the study of magic. From the inquiry which followed, it appeared that Eleanor was a firm believer in the mysteries of the art; that, to secure the affection of the duke, she had employed love-potions, furnished by Marjory Jourdemain, the celebrated witch of Eye; and that, to learn what would be her subsequent lot (her husband was presumptive heir to the throne), she had charged Bolingbroke to discover the duration of the king's life. Soon afterwards an indictment of treason was found against Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, as principals, and the duchess as an accessory. The former were said, at the solicitation of the latter, to have formed an image of wax, and to have exposed it to a gentle heat, under the persuasion that, as the image melted away, the health of the king would gradually decline. The two women, however, were arraigned before the ecclesiastical court. Jourdemain, as a relapsed witch, was condemned to be burnt. Eleanor, out of twenty-eight articles brought against her, confessed some and denied others; but when the testimony of the witnesses had been heard, withdrew her plea, and submitted to the mercy of the court. She was compelled, on three days of the week, to walk hoodless, and bearing a lighted taper in her hand, through the streets of the capital; and was afterwards confined a prisoner for life, with an annuity of one hundred marks for her support. Southwell died in the Tower before his trial; two others obtained their pardon; but Bolingbroke was convicted and executed, acknowledging the guilt of necromancy, but denying that of treason. Though the duke himself does not appear to have been implicated in this ridiculous but tragical business, he must have deeply felt on account of the disgrace of his wife, and the notion generally entertained that he was looking forward to the succession for himself."

<sup>2</sup> "6th May.—To Thomas Collage, one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, ordered and appointed by the treasurer of England to safely conduct David Gogh (lately taken for insurrection in South Wales) from the city of London to Windsor Castle, where the said David was delivered to the lieutenant of the castle aforesaid, by virtue of the king's writ, under the Great Seal, directed to the said lieutenant. In money paid to the said Thomas,

directed to be made to the treasurer and chamberlain "to pay to four persons keeping within Windsor two prisoners to the king, to each fourpence on the[every] day for the time that they have entended [attended] and shall entende to the keeping of the same prisoners."<sup>1</sup>

John Payn, an esquire in the service of Sir John Falstolf, writing, in 1450, and complaining of having been imprisoned for his supposed complicity in the insurrection of Jack Cade, says— "And so [they] wolde have made me to have pechyd my Maist' Fastolf of Treson and bycause yt I wolde not, yey had me up to Westm', and yr wolde have sent me to the Gole<sup>s</sup> house at WyndSOR, but my wyves coseyn and j. of myn nounge yt wer' yomen of ye Croune yey went to the kyng and gotte grase and j. chartyr of p'don."<sup>3</sup>

In a general statement of the finances of the kingdom made in the eleventh and twelfth years of Henry the Sixth, the annual receipts of the crown from the revenues of Windsor amounted to £207 17s. 5½d., a sum far from sufficient to meet the charges, which were £280 5s. 10½d.<sup>4</sup> One hundred marks per annum were nevertheless allowed for the repairs of the castle, not included in the above expenditure. This sum of one hundred marks was charged upon the manors of Cookham, Bray, Binfield, and Sunninghill.<sup>5</sup> In a grant of dower to the queen by act of parliament, in the twenty-fifth year of the same reign, these four manors are excepted on that account;<sup>6</sup> and from their frequent mention in connexion with the funds provided for the works of the castle, it is probable (says Mr. Poynter) they had been so appropriated from an early period.<sup>7</sup>

for his expenses in going and returning again, upon the business aforesaid. By direction of the treasurer, &c.—13s. 4d." (Issue Roll, Easter, 11 Hen. VI, Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 420.)

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. v, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Quære, *Cole-house*. See *post*, end of the present chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Penn's 'Paston Letters,' Letter xiii.

<sup>4</sup> De Exit' et Reventionibus Castri de Wyndisore . . . ccvii.li. xvii.s. v.d. q.

Vad' Feod' Repare', Misis, Cust' et Expen' . . . ccviii.li. v.s. x.d. ob.

Et sic excedit . . . lxxii.li. viii.s. v.d.

(Rot. Parl., 12 Hen. VI. Status Reventionum ann. Regni, &c.)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 25 Hen. VI.

<sup>7</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the History of Windsor Castle' (Sir J. Wyatville's 'Illustra-

In 1439 an inquisition was taken at Windsor, of which the following is a translation :

“ FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FEE FARM OF NEW WINDSOR.

“ The inquisition taken at Windsor the 19th day of December, in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, before William Fallan, one of the barons of the king's treasury, and John Basket, by virtue of a commission of our lord the king, directed to William Babthorp, William Baron (?), and the sheriff of Berks, and to the said William Fallan and John Basket, upon the oath of true and lawful men of the county of Berks, as to such advantages and profits the inhabitants of the king's town of New Windsor formerly enjoyed in ease and aid of the rent of the said town, which the inhabitants do not now enjoy, and likewise as to the cause of the decrease of such advantages and profits, and also concerning other matters and occurrences, and more especially by the oath of Rudulph Chyppes, Roger Wayte, William Sherman, John by the Wodde, John Avelyn, William Towe, John Bailly, Geoffrey Pasty, Henry Hunt, William Bullock, John Page, and Robert Mayr, who upon their oath say that the said town has for a long time been a market town and free borough of our lord the king and his predecessors, and that during all the reign of Edward the First, and for a long time afterwards, many responsible merchants and other powerful and considerable persons were dwelling and inhabiting there, and holding the said town of the said late king, his heirs and successors, in fee farm, paying seventeen pounds yearly into the king's treasury, and had at their will a market weekly and a fair once a year, and toll from all buyers and sellers for goods and chattels and other merchandize bought and sold in the said town, and stallage and rent assize, and other liberties and franchises ; also their court *de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas* (?) in the Guildhall of the same town, before the bailiff for the time being thereof, and in the same court power and authority to hear and determine pleas of real, personal, and mixed actions, of lands, tenements, and other matters whatsoever arising in the said town, and their merchant gild, and view of frankpledge ; and in which times the perquisites appertaining to the same court and view of frankpledge, and the profits and advantages of the said liberties and franchises, as of the stallage and tolls of buyers

tions'). The sum of £100 was, however, subsequently, in the 32d Hen. VI (1454), assigned, “ of the fermours and occupiours of the maners of Cokham and Bray, with their appurtenance, yerely,” towards the support of the king's household. (Rot. Parl., vol. v. p. 247 a.) The manors of Cokeham and Bray are expressly declared to be within the Act of Resumption, 4 Edw. IV (1462). (Ibid., p. 517 b.)

and sellers for merchandize and wares, and other things, goods, and chattels brought together there, and there in the fairs and markets and otherwise in the said town bought and sold, and all other profits and advantages which the inhabitants of the said town in ease and aid of the rent of the town aforesaid, were valued at seventeen pounds yearly; so that in those days the town was fully populated with divers merchants and various other persons, by whom and by others great quantities of merchandise and wares were brought into the said town. And afterwards, in the lapse of many years, the said town, by great mortality and pestilence at various times, was emptied and wasted, by reason of which the merchandise and wares were withdrawn and the markets and fairs there greatly impaired, so that the town became as it were destitute and despoiled, and the inhabitants also, poor and moneyless, have ever since from day to day diminished, and continue so to do. And although the men and burgesses of the said town still have and hold to the present day the said town in fee farm of the lord the king, with all liberties and franchises aforesaid, as the burgesses and inhabitants thereof, their ancestors and predecessors, in times past held the same, yet through the mortality and depopulation of the inhabitants of the said town, their removal from day to day, and the withdrawal of the merchandise and wares, and also because divers burgages, messuages, and dwellings, which the men and burgesses of the said town held as parcel of their farm, and out of which in modern times a great part of their rent was wont to be raised, lie ruinous, empty, and destroyed for want of occupiers and inhabitants, the profits and advantages of the inhabitants and of their before-mentioned liberties and franchises, which the said inhabitants have or are able to have on account of their fee farm aforesaid, have so decreased, that at the present time they do not exceed £6 11s. a year; for as in former days the perquisites and amerciements of the court with view of frankpledge commonly valued at £10 yearly, lately and for many years past, from the causes before mentioned, were worth but 43s. 4d.; and the out of door toll (?), then valued at 30s. yearly, lately and for many years past, from the causes before mentioned, was worth only 2s.; and the toll of fairs, then valued at 16s. 8d. yearly, lately and for many years past, from the causes before mentioned, was worth only 3s. 4d.; and stallage, then valued at 6s. 8d. yearly, lately was worth only 2s. 4d.; and as the burgesses of the said town in times past received within the same for rent assize, issuing out of divers messuages, lands, and tenements there, £4 17s. 8d., now and for many years past, from the causes before mentioned, they have received only £4; moreover, divers messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements, whence the before-mentioned rent ought to arise, lie ruinous and empty and wholly

destroyed, without occupiers or owners. And so they say that the profits and advantages which the inhabitants of the said town had in former times, in ease and aid of paying the rent of the town, arising and still arising in this way from the perquisites of the court, stallage, toll, rents, and other liberties and franchises aforesaid, which in times past were valued at £17 yearly, and now for many years past so much decreased, from the causes aforesaid, do not in their present value exceed in the whole £6 11s. a year. In testimony of which the jurors aforesaid have affixed their seals to this inquisition. Dated the day, year, and place above mentioned.”<sup>1</sup>

In consequence, as it appears, of this inquisition and report, Henry the Sixth granted a charter, in which he remitted £7 of the former yearly rent of £17.<sup>2</sup>

By this charter, which bears date the 19th day of May, in the seventeenth year of this reign, the king, after setting out and confirming the charter of the fifth of Edward the First, gave, on account of the wants, merits, and services of the burgesses, to them and the good men of the borough of New Windsor, the tenants and resiants within the same, and to their heirs and successors, their remaining freedom from pannage, passage, pontage, lastage, stallage, tallage, carriage, pesage, picage, and ferrage throughout England; and also power to take fines for trespasses and other misdeeds whatsoever, and also fines for licence of agreeing, and all other fines, redemptions, and amerciements out of or for whatsoever cause arising, and also the issues forfeited of all the men, tenants, and resiants of and in the said borough, although such men, tenants, or resiants there should be ministers of the king or his heirs; and that the said burgesses and their successors might have all forfeitures whatsoever, year, day, waste, and strip, and whatever might belong to the king or his heirs of year, day, waste, and strip, forfeitures and murders, within the said borough, in whatever of the king's courts or in any court of any other person

<sup>1</sup> MS. volume in the possession of Mr. Snowden, of Windsor, containing transcripts of documents in the Tower.

<sup>2</sup> Other towns had part of their rent remitted to them on account of pestilence. Leland says—“The cause of the great desolation of Wallingford was a great pestilence in Edward the 3. dayes, wherupon they askyd to King Richard, and had the toun *fe' farne* brought from 40*li.* to 17*li.*” (*‘Itin.’* vol. iii, fo. 97.)

whatsoever they might happen ; and that the burgesses might levy, take, and have those matters, and whatsoever in that behalf should be adjudged to the king, as well in his presence as in his absence, before any of his justices ; and likewise that they should levy, take, and have such fines, redemptions, and amerciaments of the burgesses themselves, men, tenants, and resiants of the said borough, and the issues forfeited therein, which should happen to be made or adjudged before any of the king's justices and ministers whomsoever, by the estreats of such king's courts, without the obstruction or hindrance of the king, his heirs, justices, sheriffs, escheators, or other of his ministers. The charter further granted to the burgesses and their successors cognizance of all manner of pleas touching lands or tenements within the said borough, as well assize of novel disseisin and mort d'ancestre certificates and attainders, as of other pleas whatsoever, real, personal, and mixed ; and also the cognizance of all manner of pleas of debt, trespass, covenants, and of all other causes and contracts whatsoever happening or arising within the said borough, to be holden therein before the mayor and bailiffs of the borough for the time being, as well in the king's presence as in his absence, for ever, so that no person might from thenceforth hold any frankpledge or any other court in the borough, or any part thereof, as far and wide as it lies, called New Windsor, unless by the special license and consent of the burgesses for that purpose obtained ; and moreover full correction, authority, and power to the burgesses, and their heirs and successors for ever, of inquiring into, hearing, and determining, by the said mayor and bailiffs for the time being, all manner of matters, complaints, defaults, and causes, and other things whatsoever, happening or arising within the said borough and the liberty thereof, which might in any wise be inquired into and determinable before the justices of the peace, of labourers and artificers, as fully and wholly as the justices of the peace, of labourers and artificers, in the county of Berks, had theretofore had or exercised, or should thereafter have and exercise, out of the said borough and liberty, so that the said mayor and bailiffs did not proceed to the determination of any felony without the king's special mandate ; and that all pleas happening in the said borough, either of their tenures or of



contracts, covenants, trespasses, and also of all manner of debts or surety made or agreed in the said borough, should be pleaded and holden in the Guildhall there, before the mayor and bailiffs for the time being; and moreover granting to the burgesses of the borough, the tenants and resiants thereof, that they, their heirs and successors, should not be obstructed, molested, or aggrieved before the steward and marshal of the king's household for breach of the assize of bread, wine, and beer in the said borough, or for any trespasses there done, out of the verge or within the verge, before or after the coming of them, the said steward and marshal, to those parts, and that no sheriff, constable, or bailiff, or the said steward and marshal of the king's household, or any minister of the king, should enter or have any power in the said borough concerning anything touching their offices, but the whole, with the attachments in pleas of the crown, should belong to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, and their successors; and also power to the said burgesses and their successors for ever, to make and have, as well in the king's presence as in his absence, the assay and assize of bread, wine, and beer, and of all other kinds of victuals whatsoever, as often as and whenever it should be necessary; and also to have and take the fines, amerciaments, and redemptions, and all manner of profits arising therefrom, so that the clerk of the king's market should not enter the said borough to do or exercise anything appertaining to his office; and that the burgesses and their successors might from thenceforth have the chattels of felons, fugitives, as well of felons of themselves as of others whomsoever, and of those outlawed for any cause soever, of all the men, tenants, or resiants of and in the said borough, so that if any of the men, tenants, or resiants of and in the said borough, or any other person therein, for any his offence whatsoever, ought to lose life or limb, or should fly and would not abide judgment, or should commit any other trespass for which he ought to lose his chattels, in whatever place justice ought to be done upon him, whether in the king's court or in any other courts, such chattels should belong to the said burgesses, and it should be lawful for them to seize the said chattels, and to retain the same to their own use, without the obstruction or hindrance of the king, or his sheriffs, escheators, or

others his bailiffs and ministers whomsoever; and also that the burgesses and their successors might from thenceforth have the return of all the king's writs, and also the summoning of the estreats and precepts of the king's exchequer, and of the estreats and precepts of the king's justices itinerant, to hold as well pleas of the forest as common pleas, or of other justices whomsoever, and also the attachments as well of pleas of the crown as of other pleas in the said borough, and the full execution thereof, so that no sheriff, bailiff, or other the king's minister might enter into the borough to do anything in or touching his office, unless for default of the burgesses themselves, and that if the sheriff or bailiff of the liberties or hundreds should be negligent or remiss in doing any executions for the burgesses, by the king's writs or mandates, or in any other manner, whereby it should happen that they should be amerced or fined in the king's exchequer or other courts, such fines and amerciaments should belong to the burgesses, and might be levied to their use; and that the said burgesses and their successors might have within the said borough all manner of chattels called wayff and stray, treasure trove, and other chattels and things found, and that they might seize and take the same at their will to their use, and that they should have all goods and chattels called "mainouvres"<sup>1</sup> [manuopera], taken or to be taken with any person whomsoever, either detained in the said gaol or being within the said borough, *before whatever magistrate such person be called*;<sup>2</sup> and that the said burgesses, their heirs and successors, might, by their last will, devise their tenements which they have acquired in the said borough to whomsoever they pleased, provided it be not in mortmain. Wherefore the king commanded that the burgesses of the said borough of New Windsor, and their heirs and successors, tenants and resiants therein, might peaceably have all the liberties, acquittances, grants, ordinances, and free customs, and all and singular other the royal rights before mentioned for ever; and further, in consideration as well of the great charges and losses which the inhabitants of the town had had and sustained, and daily had and sustained, as of the ruins of the tenements therein, the

<sup>1</sup> That is, stolen goods found upon the thief.

<sup>2</sup> The sense of the words in italics is obscure in the original, the words being defaced.

king, for the relief of the inhabitants, remised and released to them seven pounds a year out of the seventeen pounds which they were bound to yield to him.<sup>1</sup>

In 1439 we find Richard Earl of Dorset holding the office of constable of the castle. A writ in the eighteenth year of this reign empowered him, and other constables his successors, to receive yearly, during the king's pleasure, the sum of £500, by the hands of the treasurer, for the repair of the castle.<sup>2</sup>

By a charter dated at Westminster, the 18th of September, in the twenty-third year of the reign of Henry the Sixth (A.D. 1444), reciting the grant of the town by Edward the First at the rent of seventeen pounds, and the remission by Henry the Sixth, in the seventeenth year of his reign, of seven pounds of that amount for ten years then next ensuing,<sup>3</sup> on account of the poverty of the place, and that the burgesses and good men of Windsor were willing to restore the letters of Edward into the king's chancery to be cancelled, to the intent that the king would vouchsafe to grant the town or borough of Windsor, and all things belonging to him "as well within the said town as without, as far and wide as it is called New Windsor," with the rents to them, on payment of the yearly sum of eight pounds for the remainder of the term of ten years, and after the completion of that term on payment of fifteen pounds a year for ever; the king, in consideration of the premises, and that the burgesses, by their certain writing,<sup>4</sup> had, with the king's licence, "given and granted to the provost of our royal college of the Blessed Mary of Eton, near Windsor, and to the college of the same, all those waters and fisheries in the River Thames, with all

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Pat., 19 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Orig., 18 Hen. VI, r. 78. A Minute of Council, dated 2d March, 21 Hen. VI (1443), states "that as my Lord of Dorset hath, by the king's letters patents, the constableness of the Castle of Windsor, &c., for [the] time of life with, &c., and to be paid of the wages, &c., by the hands of the chamberlain of South Wales, the king hath granted unto him the said office, &c., and the keeping of the forest, &c., to the office appertaining, to occupy by him and his deputies for [the] time of his life, and to take his wages, &c., of the revenues, &c., of Windsor by his own hands." (*Vide* Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. v, p. 229.)

<sup>3</sup> Although there is this limitation mentioned in the recital, there was, in fact, no such limitation in the charter of 17 Hen. VI. (See *ante*, p. 305.)

<sup>4</sup> See *post*, Chapter XIV.

their appurtenances," of the yearly value of forty shillings, granted the said town or borough of New Windsor to the burgesses and good men, to have and to hold, to their heirs and successors, with all and singular the rents to the king belonging, "as well within the town as without as far and wide as it is called New Windsor," together with the services, courts, fines, amerciaments, escheats, heriots, reliefs, passages, pontages, stallages, piccages, fairs, markets, tolls, and all and singular other profits, commodities, and appurtenances whatsoever thereto belonging, for ever yielding to the king and his heirs yearly, at his exchequer, during the said term of ten years, for all services, eight pounds, at Michaelmas and Easter by equal portions, and after the completion of that term the yearly sum of fifteen pounds for ever, payable in like manner.<sup>1</sup>

The following petition to the king, with the answer, dated 3d February, 23 Hen. VI (1445), is preserved among the proceedings of the Privy Council of that period :

"To the King our Soverain Lord. Bysecheth louly youre humble and pouer servant, Richard Jordan, keper of your selers within your Castle of Wyndsore, at the manoir in the parc at Esthampted, and at Henley on the Illeth, that in consideracion of the long and continuel labours and grete attendaunces that he hath hadde yerely and daily in keping of your seid celers, hit please you in his age to graunt unto him a livere of mete and drink, to be taken in your worshipfull houshold daili, at suche tyme as ye or your household shall lye and abyde in your seid castle at Wyndsore ; that is to wete, a cast of brede at youre pantre, a galon of ale at your botery, and on the eting day of flessh a messe of mete at none and a nodre at even, and on the fifth day at none a mese of fissh, in maner and fourme as the keper of the place, the keper of your beddes, and the porter of the uttre gate have and dailly take ; and of your more special grace, the premisses considered, that ye wol graunt unto him a gowne cloth, to be taken yerely during his life at your grete warderobe in London, in sute with yomen officers of your worshipfull household, by the deliveraunce of your warderoper there for the tyme being, at all such times as your said livere shall be gifen to your seid yomen. And hereuppon your letters patents of liberate currant and your breff of

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 23 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 7, from the archives of the corporation of Windsor.

alloc. dormant to be made in duhe fourme, and he shall pray to God for you.

“SEUDELEY, *Chamberlein*.

“Lre ent feust faite a Westm̄, le iij. jour de Feverer, lan, etc., xxiiij.”<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the illness of Margaret of Anjou, who had been contracted by proxy to Henry, and who arrived in England in April 1445, the king was unable to hold St. George's Feast at Windsor in person that year.<sup>2</sup>

A curious entry of a payment for repairs at Windsor occurs in 1446 :

“15th July.—To John Hampton, one of the esquires of the king's body, who, by command of the said lord the king, caused the bridge to be repaired in his manor within Windsor Park, and a certain chimney to be made in the great chamber in Windsor Castle, called the Queen's Chamber. In money paid to his own hands, in discharge of £36 13s. 4d., which the said lord the king commanded to be paid to the same John, to be had without rendering any account therefore. By writ, &c., £36 13s. 4d.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vi, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The following letter from Henry to the lord chancellor on the subject was written six days before the formal celebration of the marriage :

“By the King.

“Right reverend fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you wel, and suppose that ye have wel in knowleche, how that oure moost dere and best beloved wyf the quene is yet seke of the labour and indisposico'n of the see, by occasion of which the pokkes been broken out upon hir, for which cause we may not in oure own personne holde the Feste of Saint George, at oure Castel of Wyndesore, upon Saint George's day next com'ynge. Wherefore we wol th' ye make out our letters of commission under our Greete Seel in due forme, yeving power by the same unto oure right trusty and entirely wel-beloved cousins, the Duke of Excestre and Buks, and eyther of theyn, to holde the sayd feste in oure behalve at the day and place abovesayd, with other lordes and knights of the Garter such as we have com'anded to be there, and that herinne be no defaulte, as our greet trust is in you. Yeven under our signet at Southwyk, the xvj day of Avril.

“To the right reverend fader in God oure right trusty  
and right welbeloved tharchebissop of Canter-  
bury, oure Chancell' of Englande.”

(Ex orig. in Turr. London. *Vide* Introduction to Austis' 'Register of the Order of the Garter,' and Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vi, Preface, p. xvi.)

<sup>3</sup> Issue Roll, Easter, 24 Hen. VI (Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 455).

In 1446 (25 Hen. VI), for the first time since 1339 (14 Edw. III), we find burgesses of parliament returned for Windsor.

In that year, in pursuance of the king's writ to the sheriff of Berkshire, commanding him to cause two burgesses to be chosen for every borough in his county, and the names of the burgesses so elected to be certified by an indenture between the sheriff and the electors, one part of which indenture was to be returned into the king's chancery, the mayor and common burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, by indenture made the 3d day of February, returned Roger Fasnam and Roger Scherman to appear in parliament. This indenture purports to be signed and sealed by "John Avelin, mayor; William Scherman, Will<sup>m</sup> Towe, Roger Wayte, John Noteweys, bailiffs; John Bethewode, Thomas Swan, John Ruwelond, Thomas Pers, Richard Bernard, constables; and others."<sup>1</sup>

In the twenty-seventh of Henry the Sixth, William Towe and Roger Shereman were returned in the same way.

In the twenty-eighth of Henry the Sixth, Richard Forster and Henry Fraunceyes were the members; and in the following year, Richard Forster and Roger Sherman.

In the thirty-first of Henry the Sixth (1452), the indenture of return purports to be made "before me, Hugh Alewyn, mayor of the s<sup>d</sup> town, and all the burgesses and true men of the same town or borough," and is under the seal of office of the sheriff. By this indenture, Richard Forster and Roger Sherman were certified to be again elected. It appears from this indenture that the king's writ for the election of members was on this occasion directed to the mayor of Windsor, and not to the sheriff of Berkshire.

The parliament in this year was held at Reading.

The name of Sherman is of frequent occurrence in the annals of Windsor, from the fifteenth century to the present. Among the names of the gentry of Berkshire returned by the commissioners in the twelfth year of Henry the Sixth's reign is "Johan. Sherman de Wyndesor."<sup>2</sup> The name was at a more recent period converted into Sharman.

<sup>1</sup> This return is partly set out in Pole's 'History of Windsor Castle,' p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's 'Worthies' (Berkshire).

In 1450 we have, in the following payments, further instances of the use of the castle as a prison :

"*9th July*.—To William Brook, one of the king's valets of his crown, to whom the lord the king committed the custody of Richard Smyth, appellant, and Philpot Morys, Thomas Bocher, and William Heyley, defendants, for certain treasons ; and on this account, by the king's command, they were kept in his custody, in the king's Castle of Windsor, for above half a year, he finding them meat and drink, fuel, and other necessary things, at his great costs and expense. In money paid, &c. By writ, &c., £10."<sup>1</sup>

"*5th August*.—To Thomas Waryn, an esquire of the Duke of Somerset. In money paid to him by assignment made this day, by the hands of Nicholas Aves, in discharge of £27 4s., which the lord the king commanded to be paid for his costs and expenses, at 12d. per day, and for 24 persons, to each of whom was paid 8d. per day, for the space of 32 days, for the custody of William Parmenter, calling himself a captain of Kent, with other principals, his companions or allies, within the said county, also being in his custody during the time aforesaid, by the king's command, and afterwards, by virtue of the king's letters, conducted to the Castles of Windsor and Wynchester. By writ, &c., £27 Os. 4d."<sup>2</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the preceding entry refers to the insurrection headed by Jack Cade.

Windsor was the residence of the king during his malady, which began about October 1453, and deprived him for a time both of mental and corporeal powers. This illness was the immediate cause of that change in the administration of affairs which placed the Duke of York and his party uppermost in the state. It was soon after this affliction fell on the sovereign that his only son, Prince Edward, was born at Westminster, on the 13th of October, who was alike ill-fated both in the period of his birth (aggravated by the sinister reports spread abroad that he was "chaungyd in the cradell"<sup>3</sup>) and in the premature death that subsequently awaited him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Issue Roll, Easter, 29 Hen. VI (Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 470).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Fabyan.

<sup>4</sup> Sir F. Madden, 'Archæologia,' vol. xxix, p. 310.

In the January following, the infant prince, then about three months old, was presented to his father at Windsor for the first time, apparently in the hope that a ray of reason might return to the king's mind on beholding his child. But all was in vain; and the queen and the Duke of Buckingham were obliged to leave the afflicted monarch without any sign of recognition having been given.

The following account of the interview appears in a letter containing intelligence privately collected by certain persons who appear to have belonged to the household of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, one of the most powerful of the Yorkist lords, and was transmitted to him, in order that he should know what was passing in London and elsewhere before he came to join his associates in the metropolis.<sup>1</sup>

"As touching tythynges, please it you to wite, that at the princes comyng to Wyndesore, the Duc of Buk' toke hym in his armes and presented hym to the kyng in godely wise, besechyng the kyng to blisse hym; and the king yave no maner answe're. Natheles the duk abode stille w<sup>t</sup> the prince by the kyng; and whan he coude no maner answe're haue, the queene come in, and toke the prince in hir armes, and presented hym in like fourme as the duke hade done, desiryng th<sup>t</sup> he shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne, for they departed thens w<sup>t</sup>out any answe're or countenance, sauyng onely th<sup>t</sup> ones he loked on the prince, and caste doune his eyene ayen, w<sup>t</sup>out any more.

"Itm<sup>r</sup>. The cardynalle hathe charged and commaunded alle his servauntz to be redy w<sup>t</sup> bowe and arwes, swerd and bokeler, crosse-bowes, and alle other habillementes of werre, suche as thei kun medle w<sup>t</sup>, to awaite upone the saufgarde of his persone."

The cardinal spoken of was John Kempe, chancellor, cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury. He came into political power after the fall of the Duke of Suffolk, and maintained, jointly with the Duke of Somerset, the queen's party until his death, which took place on the 22d of March, 1454, two months after the date of this letter.

<sup>1</sup> Sir F. Madden, 'Archæologia,' vol. xxix, p. 310.



In a subsequent part of the letter the following passage occurs :

"Itm. Tresham, Josep, Danyelle, and Trevilian have made a bille to the lordes, desiryng to have a garisone kept at Wyndesore, for the sauferde of the kyng and of the prync, and th<sup>t</sup> they may haue money for wages of theym and other, th<sup>t</sup> shulle kepe the garysone."<sup>1</sup>

The Tresham here mentioned was, no doubt, Thomas Tresham, called "late of Sywell, co. North<sup>ton</sup>, knight," who was at the battle of Towton, in 1461.<sup>2</sup> He was attainted in the twelfth of Edward the Fourth, but subsequently restored. William Joseph was one of the personal attendants on King Henry, and was deprived of office in 1455.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Danyelle was esquire of the body to the king. He is included among those whom the commons desired to be removed for misbehaviour in April 1451.<sup>4</sup> John Trevilian was likewise esquire of the body, and usher of the king's chamber. In the petition for his dismissal (with Danyelle and others) he is called "late of London, esquire."<sup>5</sup>

In consequence of the death, as already stated, on the 22d of March, 1454, of Cardinal Kempe, when Henry the Sixth was still lying ill at Windsor, the parliament deputed the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Chester, the Earls of Warwick, Oxford, and Shrewsbury, Viscounts Beaumont and Bourghchier, the Prior of St. John's, and the Lords Fauconbergge, Dudley, and Stourton, to ride to Windsor and inform the king of his chancellor's death, and to make arrangements for the appointment of a successor.

On the 25th of March the deputation made their report, and "opened and declared by the mouth of the Byshop of Wynchestr", to the Duke of York, the kynges lieutenant in this present parlement, and the othir lordes spirituel and temporel assembled in the parlement chambre, that they, accordyng to that that was putte upon theym upon Saturday, the xxiiij. day of this present moneth of Marche, by th' advys of the lordes spirituel and temporel, that

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS., Brit. Mus., No. 914. See 'Archæologia,' vol. xxix, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Rolls, v, 616, vi, 317.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., v, 280, 282, 332, 342.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., v, 216.

<sup>5</sup> Sir F. Madden, 'Archæologia,' vol. xxix, p. 314.

they shuld goo to Wyndesore to the kynges high presence, and to open and declare to his highnesse certain matiers conteigned in an instruction delivered to them by the seid lieutenaunt and the seid lordes spirituel and temporel, were at the kynges high presence, and in the place where he dyned; and anoon after his dyner was doon, the seid matiers were opened and declared by the mouth of the Bishop of Chestr', right connyngly, saddely, and wurshipfully, nothyng in substaunce chaunged from the seid instruction, added ne dyminished, as the seid Bishop of Chestre can more clerely declare to their lordships. And theruppon the seid Bishop of Chestr' shewed and declared howe that the openyng and declaryng of the seid matiers, by th' avis of the lordes that were sent to Wyndesore, was put uppon him, howe be it he thought hym self right unable therto; and that he furst opened and shewed to the kynges highnesse the iii. first articles, as it was advised by the lordes or they went; that is to say, the humble recommendation of the lordes to the kynges highnesse, the grete desire of his hele, and the grete diligence of the lordes in this parlement. And then, for as moche as it liked not the kynges highnesse to yeve any answer to the articles, the seid Bishop of Chestre, by th' advis of all the other lordes, declared and opened to the kynges highnesse the othir matiers conteigned in the seid instruction; to the whiche maters ne to eny of them they cowode gete noo answer ne signe, for no prayer ne desire, lamentable chere ne exhortation, ne eny thyng that they or eny of them cowode do or sey, to their grete sorowe and discomfort. And then the Bishop of Wynchestr' seid to the kynges highnesse, that the lordes had not dyned, but they shuld goo dyne theym, and wayte uppon his highnesse ayen afir dyner. And so afir dyner they come to the kynges highnesse in the same place where they were before; and there they moeved and sturred hym, by all the waies and meanes that they cowode thynke, to have answer of the matiers aforseid, but they cowode have noon; and from that place they willed the kynges highnesse to goo into an othir chambre, and so he was ledde between ij. men into the chambre where he lieth; and there the lordes moeved and sturred the kynges highnesse the thirde tyme, by all the means and weyes that they coude thynk, to have aunswere of the seid

matiers, and also desired to have knoweleche of him, if it shuld like his highnesse that they shulde wayte uppon hym eny lenger, and to have aunswere at his leiser, but they cowede have no aunswere, worde ne signe; and therfor with soroweful hartes come theire way.”<sup>1</sup>

In this emergency, the lords proceeded to provide for the exercise of the royal authority, on the 27th of the same month, by electing and nominating (without any reference to the commons) the Duke of York as protector and defender of the realm, during the king's pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

In consequence of the king having a relapse of his former illness, Kemer Dean of Salisbury, an “expert, notable, and proved man in the craft of medicine,” was, on the 5th of June, 1454, commanded to attend the king at Windsor, who was then, “as Kemer well knew, labouring under sickness and infirmities.”<sup>3</sup>

About Christmas the king recovered his health and reason, and in January 1455 Prince Edward was again brought to him by the queen. He asked “what the prince's name was? and the queen told him Edward; and then he held up his hands, and thanked God therof. And he said he never knew til that tyme, nor wist not, what was said to him, nor wist not where he had be, whils he hath be seke, til now.”<sup>4</sup>

In the thirty-eighth of Henry the Sixth (1459), John Toller and John Frampton were chosen members for Windsor. The indenture of return on this occasion was between “the sheriff of Berkshire, of the one part; Roger Wayte, mayor of the borough of New Windsor; Roger Faggenham and John Brewer, bailiffs of the said borough; and the commonalty of the said borough, of the other part.”

In 1459, we are told there was an “affrey bitwene gentilmen of court and men of Fletestrete; and the gentilmen were driven

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas' ‘Proceedings of the Privy Council,’ vol. vi, Preface, p. 1, citing Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Feodera,’ vol. xi, p. 366; Nicolas' ‘Proceedings of the Privy Council,’ vol. vi, Preface, p. lxxii.

<sup>4</sup> Fenn's ‘Paston Letters,’ vol. i, p. 80.

with archers fro the standard in Fletestrete into theire innes, and some were slayne and some taken, the xiiij. day of Aprile: wherfore William Tailour, alderman of Fletestrete ward, with other mo, were afterward sent to Wyndisore Castel, and there kepte as prisoners.”<sup>1</sup>

In this fray “the queen’s attorney” was slain.<sup>2</sup>

This was one of the numerous outbreaks between the respective partizans of the king and the Duke of York. The dissention at this period was no longer confined to the higher classes: it divided almost every family in the nation; it had penetrated into the convents of the monks and the cottages of the poor. One party maintained that the Duke of York was an injured prince, who, with his associates, was trampled under foot by the minions of the court, and was compelled to arm in order to preserve his own life; the other pronounced him a traitor, who under false pretences sought to place himself on the throne, and who owed to the king’s clemency that life which he had already forfeited to the laws.<sup>3</sup>

On the 4th of March, 1461, Edward, the son of the Duke of York, was proclaimed king, by the title of Edward the Fourth.

The following letter from Henry the Sixth to the mayor of Windsor is without any date of the year:

“By the King. Trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well, and lett you witt that for the lawfull punicon of vagabonds and other misruled persons, wee have appointed a generall and secrett search to bee made throughout this our realme the 17th day of August next comeing, about 11 of the clock in the night; wherefore, wee, trusting in yo’ troth and sadness, will and in the streightest wise charge you that, keeping this matter close and secrett to your selfe till time of necessity shall require, yee endeavour the best yee can by your pollitick meanes to make the said search within that our towne there, and the jurisdiction of the same, arresting in our name, by vertue hereof, all manner of vagabonds, misruled and suspected persons, without any favour or partiality; wee will yee have concourse to the shereiff of our county there, to whome wee have sent our letter of proclamation, and after the tenor

<sup>1</sup> ‘Chronicle of London.’ Holinshed gives the 7th of May as the date they were sent to Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard.

thereof wee will that yee order you in all things safe ; that if any spyes coming from beyound the sea, or else any suspect persons with letters prejudiciall unto us, fall into yo<sup>r</sup> hands by the said search, then wee will that, keeping them in sure ward, yee send unto us their names and the evidence you shall have of their suspeccon, to the intent that yee may have agen our express mind by writeing in that behalfe. Given under our signett, at our Castle of Windsor, the 21st day of July.”<sup>1</sup>

The bailiffs of Windsor appear to have occasionally made themselves liable to fines for their negligence in permitting the escape of felons. A pardon was granted in 1452 to Hugh Deer and Edmund Perry, bailiffs of Windsor, for the escape of prisoners, and in 1455 to Hugh Aylewyn and Edmund Perry, burgesses of Windsor. The last-mentioned pardon, however, “concerned the townsmen of Windsor.”<sup>2</sup>

We find traces of local records of the borough in this reign. The original documents appear to have been lost, but some extracts made by Ashmole in the seventeenth century are preserved.

Thus the officers of the borough chosen the Sunday preceding Michaelmas Day<sup>3</sup> in the sixth year of this reign were as follows: Nicholas Larewood, maior; Thomas Brotherton and Thomas Rowland, bailiffs; Andrew Bereman and William Pury, bridge-keepers; and Thomas Todd and John Beckenefeld, keepers of the Holy Trinity.<sup>4</sup>

The last-mentioned officers were trustees of a fund for the celebration of masses and obits for the souls of the brethren of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, as the corporation was sometimes described. A deed of the seventeenth year of Henry the Eighth recited that “in tyme past, within the parish church of New

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 12,520.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1115, f. 39 a. In the fourth year of Richard the Third's reign there is a similar entry of pardon granted to John Saddler and Simeon Ley, Bailiffs of Windsor, for the escape of prisoners. (Ibid.) An entry of pardon to the townsmen of Windsor for the escape of felons occurs as early as the 13 Edw. III. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole says “all elections of officers were made on this day.” (Ash. MS., No. 1126.)

<sup>4</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, extracted from the Register of the Guild of New Windsor, described as “a large vellum book with a wooden cover, wherein are enrolments of wills, fines, deeds, &c.”

Wyndesor, hath ben kept yerely, on Trinite Sunday, an obitt, with mass of requiem on the moro next following, for the sowles of all the brethren and sisters of the Trinite brotherhood there, which tyme out of mynde hath bene usyd.”<sup>1</sup>

We shall find various bequests made by persons, down to the period of the Reformation, towards the support of this and other ceremonies. In this reign, Richard Smith, of New Windsor, by will dated the last day of February, 1455, gave to the brotherhood or guild of the Holy Trinity of Windsor, in the Church of St. John the Baptist, half of a piece of arable land held by Michael Whaddon and Agnes his wife, situate near “Spittleborne,” to celebrate masses for the souls of himself and his ancestors, and all the faithful departed, for ever.<sup>2</sup>

St. George's Chapel received its share of the property given by the residents of Windsor and other persons to religious uses. Thomas Sewer, of Cambridge, by a deed of gift dated the 16th of August, in the thirty-fourth year of this reign, gave to John Hore, clerk, and John Croke, vicar of the king's chapel, all his goods and chattels, moveable and immoveable, wheresoever they should be found. Master John Arundel, Master William Michel, Master Thomas Passche, canons of St. George's College; William Towe, the mayor; William Clarence and Thomas Baker, of Windsor, and others, attested the deed, which purported to be made in the castle, to wit, in the house of the said John Hore, within the precincts of the college.<sup>3</sup> It is probable there was some secret trust between the parties as to the uses to which the property was to be applied.<sup>4</sup>

In the first year of this reign, William Hikkes, of Kybbeworth, in Leicestershire, being shut up in the chapel on a charge of felony, escaped, and being afterwards brought before Sir Robert Bubthorp, the seneschal and marshal of the king's court, was sent to the king's

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 66 b. See *post*, Reign of Henry the Eighth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See a curious file of obit-bills in MS. Ash., No. 1763, entitled ‘Memoranda de Obitibus Regum, Magnatum, et aliorum, celebratis in capella regia Windesoriensi, ab 11 Oct. anno 17 Edw. IV, ad 18 Sept. anno 18 (1477-8), et de pecuniis cuique canonico, vicario, clerico, choriste, et campanistro propterea debitis.’ See also a like document of the time of Henry the Seventh, Ash. MS., No. 1113, f. 38.

prison in the castle, called the "Colehous;"<sup>1</sup> but on demand made by Nicholas Clopton, the attorney of the dean and canons, on the ground that, by the charter of Edward the Third, they had the custody of felons in the precinct of their houses, manors, and possessions, their right was formally recognized, and the culprit delivered to them.<sup>2</sup>

The "Colehous," which is marked in Norden's bird's-eye view of the castle, was situated in the lower ward, and was the prison for offences committed against the laws of the forest.<sup>3</sup>

The jurisdiction of the Castle Court seems to have been co-extensive with the Forest of Windsor. The criminal jurisdiction, however, which appears by the above transaction to have been then exercised, must have subsequently fallen into disuse, as it certainly did not exist in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> As a

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 38 b.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Bulstode Whitelock, speaking of the constable of the castle, says—"He hath power to imprison any trespasser in vert or venison, and hath a prison in the castle, called the Colehouse, for that purpose." (See *post*, Vol. II.) There was formerly a prison in the vicinity of St. Paul's, called "The Bishop's Colehouse." In Fox's 'Martyrs' it is spoken of as "my lorde of London's colehouse." (See Wright's 'Archæological Album,' p. 101.)

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, who collected his information on the spot, has the following note on the subject:

"How far the jurisdiction of the Castle Court of Windsor extends:

"From Maidenhead Bridge to Taplow, thence neere to Beaconsfeild, thence to Langley March, thence to Iver, thence to Colnbrook, taking in the one halfe of the towne, thence to Rasebury, and thence it strikes off at Queenes Ditch, and goes into the Thames over against Egham Mead, and so along the river to Waybridge; thence along the River Wye [Wey] within 2 or 3 myles of Guildford; thence to Blackwater, thence towards Swallowfield and so to Sunning Bridge, and so along the Thames to Maidenhead Bridge.

"Noate that the burrough of Wyndsor is exempted out of this jurisdiction.

"The Castle Court holds plea of all reall and personall actions (but not criminal) without limitation of some, and of tythes of land, of what value soever. The writs run in the constable's name. The officers that belong to the court are deputy-steward, porter of the outward gate, bailiffs (for the several hundreds), attorneys. The writs are directed to the said porter, who is the gaoler. The office of deputy-steward has been granted of late by letters patents; Mr. Taylor has scene these letters patents of Q. Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles. The Abbot of Bysham had a bailiff in the said court, who executed writts only within his jurisdiction." (Ash. MSS., No. 1115, f. 86 b.)

The following hundreds, manors, and liberties were, it seems, in the seventeenth century

place of detention for offenders, the "Colehouse" continued, however, to be used until a recent period. A writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in 1790, says—"The prison gate at the entrance to the castle yard is a disgrace, not only to the sight but to the feelings."<sup>1</sup> It was soon afterwards converted into a guard-room.

The borough of Windsor was always excepted from the jurisdiction of the Castle Court, and had an independent criminal as well as civil court.<sup>2</sup>

within the jurisdiction :—In Berkshire, the king's bailiwicks of the seven hundreds of Cookham and Bray, and the hundred of Sonning, and the liberty of Sir Henry Nevill of the hundred of Wargrave and of Sir Edward Hobbes of his manor of Bustlesham; in Buckinghamshire, the royal manors of Wyrdisbury and Langley Maries, Upton and Burnham, Datchet, Farnham Royal, Eton, Iver, and Taplow, and Sir William Bower's liberty of the manor of Denham, the bailiwick of Andrew Windsor, Esq., in Eton, and of Sir Edward Cooke, the chief justice, in Stoke Pogis; in Surrey, the hundreds of Godly and Oking and the liberty of Oking; in Wiltshire, Sir Henry Neville's bailiwick of the hundred of Ashridge. (Ash. MSS., No. 1115, f. 31, citing the 'Court Book of the Steward's Court of the Honor and Castle of Windsor.')

<sup>1</sup> Vol. lx, p. 690.

<sup>2</sup> The following curious entry of proceedings before the mayor in this reign occurs among Ashmole's transcripts from the Corporation Records :

"Hic est ultima voluntas Ricardi Bernard, de Nova Wyndesor, q<sup>d</sup> ipse infecoravit Johem Bernard, frat<sup>m</sup> sua, &c., in dnob<sup>s</sup> shoppis suis, ppris scituat in foro ville de Wyndesor, &c., ad opus pueros suorum, &c. Et ut Jolies Bernard p'd dixit p sua sacra et juramenta, *sup* *Calendare* ante W<sup>m</sup> Towe, tunc maiore burgi de Wyndesor, &c., 18 die Oct., a<sup>o</sup> 35 H. 6, et Coram dno Willo Crafforde, *milite Castr*i p'dditi Jolhe Avelyn, Rog<sup>r</sup> Fastenham, Tho<sup>e</sup> Clyfford, et Tho. Sherman, tunc Balliavis, &c., et multis aliis, &c." (Ash. MS., No. 1126, "excerpted out of the large vellum Booke of Inrolments with a wooden cover, called the Boarded Booke of Inrolm<sup>ts</sup>."') See also in Ash. MS., No. 1763, f. 44, the original will of Emmot Burges, of New Windsor, made on the 12th of October, 1447, and proved before the Archdeacon of Berks on the 14th of December, and afterwards in the Court of New Windsor, before John Abelyn, mayor, the seneschal, and three bailiffs of the town, on Monday before the Feast of St. Peter in cathedra, 28 Hen. VI (18th of February, 1448). Mr. Black observes that this will is almost a century older than the earliest now to be found in the archdeacon's office. In 36 Hen. VI, in an acknowledgment and release of dower, in the King's Court of New Windsor, by Eleanor the wife of John Dunstall, to John Frymley, the premises are described as a tenement lying between a tenement of John Avelyn and 2½ acres of land lying in divers places in "Uppenorhill" juxta "Marlyngcepitts." (Ibid.)

An entry of a fine levied the 1st of April, 14 Hen. VII, in which John Squier, Rob. Gode, sen., and Tho. Todd are demandants, and John Hether and Alice his wife are deforeinants, commences thus: "This is a final concord indented, made in the King's Court at New Windsor, in the Guildhall there, after the use and custom in that town, from time out of mind," &c. Mr. Black observes that Ashmole has "illustrated the abstract of this document with the variations of form that he observed in other such final



Among the escheats of this reign, the name of Molyns frequently occurs connected with property in Windsor and the neighbourhood. Sir William Molyns, in the third year of Henry's reign, received rent for a house in New Windsor called "Oldhawes;"<sup>1</sup> and in the eighth year of this reign he appears to have been entitled to the manor of Datchet, and to rent of property in Windsor as parcel of the manor of Cippenham, in Buckinghamshire.<sup>2</sup> In the seventeenth of Henry the Sixth, Margaret, the widow of Sir William Molyns, was entitled to the same rent as part of Cippenham Manor, and also to the manor of Ditton and the advowson of the chapel there, and to certain pastures at "Langley Marreys," inclosed within Ditton Park.<sup>3</sup>

concorde, this custom of Windsor being very remarkable." (Cat. of the Ash. MSS., col. 886, note.)

The following petition or remonstrance from the corporation in the sixteenth century (but without date) shows how jealous the town was of its privileges:

"To the ryght worshipfull and full honorabull Lord Henry, Erle of Essex, and Justice of the King's Forest on thys side Trente, or to his Lefttennt or Deputy of the same.

"Sheweth unto yo' good lor<sup>e</sup> the meyer, bayliff, and burgeys of the borough of New Wyndesor, that wherof tyme that noe minde is, and also as well by the graunt of o' sovaigne lord the kyng y<sup>e</sup> now ys, as by the graunte and confirmacons of his noble p'genitors aforetyme, no styward of the marchaseye, justice of the peace, sheriff, escheator, clerk of the m'ket, constable, nor non other minister or officer of the kyngs, shulde medle, vex, greve, or execute any thing touching their offices agens<sup>t</sup> any p'son wh<sup>i</sup> in the afores<sup>d</sup> borough, but yt all shulde long all only to the forseyd mayer, baliff, or burgeys, and to their officers, as in these letters patents more plainly it doth appe<sup>r</sup>. Hit is so that now of late W<sup>m</sup> Staverton, keep<sup>r</sup> of Cramborne, and Hen. Staverton his brother, bi his com<sup>andem</sup><sup>t</sup>, w<sup>i</sup>thin the s<sup>d</sup> borough, upon Midson<sup>i</sup> day last passyd, in their open fayer, attached and distreyned Thomas Engely, W<sup>m</sup> Smith of Egham, Ric. Bishop of Dorney, W<sup>m</sup> Smith, servant of Henry Styward of Houndeslow, comyng w<sup>th</sup> a pakke at his bakke, and div's other, for chymynage, contrary to their olde usage and custome, and to the grants and confirmacons to them granted by the king our soveraign lord and his noble progenitors, to the grete trouble and vexacon<sup>i</sup> of the sede meyer, bayleff, and burgeys. Wherfor plesyth hyt yo' good lor<sup>e</sup>, the p'emises consydered, and in example of other, to se a reformacon<sup>i</sup> in this matier, in eschewing of such trouble as may fall hereafter by occasion of the same, accord<sup>e</sup> to the lres patents, as good right, law, and conience shall require, and they shall pray to God for the preservacon<sup>i</sup> and prospity of yo' good lordshypp." (Ash. MS., No. 1126, fol. 39 b, 40, copied from the Boarded Book of Inrolments, belonging to the corporation of Windsor.)

<sup>1</sup> Escaet., 3 Hen. VI, num. 29. "*Haw apud veteres, yard sonat.*" (Barnes' 'Life of Edward the Third,' p. 436, margin.) The "Woodhawe" has been already mentioned. (See *ante*, p. 274.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 8 Hen. VI, num. 38.

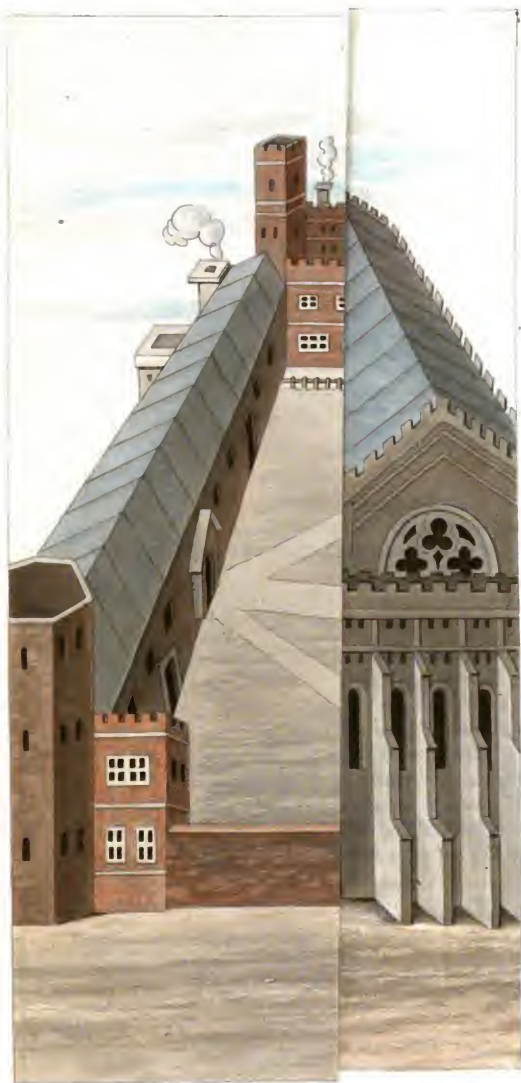
<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 17 Hen. VI, num. 52. (See *post*, p. 341, note.)

With respect to the annals of the Order of the Garter in this reign, Sir Harris Nicolas observes that "the tender age at which this prince became king, his precarious health, and the political convulsions by which his throne was shaken, and ultimately overturned, account for no material event having occurred in the order in the thirty-nine years during which he was its sovereign."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 66.



The Canons' Houses from Thames Street, 1847





## CHAPTER XIV.

### FOUNDATION OF ETON COLLEGE BY HENRY THE SIXTH.

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The King's Motives for the Foundation—His Procuratory Charter of Foundation—Bull of Pope Eugenius the Fourth—Papal Indulgence—Charter of Endowment—Commencement of the Building—Orders of the King—Entries in the Liberate Rolls—Accounts of the Works—Various Grants to the College—Fisheries—Hospital of St. Peter near Windsor—Fairs—Exemption from Purveyance—Progress of the Works—Meeting of Commissioners in the Choir—Will of the King—Parish Church of Eton—The College Statutes—Supply of Books and Vestments—Grant of Relics—Appointment of Provost—The Almsmen—Rise and Progress of the School.

IN the previous part of this work occasional reference has been made to Eton and the owners of land there. The contiguity of the towns of Windsor and Eton, separated only by the river, rendered some notice natural, and, as the foundation of the college by Henry the Sixth forms the most important point in the history of Eton, a separate chapter is devoted to it.

Like the other princes of his house, Henry the Sixth was a zealous adherent of the Roman Catholic Church and a severe enemy of the followers of Wycliffe;<sup>1</sup> and some have supposed that a desire to discourage the spread of Lollardism through the agency of private teachers, many of whom were at that time imbued with the new tenets, co-operated in the minds of Henry and his advisers with the other motives that led to the foundation of Eton College, not only as a place of gratuitous instruction and maintenance for indigent scholars, but as a place of education for the children of wealthier families.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Every fellow of Eton College was required by the statutes to swear that he would not favour the doctrines of John Wycliffe, Reginald Pewke, and other heretics, under pain of perjury and expulsion. (Sloane MS., No. 4841, f. 40.)

<sup>2</sup> Professor Creasy's 'Account of the Foundation of Eton College, and of the Past

On the 30th of July, 1440, the king, preparatory to the settlement of the college, and probably at the suggestion of Bekyngton, Bishop of Bath and Chancellor of England, visited Winchester, and examined the plan of Wykeham's foundation there.<sup>1</sup>

By his procuratory, bearing date at the Castle of Windsor, the 12th of September, in the nineteenth year of the king's reign (A.D. 1441), the king invited all the faithful in Christ to aid him, for the praise, honour, and glory of God and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and for the increase of divine worship and the increase of the holy church, to found, make, and ordain, and duly establish a college in the parish church of Eton, near New Wyndesor, in the diocese of Lincoln, to consist of a provost and other fellows, priests, clerks, and choristers, as also of poor and indigent scholars, and also of other poor and infirm men; also of one master in grammar, who should gratuitously instruct the poor and indigent scholars and others coming there from any part of the kingdom in

and Present Condition of the School,' p. 3. Henry the Sixth, says Grafton, founded at Eton "a solemn school," where he also "stablished an honest college of sad priests, with a great number of children, which he there of his cost frankly and freely taught the rudiments and rules of grammar. Besides this, he edified a princely college in the University of Cambridge, called the King's College, for the further crudition of such as were brought up in Eton, which at this day so flourisheth in all kinds as well of literature as of tongues, that above all other it is worthy to be called the Prince of Colleges." "Henry the Sixth's foundations of his two colleges were not the effect of a casual or accidental thought, but they were what he had purposed from early youth, and which he tells us he had intended to put in execution so soon as he should take unto himself the rule of his realms. Accordingly this seems to have been his earliest undertaking, and which, when once begun, he prosecuted with such vigour as not to leave it, even though amidst those civil wars which threatened equally his kingdom and his life, till he had brought it to some good degree of perfection. His procuratory bears teste Sept. xij., an<sup>o</sup> regni xix, and which was also the nineteenth year of his life; in which procuratory, as by a public instrument, he delegates his proctors to treat with the bishop and church of Lincoln about appropriating the then parish church of Eton to his intended college, and so as to make the chapel of the said college, which he should erect upon the demolition of the old church, to be as well parochial as collegiate. Nay, from the words of the instrument it appears that previous hereunto he had made purchase of the advowson of the said parish church in order for such appropriation; so that he must probably for some years before have actually begun what he had thus long designed; and especially as this advowson was then the property of three distinct persons, which of course must have taken up more time in completing than if the whole had been vested in one single person." (Old MS. History of Eton in the British Museum, vol. i, p. 20, MS. Sloane, No. 4844, cited by Professor Creasy.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 15.

the knowledge of letters, and especially in the art of grammar. The college to be situated on certain land of the said church and burial-ground adjoining, on the north side of the said burial-ground, containing three hundred feet in length and two hundred and sixty feet in width, and to duly cause and procure the said parish church to be erected, converted, and transferred into a college; and to grant and give the advowson of the said parish church, the right of patronage of which was then in the king, to the said provost, fellows, and college, with other goods, by way of endowment; to effect which the king proposed and intended that the said church, by the grace of God, might be well and effectually united, appropriated, annexed, and incorporated to them and their college, in order that all who had an interest in the premises might join or add their authority, licence, and consent. And the king appointed his dearly beloved in Christ, Mr. Robert Kent, William Lynde, and William Waryn, together and separately, his true and lawful proxies and agents to carry out and execute the premises; and also granting them various general powers, among others to confer with the Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

The charter of foundation is dated at the king's manor of Shene, on the 11th of October following (A.D. 1441). The following is a translation of the commencement, which is important, as throwing light on the primary object of the founder:<sup>2</sup>

"Henry, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents may come, greeting.

"The triumphant Church that reigns on high, whose president is the Eternal Father, and to which hosts of saints minister, and quires of angels sing the glory of its praise, hath appointed as its vicar upon earth the Church militant, which the only-begotten Son of the same God hath so united to Himself in the bond of eternal love, that He hath deigned to name it His most beloved Spouse, and which, in accordance with the dignity of so great a name, He, as a true and

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 19 Hen. VI, part i, m. 40. A copy of this instrument and of the charters of the 11th of October and 25th of March following are inserted in Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' vol. vi, part iii, p. 1434, edit. 1830. The charter of the 25th of March may also be seen set out in *Inspecimus*, with others relating to Eton, in the Parliament Rolls, vol. v, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Creasy's work already cited, from which this translation is taken.

most loving Spouse, hath endowed with gifts of His grace so ample, that she is called and is the mother and the mistress of all who are born again in Christ; and she hath power as a mother over each of them; and all the faithful honour her with filial obedience as a mother and a mistress; for through this worthy consideration sainted princes in bygone time, and most particularly our progenitors, have so studied always to pay to that same Holy Church the highest honour and devout veneration, that besides many other glorious works of their virtues, their royal devotion has founded, not only in this our kingdom of England, but also in divers foreign regions, hostels, halls, and other pious places, copiously established in affluence of goods and substance. Wherefore we also, who, as the same King of kings through whom all kings reign hath ordained, have now taken into our hands the government of both our kingdoms, from the very commencement of our riper age, have turned it in our mind and diligently considered how, or after what fashion, or by what kingly gift suited to the measure of our devotion, and according to the manner of our ancestors, we could do fitting honour to that our same most Holy Lady and Mother, so that He, the great Spouse of the Church, should also therein be well pleased. And at length, while we thought these things over with inmost meditation, it has become fixed in our heart to found a college in the parish church of Eton, near Wyndesore, not far from the place of our nativity, in honour and in aidance of that our Mother who is so great and so holy. Being unwilling, therefore, to extinguish so holy an inspiration of our thought, and desiring with our utmost means to please Him in whose hand are the hearts of all princes, in order that He may the more graciously illuminate our heart, so that we may hereafter direct all our royal actions more perfectly according to His good pleasure, and so fight beneath His banner in the present Church that, after serving the Church on earth, we, aided by His grace, may be thought worthy to triumph happily with the Church that is in heaven, We, by virtue of these presents, and with the consent of all interested therein, do found, erect, and establish, to endure in all future time, to the praise, glory, and honour of Him who suffered on the cross, to the exaltation of the most glorious Virgin Mary his Mother, and to the support of the most Holy Church, His Spouse, as aforesaid, a college, to be ruled and governed according to the tenor of these presents, consisting of and of the number of one provost and ten priests, four clerks, and six chorister boys, who are to serve daily there in the celebration of divine worship, and of twenty-five poor and indigent scholars who are to learn grammar,<sup>1</sup> and also of twenty-five poor

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatica*. This formed the first part of the trivium of the schoolmen, and treated of the ancient languages exclusively. (Creasy.)



and infirm men, [whose] duty it shall be to pray there continually for our health and welfare so long as we live, and for our soul when we shall have departed this life, and for the souls of the illustrious prince, Henry our father, late King of England and France ; also of the Lady Katherine of most noble memory, late his wife, our mother ; and for the souls of all our ancestors and of all the faithful who are dead : also of one master or teacher in grammar, whose duty it shall be to instruct in the rudiments of grammar the said indigent scholars, and all others whatsoever who may come together from any part of our kingdom of England to the said college, gratuitously and without the exaction of money or any other thing."

The charter proceeds to direct that the said provost for the time being, priests and clerks, indigent boys, poor scholars, and also the master or teacher, and all and each of them, to be from time to time elected, appointed, instituted, ruled, directed, and governed, corrected, punished, removed, turned out, and deprived, according to the tenor of the orders and statutes in that behalf provided. The site of the college is described as in the previous instrument to be adjoining to and on the north side of the cemetery of the church, and containing in length three hundred feet and in width two hundred and sixty. Henry Sever, clerk, was appointed provost and vice-provost of the college ; John Kene, clerk, and William Hustone and William Dene, fellows, Gilbert Grefe and John Moddyng, clerks, and Roger Flexnore, William Kente, John Herelewyn alias Gray, and Henry Cokkes, choir boys ; and William Stokke and Richard Cokkes, poor scholars, with a master or teacher of grammar ; and John Burdon and John Evesham, poor men ; to be ruled, corrected, &c., according to the statutes and ordinances of the king and his successors, saving to the king the power of removing and replacing all or any of the above persons as often as and whenever he should please. Permission was given to the said provost and fellows, and their successors for ever, to be called the Provost and Royal College of the Blessed Mary of Eton juxta Wyndesore, and by that name be a perpetual body corporate, capable of receiving and acquiring lands, tenements, rents, services, advowsons, churches, and other rights, emoluments, and possessions whatsoever, spiritual and temporal, and to sue and be sued in the said name, and to have a perpetual common seal.

The king also granted to the provost and college the patronage or advowson of the parish church of Eton, and also, with the authority of the diocesan and all interested parties, to erect, transfer, and commute the then parish church into a collegiate church, and to cause the same to be appropriated, united, annexed, and incorporated to their use, notwithstanding that express mention be not therein made of the vicarage in the said church, with its fruits, to be given and divided, or a sum equal thereto to be annually distributed among the poor parishioners of the said church, according to the form of the statutes provided for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Power was given to the provost and college to acquire lands and tenements and advowsons of churches, to be held of the king in capite or of others, to the yearly value of one thousand marks, for the support of the college, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain or any other statute, together with a release of all corroodies, pensions, and annuities. Lastly, that whenever and during the time the provostship should become vacant, from death, removal, resignation, or otherwise, the fellows for the time being should receive the rents and profits to the use of the college, without any claim by the king on account of such vacancy.<sup>2</sup>

Henry applied for the sanction of the pope for his foundation, and in the following February a bull of Pope Eugenius the Fourth was obtained, authorising the king to found and endow his college as specified in his charter.

<sup>1</sup> The king had previously purchased the advowson of the parish church and the tithes of Eton from William Waplade, Nicholas Clopton, and John Faryngdon, Esquires, who were also probably at this time the lords of the manor. (MS. Sloane, No. 4840.) John Kettle, the Rector of Eton, resigned his living in 1440, and became one of the fellows of the college, the provost having the *cura animarum* of the parish. The statutes provide that the provost shall receive annually £25 in lieu of tithes, and that the college shall have the advantage of the rest. (Ibid., f. 83.) "This church and college and parish of Eton are exempt from all visitation of the Archdeacon of Bucks, the archidiaconal power being vested in the provost. This exemption was made by William Aluwick, Bishop of Lincoln, September 7, 1443, in consideration that the college should pay yearly to the Archdeacon of Bucks, 22s. 11d.; and by indenture between Provost Waynflete and Dr. Bekynton (the then archdeacon) it was agreed to stand to the bishop's award of the said £1 2s. 11d., all the money to be paid out of the manor of Bledlew. Dated September 10, a<sup>o</sup> 1443." (Ibid., f. 178.)

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 19 Hen. VI, part ii, m. 20, printed in the 'Monasticon.'

This bull also contained a papal indulgence, which is styled, in the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury ordering its publication, more ample than any previously granted by the Roman pontiff. In it Pope Eugenius granted a plenary remission of sins to those who should devoutly visit the college chapel on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. By a subsequent indulgence (of which it seems there were several), the contributions of the pilgrims were to be devoted to the support of the college buildings and to the expulsion of the Turks from the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup>

The charter of endowment of the college bears date at Windsor, the 25th of March, 1441, within six months after the previous charter of foundation. It recites the recent establishment of the college in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Eton, near Windsor, the king's birthplace, and the foundation of the college on a site adjoining thereto, by the title of the Royal College of the Blessed Mary of Eton,<sup>2</sup> but commonly called "the Kynges College of our Lady by Etone besyde Wyndesore," and proceeds to endow the king's dearly beloved in Christ, Henry Sever, provost of the college, and his successors, with numerous annual sums, rents, and manors in various parts of England.<sup>3</sup> It is unnecessary to narrate them here, as they do not refer to any lands or possessions either in Eton or Windsor, or in the neighbourhood.

The building of the college commenced in the year 1441, the first stone of the chapel being laid on the 3d of July in that

<sup>1</sup> In the Bodleian MSS., No. 2067, fol. 21, is the following transcript of this indulgence, apparently in the handwriting of the period: "Etonæ quotannis in festo assumptionis beatæ Mariæ Virginis à primis vespers usque ad secundas, est plena remissio et indulgentia omnium peccatorum concessa omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui ecclesiam visitant, et ad expugnationem Turcorum et fabricæ deoque ibi servientium sustentacionem manus porrigunt adiutrices. Datur autem præposito et omnibus sociis et presbiteris illius collegii, et aliis à præposito licentiat, plena potestas audendi concessiones [confessiones?] confluentium, et absolvendi et dispensandi super omnibus casibus Apostolici sede non reservatis." (See also Hearne's 'Leland's Itin.,' 2d edit., Oxford, 1744, vol. iii, p. 120. See also a list of papal indulgences, with a power of absolution to the provost, MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 316-17.)

<sup>2</sup> In the reign of Edward the Sixth it was held by all the judges that a lease of college property made in the name "præpositi et sociorum collegii regalis de Eton," omitting "collegii Beatæ Mariæ," was void. (Dyer's Reports, p. 150.)

<sup>3</sup> Pat., 19 Hen. VI, p. iii, m. 20, printed in the 'Monasticon,' vol. vi, p. 1435.

year.<sup>1</sup> The following orders were issued by the king, apparently a few days before:<sup>2</sup>

“By the King. Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you wel, and wol and charge you that ye do make oure lres of comission severelle in due forme; oon directed unto Robert Westerly, maist<sup>r</sup> mason of the werke of oure newe Collaige of Eton, yeving hym power by the same to take as many masons, where so ever they may be founden, as may be thought necessary for the said werks; and an oth<sup>r</sup> directed to John Beckeley, mason, yeving hym power by the same to take cariage and al oth<sup>r</sup> things necessary for the same werks. Wherin ye shal do unto us good plesir. Yeven under oure signet, at oure manoir of Shene, the vj. day of Juyn.

“To the Reverend fader in God, oure Right trusty and right welbeloved the Bisshop of Bathe, oure Chauncell<sup>r</sup> of Englande.”

“By the King. Reverend Fader in God, right trusty and right welbeloved, we wol and charge yow that undre our grete scel ye doo make oure seveal lres of comission in deue fourme, that oon unto John Smyth, warden of masons, and that oth<sup>r</sup> unto Robert Wheteley, warden of carpenters at Eton, yevying thayme powair to take, in what place so eve hit be, almanere of werkmen, laborers, and cariage, such as eythr of thayme shal seme necessarie or behoveful in thaire crafts, to the edificacō of oure Collage of oure Lady of Eton. And that this be doon with al diligence, as we trust yow. Yeven undre oure signet, at the manoir of Fulham, the xiiij. day of Juyl.

“To the Reverend fader in God, right trusty & Right welbeloved, the Bisshop of Bathe, oure Chancell<sup>r</sup> of Englande.”<sup>3</sup>

By letters patent, dated at Windsor, the 12th of September in the same year (1441), Henry nominated and appointed the before-mentioned Robert Kent, William Lynde, and William Warryn “for the oversight of our Rioll College of our Lady of Eaton,

<sup>1</sup> Creasy.

<sup>2</sup> The editors of ‘*Excerpta Historica*’ (see p. 45) assign these orders to the year 1439 or 1440, because the charter of foundation passed the Great Seal in 1441. But there is nothing in the above charters to indicate that the works had been commenced at either of their respective dates.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* ‘*Excerpta Historica*,’ p. 45.

beside Wyndesore;" William Lynde being clerk of the works, and John Hampton surveyor.<sup>1</sup> Roger Keyes was master of the works, and gave such satisfaction to Henry that he made him a grant of arms. For the purpose of expediting the building, workmen were forcibly collected from every part of the realm."<sup>2</sup>

The following entries occur in the Liberate Rolls of the twenty-first and twenty-second years of this reign :

*26th October.*—"To John Hampton, esquire, an attendant upon the king's person. In money paid to him in discharge of £20, which the said lord the king commanded to be paid for the £40 granted him for certain great employment and costs incurred and to be incurred by him, by the king's command, for certain labour bestowed upon the king's new College of the Blessed Mary, at Eton, committed to the care of the said John by the said lord the king, viz., for Michaelmas Term last past. By writ of Privy Seal, &c., £20."<sup>3</sup>

"To Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. In money paid to him by the hands of Ralph Beauford, who received the money from Elizabeth Grey, for the marriage of the son and heir of Sir Ralph Grey, knight, deceased, in discharge of £196 13s. 4d., which the said lord the king commanded to be paid to the said duke, in recompense for certain alien priories granted to the said duke by the same king, and paid by the said duke to his college at Eton, as part of 2000 marks for certain causes granted to the same duke, as in the letters patent of the king thereon made fully is contained. By writ of Privy Seal, &c., £196 13s. 4d."<sup>4</sup>

Hampton's accounts, and other accounts respecting the expenses of the building, are preserved in the college archives. In the December of the first year of the building, twelve carpenters, thirty-three freemasons, and two stonemasons, besides twelve labourers, were employed. The freemasons received 3s. a week each, without deducting for holidays; the stonemasons and carpenters had 2s. 6d. a week, if it was a week with one or more holidays in it; for a week without holidays their wages were 3s.

<sup>1</sup> In 1451 the commons petitioned the king that John Hampton, with others, might be removed from about his person. (Guthrie's 'History of England,' vol. ii, p. 607.)

<sup>2</sup> Creasy.

<sup>3</sup> Issue Roll, 21 Hen. VI (Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 443).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 22 Hen. VI (Devon's 'Issues of the Exchequer,' p. 447).

The labourers had 4*d.* a day each, but were only paid for working days, which were on an average not more than five a week, as nothing was done on any of the festivals or fast-days in the calendar. Throughout the period of the works in Henry the Sixth's time the wages seem to have been much the same; skilled workmen, such as plumbers, sawyers, tilers, &c., receiving 6*d.* a day, and common labourers 4*d.* The same accounts give some curious information as to prices of various articles. Ale cost three halfpence per gallon; four skins of parchment cost 3*d.*; glue was 8*d.* per pound. The charge for sending a man to London is 2*s.*, which is stated to be at the rate of 8*d.* per day for his necessary expenses. This would seem to include entertainment for man and horse, as another item is—" *Ric. Halley, for his expenses riding to ye chaunshelers for ii comyssyounss, by ii dayes, at 8d. ye day, 1s. 4d.*" The Caen stone, which was imported for building the chapel, cost from 8*s.* to 9*s.* per ton. The ragg stone, which was brought from Boughton, near Maidstone, for the same purpose, cost 1*s.* per ton at the quarry; the carriage to London cost 1*s.* per ton, and the further carriage to Eton cost 1*s.* 4*d.* more. The stone for the Ashlar work, which was dug at Maidstone, was wrought at the quarry by workmen at the king's expense. About 16 or 20 feet of the stone thus wrought, made a ton. A hundred feet of Ashlar cost 9*s.*; the conveyance to London cost 6*s.* 11*d.*, and the further freight to Eton was 6*s.* 8*d.* more. Very large quantities of stone were also brought from Huddleston, and Stapulton in Yorkshire. This cost at the quarry 1*s.* per ton; the land-carriage to the River Humber was 1*s.*; thence it came down that river and by sea to the Tower of London; this cost 4*s.* a ton, and the further freight up the Thames to Eton was 1*s.* 4*d.* more. By an agreement with Bishop Wainfleet, a considerable quantity of stone was supplied from Heddington, near Oxford.<sup>1</sup> About the latter end of the second year of the building the brick-kiln was finished; this was at Slough. The bricklayers are then first dis-

<sup>1</sup> "It appears from accounts of monies received that Bishop Wainfleet allowed annually £75 15*s.* towards the works of the college; but for how long this was continued I know not. There are at this day (1761) remains of his arms in the glass of the windows of the chapel." (Huggett, Sloane MS., No. 4940, f. 203.)

tinctly mentioned in the accounts. They received 6*d.* per day each, with 2*d.* more to Robert Chirche, called the *Warden-layeer and Brekelayeer*. Large quantities of straw are mentioned in the accounts, which were brought to be used at the brick-kiln and for the workmen's beds. The straw, including carriage, cost some of it 10*d.*, and some 12*d.* per load. The bricks were principally burnt with thorns, but some sea coal was used, which cost 7*s.* a chaldron.

Sand was brought into the college at 1*d.* per load, from "the Sandepytt," which was "infra situm collegii."<sup>1</sup>

The chalk for lime was dug at a place called the "Lyme Hoste."<sup>2</sup>

Many bushels of oyster-shells, at 4*d.* the bushel, were used in the work. "They were only ye upper shells of oysters, and used where ye stones did not exactly fit, to thrust in among the mortar, and to *key up* ye work."<sup>3</sup>

Large quantities of flints were used. Some were dug at the "Lyme Hoste," but the greater part were brought from Little Marlow.

Iron was brought from London at the price of £5

<sup>1</sup> "The comon report is, that it was in ye garden now (1759) belonging to Mrs. Mary Young. Probably it was there, as it is near ye college, and there are ye remains of such a pitt to this day. This sand pitt lay some where in ye way between ye college and ye gravell pitt. For because of ye vast quantities of gravell brought to college (probably for ye filling up ye inside of ye chapel), and because in bringing it they trespassed upon some grounds which did not belong to ye college, ye said grounds were rented for this purpose, as by ye following article: 'Solut. Johi de Jurdelay, pro firma unius acre trē juxta le Sandepitts, occupat. et concullat interdū. in car. zabuli ad opus edificao'rs, per ann. ij.s. viij.d.' Now if we suppose the gravell pitt to have been in what is call'd Gravell Close (which is very probable), then the way from thence in a direct line to ye college must be very near to ye place where we have supposed the sand-pitt to have been." (Huggett MS., Sloane, No. 4840.)

<sup>2</sup> "Some chalk was brought from thence to the college, perhaps in large stones for ye inside of ye walls, but no very large quantity is accounted for. It is not stated where ye Lime Hoste was. By the price of carriage of the chalk from thence to the college, it should seem to be within a mile of the college. The carriage of sand and gravel from the pitt to the college was at a penny a load, from the college to Slough at 2*d.*, but ye chalk was from ye Hoste to ye college per lode 1½*d.* Probably from the distance of place, and nature of the soil, ye Lyme Hoste was in Windsor, under ye Castle Hill." (Huggett MS., Sloane, No. 4840.)

<sup>3</sup> Huggett MS., id.

and £5 8s. per ton, and lead from Derbyshire at £4 the fodre.<sup>1</sup>

Timber was brought in large quantities: oak from London, Easthampstead, Folly John Parke, Sunninghill, Chobham, Odiham, Kingswood (near Leeds, in Kent), Beaconsfield, Weybridge, Enfield, and Windsor Forest, and some even from Newark; elms from the immediate vicinity of Eton, namely, from the Wyke, Boveney, Taplow, Maidenhythe (Maidenhead), Horton, Langley, and "Bolleys Grove" (which is described as lying under Windsor Castle); and alders from Ditton Park.

The timber was placed in the "Timbre-haw," now called the Timbrells, where it was prepared for the building.

The following entry occurs as early as the twentieth year of the king's reign:

"To John Graylond, glasier, for makyng of ij. armes of  
the kynges, to ben sette in the windowes of the  
chirche . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
For v. fote and dim of glasse, at vj.d. ye fote . . . . . ii.s. iv.d."

In the first year of the building the wages of the workmen amounted to £6, £7, £8, and £9 per week. In the second year, the whole sum for wages was £712 19s. 1d.; the whole expense for work and materials accounted for was £1447 0s. 4d.<sup>2</sup>

The labourers were sharply fined for any fault. If they lost or broke anything it was stopped out of their wages. Fines on different labourers are entered: "*For chiding, 2d.*;" "*for playing, 2d.*;" "*for letting of his fellowes, 8d.*;" "*for looking about, 2d.*;" "*for telling of tales, 2d.*;" "*for shedding lime, 6d.*;" &c., &c. Only

<sup>1</sup> "For 9 fodre and halfe and 8 cwt. 0 q. 16 lb. of lede, with the carr.

from ye Peak on to ye coll., at £4 per fodre . . . . . £39 15 0

For 6 fodre 2 cwt. 3 q. 7 lb., from Derbyshire . . . . . 26 1 11

Note. A foder of lead at ye mines is 2250 lb. weight. This is all the lead that is accounted for." (Huggett MS., Sloane, No. 4840.)

<sup>2</sup> "How great soever this sum may appear, considering the times, it is probable that much more was expended than is here accounted for; for although in this second year there were no less than 457 tons of stone imported from Caen in Normandy to London, which was at 8s. and 9s. and 9s. 8d. per ton, yet only £128 6s. 2d. is here charged on account of the same." (Huggett MSS.)



one fine of a skilled workman is booked; it is of a stone-mason, who was fined 3*d.* for going away without licence.<sup>1</sup>

The dedication day (5th of June) was observed with great festivity; and, by an article in Hampton's accounts for 1442, it appears the workmen had an allowance extraordinary for the day, viz., "To the fyve diggers, in rewarde for the dedicacion day, at ii.*d.* a pece, by the kynge's command, x.*d.*"

No work was done on this day at the college.

Between the years 1440 and 1450, a great number of grants were made to the college, principally of property in the town and neighbourhood of Eton. It seems probable that a great number of houses were pulled down to make room for the new buildings. In the grant of ten acres of land in a close called the Warde, or the King's Warde, situate between the Thames and the Slough road, we may recognise a part at least of the present playing-fields.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These particulars are taken from the Huggett MSS., Sloane, No. 4840, and Professor Cressy's extracts in his work on Eton, already cited.

<sup>2</sup> A concise enumeration of some of the grants, especially of those in and near Eton, with their local description by metes and bounds, will not be out of place here.

By letters patent of the twenty-third year of his reign, and in the year 1444, the king confirmed various previous grants made by him to Eton College.

14th January, a. r. 20.—Two tuns of red Gascoigny wine, annually, for ever, to be delivered at the port of London.

31st January, a. r. 20.—A curtilage in Eton, bounded on the north by the cemetery of the college church, containing sixty feet in length and thirty feet in breadth, called "Hundercombesgardyne," recently purchased from William Whaplade, Nicholas Clopton, and John Faryndon, and one tenement, with its appurtenances, formerly belonging to John Rolff, called Rolveshawe, lying between a tenement of the king on the south part and land of the college, called "le Werde," on the north part, and extending from the public road leading from Wyndsor towards "le South" to a curtilage of the college; also one curtilage lying between a certain tenement of Walter Clay, on the south part, and a tenement lately of Robert Goodgrome, on the north part; and nine pence annual rent issuing out of the said tenement of the aforesaid Robert, and six pence annual rent issuing out of a tenement lately of Thomas Peet and Alice his wife; which tenements, curtilage, and rents were lately purchased by the king from Thomas Jourdelay, son and heir of John Jourdelay, of Eton aforesaid; and also two tenements lying together in Eton, of which one was formerly Richard Knyght's and the other William Haryes', and lying between the cemetery of the said church on the south part and land formerly of Walter Clay on the north, and extending from the king's highway leading through the middle of Eton, on the west part, and a curtilage of John Underico on the east part; which tenements were recently purchased by the king from Hugh Aylewyn, otherwise Dyer; and likewise a messuage and one curtilage adjoining in Eton, situate between a

By a grant bearing date the 7th of July, in the twenty-first year of the king's reign (1443), the burgesses of Windsor granted

house of William Symond on the one part and a house of Peter Eltham on the other part, in width, and extending lengthways from the aforesaid way leading through Eton to a certain path (?) lately leading towards the said college, which messuage and curtilage the king had lately purchased from the said Robert Goodgrome, otherwise Benorthe; also a moiety of one curtilage in Eton, lying between a tenement of the said Walter Clay on the south part and a tenement lately of the said Robert Goodgrome on the north side, and containing in length, from the said way leading through Eton, eighty feet, and in depth twenty-four feet; which moiety was lately purchased by the king from Alice, formerly the wife of John Honesworth, and Margaret, formerly the wife of John Water, of Eton; and also one messuage with its appurtenances in the same town, situate between the land formerly of William Rolff on the east part and the said highway leading through Eton on the west part, and between land of the said William on the south part and the said path lately leading towards the college on the north part, which messuage the king had acquired from the said Thomas Peet and Alice his wife by a fine levied in the king's court at Westminster, in Michaelmas Term preceding, before Richard Newton and his fellows, the king's justices.

August 9th following.—A piece of land in Eton, in which a capital messuage of the king was situated, containing one acre and three roods, measured by ["per perticam baronirum"], and ten acres of land lying together on the east part of the said college, in a certain close called "le Worthe," otherwise "le Warde," otherwise "le Kynges Warde," between the River Thames on the east part and a high way which leads from Eton towards "le Slough" on the west part; and also one acre of arable land lying in Lymecroft, in "le Southfeld," in Eton, between land of John Water on the north side and land of the king on the south, and extending from land of the king on the east part to the highway leading from Eton towards "le Wyke" on the east part, which acre, together with the advowson of the church of Eton, had been lately acquired by the king by the gift and concession of William Whaplade, Nicholas Clopton, and John Faryndon, esquires.

21st January, a. r. 23.—The reversion of a stream and fishery in the River Thames, called "Hevedewere," which John Byrkyn held for life from the king, and (the same day) a ton of red wine of Gascoigny at the port of London.

12th March following.—A general grant of all the royal property in Eton, released from all wardship of Windsor Castle and other services.

9th July following.—A grant of the privilege of holding two fairs at Eton, at a spot called "Mychelmyldeshey."

7th July, a. r. 21.—Grant by the burgesses of Windsor of the waters and fisheries of the Thames and the soil thereunder (held by them under the charter of Edward the First, leasing the town to them at a yearly rent), confirmed by letters patent of the king, on the 1st of October, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

1st February, a. r. 20.—Grant of a certain island, called "le Eyte" or "le Heyte," in Eton, situate between the River Thames on the south part and the college on the north part, which island abuts at the east end on the middle of the said water, and on the west end on a certaincroft called "Millecroft," formerly "Hundercombescroft."

8th June, a. r. 21.—Grant by the Prior of Merton, with the royal assent, of a stream in the Thames, in the parish of Upton, called from time immemorial "Bullokeslok," with

to Eton College the fishery in the river, and also the right of free passage over and under the bridge, which grant the king confirmed

the fisheries and waters appertaining thereto, namely, from the east angle of a piece of the king's land or close called "le Werde," on the west side, to a fishery in the same river called "Cokkeshole," on the east side, and with four "heytes" and their appurtenances; and the lands, tenements, fields, meadows, pastures, &c., called Michilmyl, Wardeshey, Millepond, otherwise Milledam, Comepenninge, inclosed together, and situate near Eton, that is to say, between the River Thames on the east part and the highway leading from New Windsor to "le Slough," and between the said land of the king called "le Warde" on the south part and the road leading from Spitalbrigg towards Daget [Datchet] on the north part, and extending along the bank of the Thames from the land called "le Werde" for forty feet beyond the said land called "Cowepennyng" on the west part.

8th February, a. r. 22.—Grant by the Prior and Convent of Merton of the tithes of Upton.

The king also made additional grants to the provost and college, including the Hospital of the Blessed Peter near Windsor, immediately after the death of William Normanton, clerk, who had a grant of it for his own life; and also the manor called "le Mote," together with all the lands and tenements, the property of the king, lately acquired by the gift and grant of William Marquis of Suffolk, John Noreys, William Parkyns, Richard Verney, and John Pury, esquires, situate in New Windsor, Old Windsor, and Clewer.

By the subsequent charter of the 25th Hen. VI (A.D. 1447) the king granted the manor of Langley Marreys; the manor of Wyrardesbury, parcel of the said manor of Langley; and all the lordships, lands, tenements, &c., lately belonging to Robert Hungerford, knight, Lord Moleyns, in the town and fields of Eton, and also in the towns of Old and New Windsor, held by Robert in right of his wife Alianor, the daughter and heiress of William Moleyns, knight, late Lord Moleyns, deceased.

By another charter of the 27th Hen. VI (A.D. 1449), the king also confirmed the following grants:

6th February, a. r. 24.—A mansion in Eton in which John Spicer lately dwelt, acquired by the king from John Wolfe, Hugh Dyer, and Richard Burton; and a grant by Hugh Ayllewyn of a dwelling house in Eton lately inhabited by him. The king also granted a messuage in Eton in which John Moddyng dwelt.

9th of February in the same year.—Fifteen acres of land in Eton, late part of the property of Richard Lovell, esquire, deceased, the son and heir of Margaret, the sister and one of the heiresses of John Hundrecombe, knight, lying between the toft called "Coldnorton" on the west part, and the king's way leading from the town of Eton to the hamlet called "le Slowe" on the east side, and land of the provost and college, formerly the property of Oliver de Burdeux, and land of Nicholas Whaddon on the south part, and land of the Prior and Convent of Merton and a ditch called "Coldnortondyche" on the north part, which fifteen acres of land were acquired by the king from Nicholas Clopton.

12th February, same year.—Two acres and a half in Eton, acquired by the king from Richard Grove and Elizabeth his wife. (*Vide* Chart., 20 Hen. VI (Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 45). Pat., 21 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 7; 22 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 2 and 8; 23 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 1 and 2; id., m. 12; id., m. 31; 24 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 20; id., m. 8 and 12 (pro Colleg. Regal. Cantabr. et Eton bis); id., m. 18 (Wittus Westbury Sacre Theologie Baccalareus primus Præpositus Colleg. de Eton); 25 Hen. VI (Rot. Parl., vol. v,

by his letters patent bearing date the 1st of October, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

There can be little doubt that the fishery spoken of here is that still existing at Blackpotts, and identical with the fishery mentioned in Domesday survey.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding this grant by the burgesses to the college, Henry the Sixth, in parliament at Westminster, the 14th of November, 1448, after reciting that the burgesses and true men of New Windsor had surrendered the waters and fisheries to him, by deed, on the 1st of September previously, regranted the same to the provost and college of Eton, that they and their successors for ever should have the same privileges, liberties, franchises, immunities, and "quietings" in the waters and fisheries, and the banks and the soil and ground thereof, as the burgesses and true men of Windsor ever had or ought to have had therein.<sup>3</sup>

By letters patent dated the 12th of March, in the twenty-third year of his reign, the king granted all his lands in the town and parish of Eton to Eton College, discharged, amongst other things, from wardship of Windsor Castle.<sup>4</sup>

In the same year he granted to the college, amongst other things, the Hospital of the Blessed Peter, near Windsor, to hold to them from the death of William Normanton, clerk, who held it for his life; and also the manor called "le Mote," and all lands and tenements, rents, reversions, and services, as well as woods, fields, meadows, and pastures, with their appurtenances, in New Windsor, Old Windsor, and Clewer, which had recently come into the king's hands by the gift and grant of William Marquis of Suffolk, John Noreys, William Parkyns, Richard Verney, and John Pury, esquires.<sup>5</sup>

p. 130 b); 26 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 35; 27 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 16 (pro Collegio de Eton de certis maneriis in com' Surr'); 28 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 18; 29 Hen. VI, p. i, m. 2; 30 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 30; 33 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 13 (pro Colleg. de Eton et Cantabr'); 36 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 16. See also two charters in Rot. Parl., vol. v, pp. 45 and 130 b, of 20 Hen. VI and 25 Hen. VI.)

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 159 b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. v, p. 77 b.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 341, note.

The Hospital of St. Peter mentioned in this charter is the hospital for lepers, situated at "Spital," and already alluded to.<sup>1</sup>

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Henry directed that no school was to be taught within ten miles of Eton;<sup>2</sup> and in the following year he granted to the college lands at Old and New Windsor, theretofore held by Robert Hungerford, Lord Moleyns.<sup>3</sup>

Henry also, by charter, granted to the college two fairs, with the accustomed privileges, to be held in a place in Eton called "Michelmlydeshey,"<sup>4</sup> or wherever else in the town or parish that the provost and college should appoint; the first to be held for the three common working days next following the *carnis*

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 313.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 131 a. See also the proviso in the Act of Resumption, 34 Hen. VI, as to these lands. (*Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 310 a.) Cardinal Beaufort having, in 1447, bequeathed or given, shortly before his death, a golden tablet, called "The Tablet of Burboyn," to Henry the Sixth, the king, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, granted it, with other relics, in the following terms, to Eton College: "Forasmuch as our most dear and beloved uncle of renowned memory, Henry, late Cardinal of England and Bishop of Winchester, out of the fervent love which he always testified for our good pleasure, kindly gave us in his lifetime a memorial and jewel, to us most acceptable, namely, that golden tablet, called the Tablet of Burboyn, containing several reliques of inestimable value, especially of the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we obtain the gift of life and salvation, and a fragment of the salutiferous wood of the Cross of our Lord, which leads us to a grateful remembrance of our redemption, and also of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother, and of his most blessed confessor Nicholas, and of Katherine the Virgin, and of other Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins; to the intent that we should deign to give and grant the said tablet to our beloved in Christ the Provost and our Royal College of the blessed Mary of Eton, near Windsor, founded by us in honour of the Assumption of the said most blessed Virgin Mary, that the aforesaid precious and revered reliques, there perpetually to remain to the praise of God and their own immortal magnificence, might by the faithful servants of Christ with the greater reverence for ever be worshipped, and moreover, as is becoming, in greater numbers and more festively: We, therefore, willing as we are bound to fulfil the pious and salutary desire of our aforesaid uncle, which had its origin and root in profound devotion and his great affection towards us, &c., have given and granted to the aforesaid Provost, &c., the jewel or tablet aforesaid, and the box belonging to the same, suitably adorned with silk and gold, to be had and held by the said Provost, &c., as the principal memorial and jewel, to remain in all future time according to the intent aforesaid." (Rot. Pat., 26 Hen. VI, p. ii, m. 35; 'Excerpta Historica,' pp. 43, 44, where see also the grant of arms to the College of Eton, enrolled 1st of January, 27 Hen. VI, and a grant of arms to Roger Keys, clerk, for his services during the building of the college, enrolled 19th of May, in the same year of the king's reign.)

<sup>4</sup> Chart., ab anno 21 usque 24 Hen. VI. See *ante*, p. 340, note.

*privium*, or Ash Wednesday, and the second to be holden for the six common working days next following the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (viz., August 15th).<sup>1</sup> For the better support of these fairs, and as an encouragement thereto, a strict prohibition was given to all purveyors, engrossers, &c., not to set or raise the prices of things contrary to the will of the provost and college. Licence was given to the said provost and college to try in their own court any disturbers of the peace in the said fairs; and moreover that all persons whatsoever, either going to or coming from the said fairs, should be exempt from all manner of arrests of justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, &c., as well in their persons as effects.<sup>2</sup> The king subsequently granted a market, with full liberties.<sup>3</sup>

In the twenty-second year of his reign it was declared that the college and town of Eton should be free from purveyors of the king's household, and from all other purveyors whatsoever, and that no officer should buy up provisions, nor make any demand of victuals, corn, cattle, carriages, or any manner of thing whatsoever, for the king's use, against the will of the provost and college and inhabitants of Eton, upon forfeiture of ten pounds, one moiety to the use of the king and the other moiety to the use of the college. Also that no person should take lodgings nor lodge in the said

<sup>1</sup> "The charter says the six working days following the Assumption, August 15th; but the act of parliament confirming this charter says the six days 'proxime sequent tertium decimum diem mensis Augusti.' It should probably be the 15th, as the Assumption was the grand festival for visiting the church, and the fair was the proper opportunity of supplying them with provisions." (Huggett, Sloane MS., No. 4543, f. 119.)

<sup>2</sup> Cart., r. Hen. VI, conf. p. Act. Parl., a<sup>o</sup> 24.

<sup>3</sup> Chart., 27 usque 39 Hen. VI. This grant of a market was founded on the following petition:

"To the King oure Sovereaine Lord, and oure Gracious Founder.—Please hit unto youre highnesse for to have in youre tender consideration how that youre College Roiall of oure most blessed Lady of Eton, and the inhabitants withynne the same toun, scolers, artificers, and laborers theder resortyng, have had many times hereafore, and yette have, grete scarstee of brede, ale, and other vitailles, for default of a markett in the same toun. Like hit unto youre highnesse, therefore, of youre most noble grace, to graunte unto your provost and college aforesaid that they mane have, to theym and their successeurs in perpetuite hereafter, a markett, to be holde the Wednesday wekely, in certain places that shal be assigned therfore withynne the seid toun, and theruppon to graunte your graciouse chartre, to be made under youre grete seel in due forme, according unto the tenour here following; and they shal evermore pray God for you." (Sloane MS., No. 4840, f. 139.)

town and parish without the consent of the provost, or, in his absence, of his deputy;<sup>1</sup> but that all the houses, lodgings, &c., in the said town and parish should be to the use of the scholars and other persons hitherto resorting on account of the said school and college, who, at the discretion of the said provost or his deputy, should be lodged herein. In case any person of the above town or parish should offend herein, he is declared subject to the like forfeiture of ten pounds, for the uses above mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

The works of the college do not seem to have proceeded with any great rapidity, for, by the will of Henry the Sixth, dated at Eton College, the 12th of March, A.D. 1447, and in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, particular directions are given as to the position and dimensions of the buildings at Eton as well as at Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, on the Feast of St. Thomas, 1443, Thomas Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and William Earl of Suffolk, as commissioners from the king, convened the whole college into the choir,<sup>4</sup> which, indeed, is said to be "*nondum consummata*" and "*non plene constructa*," but which probably was in part covered in, at least with some temporary covering, "as otherwise," Mr. Huggett observes, "they would scarce have stood during all the ceremony, at that season of the year, so long exposed to the open air."<sup>5</sup>

By act of parliament, holden at Westminster in the twenty-fourth of Henry the Sixth, the college and their tenants were (art. 3) freed from giving aids to and providing quarters for the king's officers, as marshals, stewards, escheators, coroners, bailiffs, or any other servants whatsoever, or to whomsoever they might

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Huggett says—"By virtue of this charter, or by the following act of parliament, 24 Hen. VI, art. 3, no soldiers nor officers are ever quartered in the town." (Sloane MS., No. 4843, f. 118.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the college was not made habitable (at least for the whole society) until the reign of Henry the Seventh." (Huggett MS., Sloane, No. 4840, f. 188.)

<sup>4</sup> In *choro ecclesie collegiate collegii*.

<sup>5</sup> "On the 24th December in ye same year, and but three days after ye execution of ye above commission, there is in Hampton's accounts this particular article, but whether it refers to the covering in of the choir I pretend not to say: '24th December. Jhon Lewes, in rewarde to him geven for setting uppon the chirche in the somer saison, 15 weekes, 5s.'" (Huggett MS., Sloane, No. 4840.)

belong; also, that no duke, marquis, earl, baron, or any other great men, should be lodged, entertained, or should take up their lodgings in the houses of the said college or of any of their tenants. And by art. 27 it was provided that if any fellow, clerk, scholar, or chorister, or any other servant or minister of the provost and college, should assault any college servant or minister within the bounds of the college, or in the town of Eton, provided it be not to the loss of a limb, the provost (or his *locum tenens*) should take cognizance of the same and inflict the punishment; nor should any of the king's officers intermeddle therein.

The king, in his will above mentioned, after reciting that he had previously conveyed to the Cardinal Archbishop of York, and a number of other feoffees, certain estates, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, to the clear yearly value of £3395 11s. 7d.,<sup>1</sup> proceeds to declare and notify to them his will and desire concerning the same in these words:

"First, forasmuch as it hath pleased our Lorde God for to suffer and graunte me grace for the primer<sup>2</sup> notable workes purposed by me after that I, by His blessed sufferaunce, tooke unto myself the rule of my said realmes, for to erect, found, and stablish, unto the honour and worship of His name specially, and of the Blessed Virgin our Ladie St. Marie, encrease of virtues and dilatation of conning<sup>3</sup> and stablishment of Christian faith, my two colleges roiall, one called the Colledge Roiall of our Ladie of Eton beside Windesor, and the other called the Colledge Roiall of oure Ladie and St. Nicholas of Cambridge, the edifications of which colleges, now by me begonn, advised, and appointed, in manner and forme as hereafter followeth, may not be perfectly accomplished without great and notable workes assigned and purveied thereunto; I will, pray, and charge mine own feoffies, that unto the time that the said edifications and other workes of bridges, conduicts, cloysters, and other thinges begonn and advised by me in either of the

<sup>1</sup> The will thus commences: "In the name of the Blessed Trinity, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, oure Lady St. Marie mother of Christ, and all the holy companie of heaven: I, Henry, by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lorde of Ireland, after the conquest of England the Sixt, for divers great and notable causes moving me at the makeing of theise presents, have do [a common phrase for *have caused*] my will and mine intent to be written in manner that followeth," &c.

<sup>2</sup> Query, great or important.

<sup>3</sup> Knowledge.



said colleges, be fully performed and accomplished in notable wise then any of my said realme of England; they see that my said colleges, accordinge to the forme of generall graunts by me unto them made in that behalfe, have and perceive<sup>1</sup> yeerlie of yssues, profits, and revenues coming of the aforesaid castells, lordships, mannors, lands, tenements, rents, services, and other possessions, by the hands of the tenants, farmers, occupiers, and receivers of the same, 2000*lib.* for the edifications and workes abovesayd; that is to say, to the provost of my said College of Eton, for the workes there yeerlie, 1000*lib.*, and to the provost of my said College of Cambridge, for the edifications and workes there yeerlie, 1000*lib.*, from the Feast of St. Michael last past unto the ende of the terme of twenty yeeres then next following, and fully and compleat; and if it be so that the edifications of my said colleges, or either of them, according unto my said devise and appointment herein conteyned, shall not be fully accomplished and finished within the said tearme of twenty yeares, I will then pray and charge my said feoffees that they do graunt unto either of my said colleges 1000*lib.*, to be taken yeerlie from the end of the said tearme of twenty years finished unto the time of the edifications of the one of my said colleges be fully accomplished and performed, the yssues, profits, and revenues abovesayd; and that after the finishment of the edifications of one of the said colleges, the said yeerlie 2000*lib.* in sembable wise to be granted to the other of the same colleges whose edifications shall not be then finished, to have and perceive of the issues, profits, and revenues abovesayd, unto the time of the edification of the same college, to be fully finished and performed; which edifications of my said college I have fully devised and appointed to be accomplished in this wise: that is to wit,

“ THE COLLEGE OF ETON.

“ I will that the quier of my sayd College of Eton shall conteyne in length 103 fete of assize,<sup>2</sup> wherof behinde the high altare shall be 8 fete, and from the said altare to the quier dore 95 fete. Item, the same quier shall conteyn in breadth, from side to side within the respondes,<sup>3</sup> 20 fete. Item, the grounde of wall shall be enhanced higher than they be now on the utter side, ere it come to the layinge of the first stone of the clere wall, 10 fete of assize. Item, the wall of the sayd quier shall conteyn in height, fro the grounde workes unto the crest of the battlement, 80 feet of assize. Item, in the east ende

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, Receive.

<sup>2</sup> Statuteable feet.

<sup>3</sup> Query, parallel correspondent walls or aides.

of the said quier shall be sat a great gable window of 7 dayes and two butteraces, and either side of the said quier 7 windowes, every windowe of foure dayes and eight butteraces, conteyning in height, from the ground workes unto the over parte of the pinnacles, 100 fete of assize. Item, that the said groundes be so taken, that the first stone lye in the middle of the high altare, which altare shall conteyne in length 12 fete of assize, and in breadth 5 fete; and that the first stone be not removed, touched, nor stirred, in any wise. Item, the vestry to be set on the north side of the same quier, which shall conteyne in length 50 feet of assize, departed into two houses, and in breadth 24 fete, and the wall in heighth 20 fete, with gable windowes and side windowes convenient thereto, and the grounde workes to be sette in the height of the grounde of the cloyster. And I will that the edification of my said College of Eton proceed in large forme, cleane and substantially, well replenished with goodly windowes, and vaults, laying apart superfluitie of too great curious workes of entaile and busy mouldinge. Item, in the said quier on every side 32 stalles and the wode lofte there, I will that they be made in manner and forme like the stalles and wode loft in the Chappell of St. Stephen at Westminster, and of the length of 32 feete, and in breadthe clear 12 fete of assize; and as touching the dimensions of the church of my said College of Eton, I have devised and appointed that the body of the same church between the yles shall conteyne in breadth, within the respondes, 32 feete, and in length, from the quier dore to the west dore of the said church, 104 feete of assize; and so the said body of the church shall be longer than is the quier, from the reredosse<sup>1</sup> at the high altar unto the quier, by 9 feete, which dimension is thought to be a right, good, convenient, and due proportion. Item, I have devised and appointed that the yle on the other side of the body of the church shall conteyn in breadth, fro respond to respond, 15 feete, and in length 104 feete, accordinge to the said body of the church. Item, in the south side of the body of the church a faier large dore with a porch, and the same for christeninge of children and weddinges. Item, I have devised and appointed six greces<sup>2</sup> to be before the high altare, with the grece called Gradus Choir, every of them conteyning in heighth 6 ynches, and of convenient breadth, every of them as due forme shall require. Item, in the breadth of the church yearde, from the church dore unto the wall of the church yeard within the wall of the west end, which must be take of the streete beside the high way sixe foote of assize. Item, the grounde of the cloyster to be enhaunsed higher than the olde grounde

<sup>1</sup> Screen at the back of the high altar.

<sup>2</sup> Steps, *gressus*.

8 feete ere it come to the pavement, so that it be sett but two foote lower then the paving of the church, which cloistre shall conteyn in length, est and west, 200 feete, and in breadth, north and south, 160 feete of assize. Item, the said cloistre shall close unto the church on the north side at the west end, and at the north side at the east end of the church it shall be close unto the college, with a dore into the said college. Item, the said cloistre shall conteyne in breadth within the walls 15 fete, and in height 20 fete, with clere stories round about inward, and vawted, and embattelled on both sides. Item, the space between the wall of the church and the wall of the cloister shall conteyne 38 feete, which is left for to sett in certaine trees and flowers, behovable and convenient for the service of the same church. Item, the cemetery of the same church shall be lower than the paving of the cloister 4 feete of assize, with as many greces up into the church dore as shall be convenient thereto. Item, in the middle of the west of the said cloister a great square tower, with a faire dore into the cloister, which tower shall containe cleare within the wall 20 feete, and in height with the battlement and the pinnacles 140 feete. Item, from the highway on the south side unto the wall of the college a good high wall, with towers convenient thereto; and in likewise from thence by the water's side, and about the gardens, and all the precincte of the place round about by the high way, until it come to the cloyster and on the west side again. Item, that the water at Baldwyne Brige<sup>1</sup> be turned overthwart into the river of Thamise, with a ditch of 40 foote of breadth, and the ground between the same ditch and the college arised of a great height, so that it may at all floods be plain and dry ground, where there will be in distance from the hall to the water at all times of dry ground 80 feete.

"And as touching the dimensions of the howsinge of my said College of Eton, I have devised and apointed that the south wall of the precincte of the said college, which shall extend from the tenement that Heugh Dyer now holdeth and occupieth unto the est ende of the gardens after long<sup>2</sup> the water's side, shall containe in length 1440 feete of assize, with a large doore in the same wall to the water's side. Item, the est wall of the same precincte, which shall extend from the water's side to the high way at the newe bridge at the est end of the gardens, shall containe in length 1200 feete of assize. Item, the north wall of the said precincte, which shall extend fro the est end of the gardens after long the high way unto the south west corner of the same precincte, shall containe in length 1040 feete of assize, in which

<sup>1</sup> See mention made of this bridge, *ante*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Along.

wall shall be a fairer gate out of the utter<sup>1</sup> court into the high way. Item, the west wall of the same precinct, which shall extend fro the said west corner of the same precinct unto the said tenement which the said Hew Dyer now occupieth, shall containe in length 1010 feete; and so the utter walls of the said precinct shall containe in length about the same precinct 4690 feete of assize. Item, betwixt the said north wall of the said precinct and the walles of the college in the utter court of the east part of the gate, and the way into the college, shall be edified diverse howses necessary for the bake-howse, brew-howse, garners, stables, hey-howse, with chambers for the steward, auditor, and other learned counsell and ministers of the same college, and other lodgings necessarie for such persons of the same college as shall happ to be diseased with infirmities. Item, in the west part of the same gate, and the way into the college, on the north pane,<sup>2</sup> 8 chambers for the poore men, and in the west pane 6 chambers, and behind the same a kitchin, buttry, pantry, and a ground for the said poore men. Item, the north pane of the college shall contain 155 feete within the walles, in the middle of the which shall be a fairer tower and a gate howse, with two chambers on either side and two chambers above, vaulted, containing in length 40 feete and in breadth 24 feete; and in the est side of the same gate 4 chambers, 2 beneth and 2 above, every of them in length 35 feete and in breadth 24 feete; and in the west side of the same gate a school-howse beneath, of 70 feete in length, and in breadth 24 feete. Item, the est pane in length within the walles 230 feete, in the middle whereof, directly against the entring at the cloister, a library, containing in length 52 feete and in breadth 24 feete, with three chambers above, one the one side, and fower on the other side, and beneath 9 chambers, every of them in length 26 feete and in breadth 18 feete, with five utter towers and five inner towers. Item, the west pane of the said college 230 feete in length, in the which shall be, directly against the library, a dorre into the cloister, and above 8 chambers, and beneth other 8 chambers, with 3 outer towers beyond the north side of the cloistre, and 5 inner towers, with a way into the quier for the ministers of the church between the vestry and the same quier. Item, the south pane in length 155 feete, in which shall stand the hall, with a vaute underneath for the buttry, a cellour, containing in length 82 feete and in breadth 32 feete, with two bay windowes, one inward and the other outward, with a tower over the hall-doore, and at the est end of the hall a pantry, with a chambre beneath, and at the west end of the hall the provoste's lodging above and beneath, containing in length 70 feete, with a corner tower inward,

<sup>1</sup> Outer.<sup>2</sup> Side.

and another without; and on the south side of the hall a goodly kitchen, and in the middle of the quadrant<sup>1</sup> a goodly conduit within goodly devised, for the use and profit of the said college. Item, the height fro the streete to the enhansing of the ground of the cemetery 7 feete di., and the same wall in height above that 5 feete di., with greeces out of the way into the same pane, as many as shall be convenient. Item, that the quadrant within the college, and the utter court, be but a foote lower than the cloister. Item, all the walles of the said college of the utter court, and of the walles of the precinct about the gardens, and as far as the precinct shall goe, to be made of the hard stone of Kent. And the said gardens to be enhansed with earth to the heighth of a foote lower than the cemetery of the church."

The will then proceeds to give similar minute instructions as to the college at Cambridge, and to define the sums to be paid to the artificers out of the yearly revenues of the estates before mentioned, followed by a similar clause as to Eton in these terms :

"And in semblable wise, I will that my said College of Eton have and receive yearly, during the edifications thereof, of the same yssues, profit, and revenues, 12*lib.*, for the yearly wages and rewards of the officers and ministers belonging to the workes there; that is to wit, for the master of the workes there, 50*lib.*; for the clercke of the workes, 13*lib.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for another clercke or comptroller of the workes, 13*lib.* 6*sh.* 8*d.*; the chief mason, 13*lib.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for the chief carpenter, 10*lib.*; for the chief smith, 6*lib.* 13*sh.* 4*d.*; and for two purveyors, either of them 6*d.* by the day, 18*lib.* 5*s.* 6*d.*"

In addition to the £1000 a year given to each of the colleges as already mentioned, the king gave to them £1000 each "of sufficient and good gold, and of sufficient weight" of lawful coin, "as a treasure for them, to be kepte within them for diverse great causes," and to Eton £200 in money, "for to purvey them books, to the pleasure of God and weale of my same college. The same sum for Cambridge was "for to stuff them with jewells for the service of God, in the same college."

It is evident from the particulars mentioned in this instrument that the church of the college was designed on a much larger scale than was ultimately carried out. The present chapel appears to be

<sup>1</sup> Quadrangle.

merely that part designed for the body of the church, without the aisle on the north or the choir on the east.<sup>1</sup>

The first statutes of the college were drawn up in 1443, and in that year William Waynflete, the provost, and the first fellows, clerks, and other members of the college, were sworn in. A more complete body of statutes was published by the founder in 1446.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that the chapel of the college occupied, or was intended to occupy, the precise site of the then existing church. Professor Creasy says—"The old parish church of Eton was pulled down, and a new edifice erected in its stead, which was to serve both as a parochial church and as a collegiate chapel." It has been already stated, however, that the site of the old parish church is supposed to have been in King's Stable Street, some distance from the college chapel, and there is reason to believe that it long survived the foundation of the college buildings. (See Lysons' '*Magna Brit.*' and *ante*, p. 60.)

<sup>2</sup> The following are the heads of these statutes: (Chapter 1) Intention and institution of the founder. (2) Of the total number of scholars, clerks, priests, and other persons in the college. (3) Who and what sort of persons are to be elected scholars for our aforesaid King's College (of Eton). (4) Of the election of scholars for the Royal College of our Lady of Eton and the King's College of our Lady and St. Nicholas of Cambridge, to be held every year in our said college (of Eton). (5) That the aforesaid colleges shall mutually assist one another in causes, suits, and business. (6) Oath to be taken by the scholars of Eton College, immediately after completing the fifteenth year of their age. (7) Of the election of the provost of our said college (of Eton), and of his oath. (8) Of the duties of the provost of our King's College (of Eton). (9) Of the mode and form of electing fellows for life for the college, and of the oath to be taken by them. (10) Of the number of chaplains, clerks, and choristers, and of their duties, services, and stipends. (11) Wherein the fellows (who are priests), the chaplains, clerks, scholars, and other officials are to obey the provost. (12) Of the vice-provost, precentor, and vestry-clerk, and of their duties and oaths. (13) The bursars, and their duties. (14) Of the head master and the usher under him, and their oaths. (15) What weekly allowances for commons are to be given to the provost, fellows, chaplains, and other persons of the aforesaid King's College (of Eton). (16) Of the appointment of seats; how the provost, vice-provost, fellows, chaplains, scholars, clerks, and choristers are to sit at table and during the reading of the Bible. (17) Against loitering in the hall after dinner and supper. (18) Against introducing strangers, to be a burden to the college. (19) That the fellows and scholars are not to absent themselves, nor to keep dogs, nor carry arms, nor practise ungentlemanly or hazardous games. (20) What allowance for their expenses shall be made to those fellows who shall have been sent upon business of the college. (21) That there shall be no detractors, conspirators, plotters, or slanderers in the college. (22) Of corrections to be inflicted for offences of less enormity. (23) In what way assistance is to be given to the fellows (who are priests), and to the scholars, chaplains, clerks, choristers, and other persons of the college, in case of illness. (24) For what causes the provost may and ought to be removed from the college; the mode and form of removing him; and the assistance to be given him, if removed for honorable causes. (25) On what reasonable and honorable grounds the fellows for life (who are priests) ought finally to depart from the college. (26) For what causes the scholars and choristers ought to be removed from the said King's College. (27) For what crimes,

He also, according to a power which he had reserved to himself, granted, in 1454, his letters patent to the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, authorising them to correct and reform the statutes

offences, and excesses, the fellows (who are priests) ought to be altogether removed and expelled from the said King's College. (28) Of the provost's portion; and that of the fellows (who are priests) and the other officials of the college. (29) Of the general annual livery of clothes. (30) Of the prayers, orisons, and other services; to be celebrated daily by the provost, and fellows for life (who are priests), chaplains, clerks, scholars, and choristers. (31) Of the mode of saying masses, matins, and other canonical prayers in the collegiate church; and of the order of standing in the choir of the said church. (32) Of maintaining silence in the church, that those who sing and read in it may not be disturbed. (33) That the provost is to seek the consent of the fellows in the more serious business of the college. (34) Against alienating the manors, possessions, advowsons, and church patronage of the college. (35) Of the seal, and common chests, and inventory. (36) Of the apportionment of the rooms. (37) Of maintaining and repairing the hall and church, and the other buildings of the college. (38) Of the college servants; and that the menial offices of the said college shall be discharged by males. (39) Of the superintendence of manors, and the accounts of the college servants; and the time at which they should be given in. (40) How the auditors of the accounts are to intimate to the rest of the fellows the state of the college after the accounts. (41) How the bursars (when their accounts have been given in) and other officers are bound to render and deliver up to the provost the keys of their offices. (42) Of preparing indentures of the accounts, after the accounts themselves have been drawn up; which indentures are to remain in the custody of the provost and bursars. (43) Of the examinations, or chapters, which are to be celebrated in the college three times in the year; and of the reading of the statutes. (44) Of preserving, and against alienating, the books of the college. (45) Of the custody of the statutes of the College of Eton and of our King's College of Cambridge. (46) Of dancing, wrestling, and other disorderly sports, which are not to take place in the church or in the hall, &c. (47) Against respect of persons in the college. (48) Of shutting the college gates; and against the introduction of females into it. (49) Of the metropolitan visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the ordinary visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln, to be held, by themselves or their deputies, in the said college. (50) The oath of the chaplains, clerks, and servants. (51) Statutes and ordinances concerning the paupers. (52) Of the total number of paupers, and what sort of persons they should be; and their duties. (53) Of electing paupers in the case of vacancies, and who are to be preferred. (54) Of the oath of paupers on their admission. (55) Of the management and dress of the paupers. (56) Of the prayers and orisons to be said daily by each pauper. (57) The paupers are to obey the provost; and how they must otherwise demean themselves. (58) Of the provision the paupers are to receive from the college for their support. (59) For what reasons the paupers should leave or finally remove from the house. (60) For observing hospitality, &c. (61) End and conclusion of all the statutes.—**ADDENDA BY THE FOUNDER:** (62) An oath to be taken by fellows on their admission, in addition to that previously imposed in the statutes. (63) That all fellows raised to the rank of bishops must be present in the College of Eton on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (64) Other provisions in case of deficiency in the college revenues; principally with regard to portions, and the diminution of the number of persons who are members of the college.

during his life. Some additions were accordingly made by these prelates to the body of the statutes, which then were finally completed.

The royal founder, in his statutes, greatly enlarged the members of his college as mentioned in the original charter, his final design comprising seventy scholars instead of twenty-five, and adding also an usher for the school, a parish clerk,<sup>1</sup> and two more choristers, but reducing the number of the alms-men from twenty-five to thirteen.<sup>2</sup>

At a subsequent period some alteration was made in the number of the foundation, which now consists of a provost, vice-provost, six fellows, two chaplains, ten choristers, the upper and

<sup>1</sup> By the statutes, the parish clerk is to be chosen from the scholars of the school, if such an one may properly be had, and willing to undertake the same. He must be of honest repute, sufficiently skilled in reading and chanting according to the use of the church of Sarum, or must shortly be instructed in the same. Moreover, he must be so far of the clerical order as to have the first tonsure.

His office is to consist chiefly in seeing to the sacramentalia, when the sacraments shall be administered to the parishioners; in chiming the bells; and, in short, doing what is properly the duty of a parish clerk. In these several offices, but more particularly as to chiming the bells, he is to be assisted by two of the inferior clerks, by the thirteen young men (*juvenes*), and also by the under porter, the under butler, the two under cooks, the gardener, the baker, and the grooms of the stable, as necessity shall require.

If after having been rebuked for a fault he shall offend therein a second time, he shall be mulcted a penny or twopence, and if refractory shall be expelled.

His salary is five marks, or £3 6s. 8d., per annum, besides what he may receive of the parishioners.

His allowance for commons is the same with the scholars, namely, 10d. per week, and which (as theirs also is) may, in cases of distress, be reduced to 8d. and to 7d. per week.

It is his duty also, with the other inferior clerks, to wait in the hall at some of the tables while the provost, fellows, chaplains, &c., are at meals; to bring up the messes to the provost's, fellows', or chaplains' table, as directed by the provost; and to wait with proper reverence; and after the hall rises, he, with the other inferior clerks and college servants, is to take his meals "in secundis refectonibus."

He, with the other five inferior clerks, is allowed for double commons on the appointed festivals, at about 3½d. among them for each festival. (Sloane MS., No. 4841, f. 77.)

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the Eton statutes, made by the Rev. Robert Hugget, is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Sloane, No. 4844. These statutes were printed in the Appendix to the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the State of Education among the Lower Orders, A.D. 1818, and are reprinted in Heywood and Wright's 'Ancient Laws of the Fifteenth Century for King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College.'



lower master, and the seventy king's scholars, besides officers and servants belonging to the college.<sup>1</sup>

Long before the fabric of the building was completed, arrangements were made for supplying the college with books and vestments. In 1446, the provosts and fellows of the two colleges of Eton and Cambridge petitioned the king "that as these newe growyne colages are not sufficientlie seized of bokes for divine service and for their libraries, vestments, and other conveniences," he would be pleased to order Richard Chestre, one of his chaplains, to take to him "suche men as shall be sen to him expedient, in order to get knowlege where such bokes, &c., may be had, payinge a reasonable pris for ye same, and yt suche men mighte have ye ferste choise of such bokes, ornaments, &c., before any other man; and in especiall of all maner of bokes, ornaments, and other necessities as nowe late were perteynyng to ye Duk of Gloucester," and that the king would "particular cause to be employd herein John Pye, his stationer, of London."<sup>2</sup>

In the same year, Robert Cocksale, "vestment maker," presented a petition to the king, "mekely" beseeching him, and relating that Maister John Langton, late Bishop of St. David's, had ordered the petitioner "to make certayn vestimentes of white damask of diverser sortes, rychely embrowdered, as well for your Colage Roiale of our Lady of Eton, as for your Colage Royall of our Lady and St. Nicolas of Cambrygge, for the which vestiments there is due unto your seid oratour ccxl. l. xix. s. iij. d.," and praying that he might be permitted to keep the vestments until payment, without interruption from the king, his officers or ministers, or other person

<sup>1</sup> Professor Creasy. See also Dugdale's 'Monasticon' (edit. 1830), citing Tanner. "Scholars are still elected into King's College solely from among the foundation students of Eton College, and when resident in Cambridge these scholars do not take any part in the ordinary examinations of the university. Mathematics are in some houses insisted upon at Eton; but the training of King's College has been so much separated from the examinations of Cambridge, that the fellows of King's who are elected to tutorships at Eton have usually educated the boys intrusted to their tuition in their own peculiar study of classics, and classical Oxford has been frequently preferred by Etonians to the more mathematical university of Cambridge." (Preface to Haywood and Wright's 'Ancient Laws of King's College and Eton,' p. xiv.)

<sup>2</sup> MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 154.

whatsoever. The petition was granted by the king at Newbury, on the 19th of August, a. r. 25.<sup>1</sup>

In the previous year the Prior of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, assigned to King Henry the holy reliques of John the Confessor, formerly (A.D. 1361) prior of that monastery, a reputed saint, and at whose tomb numerous miracles were said to have been performed. The relics, consisting of the joint of a finger and the joint of a back-bone, were given by the king to Eton.<sup>2</sup>

In 1457, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester agreed to give the Priory of Pembroke in South Wales to the Abbot and Monastery of St. Albans, in exchange for certain ornaments and jewels, but dying (as it seems) before the arrangement was effected, the king purchased the jewels, &c., for the use of his two colleges of Eton and King's, for the sum of £600.<sup>3</sup>

In 1448, a painted image of the Virgin Mary was provided for the chapel.<sup>4</sup>

By the ancient laws of King's and Eton, the appointment of the provost in each of these colleges was left in the hands of the fellows, but for a length of time it appears to have belonged, in fact, to the crown. The appointment of the provost of King's remained in the crown until 1689, when it was regained by the college; but the provostship of Eton still remains in the gift of the crown.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Archæologia,' vol. xvi, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4840, f. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., f. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Anno 27 Hen. VI.

"Solut. Johi. Massigham, p. factur <sup>r</sup> ymaginis bte. Marie, secundu <sup>r</sup>	
comemco'em inde sectam ex precepto regis	£10 0 0
Solut. Robto. Hicklyng, pictori, pro pictura ymaginis bte. Marie	6 13 4
Pro Carr. ymaginis B. M., Londo <sup>r</sup> usq ad Eto <sup>r</sup> una cu <sup>r</sup> tabul. et claw,	
pro una cista fact.	0 13 4."

(MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 170.) Mr. Huggett says—"This image of the Virgin was probably placed on the north side of the choir, opposite to the image of the founder, for before the alteration of the chapel (in 1700), against the south wall was a wooden monument, painted with a man holding forth a sceptre, with the arms of France and England quartered on one side, and on the other the arms of the college, and under written—"Henricus Sextus, fundator.'" (Ibid., f. 171.) And in the margin Mr. Huggett has added—"It has been said Queen Caroline [the queen of George the Second] desired this image for the Hermitage in Richmond Park. 'Tis certain she had it not." (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Haywood and Wright's 'Ancient Laws,' &c., Preface, p. xv.

Besides the almshouses for the thirteen poor men of the foundation, another house was to be built near them, sufficient to hold five convenient beds, for the reception of ten poor travelling persons, who should be admitted and entertained at the college expense, with beds and bedding and meat and drink for one day and one night, but not for any longer period, unless they should happen to be taken so very ill as not conveniently to be removed; and such hospitality was to be kept daily for ten such necessitous travellers or pilgrims throughout the year. With regard to common beggars the provost, or vice-provost, was not obliged to take them in, unless under particular circumstances of distress.

Neither the almshouses nor the hospitium for travellers appear ever to have been built, although there certainly were persons nominated as almsmen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Huggett, writing about the middle of the eighteenth century, says, in a somewhat captious spirit—"Had the money lately expended upon the building the attic story, wood houses for the fellows, and separate rooms for one of them at the south-east angle of the college (to the amount of about £2200), been laid out in building almshouses for these poor men, there might not only such almshouses have been built therewith, but almost enough left of the same for the endowment thereof, and that even for the full number of almsmen." (Sloane MS., No. 4841, f. 303, 304.)

In the statutes and ordinances made for the almsmen, the founder declares that the establishment of his college was not only for the enlargement of divine worship, and for increase of clergy, but also in the hope that the charity by him here allotted for the support of Christ's poor distressed members would for ever be continued to them; to the end that, by his thus receiving them into his house, and giving them bread to eat and clothing to put on (which, he observes, God accepts of, as done to Himself), they might in the extreme judgment stand as witnesses for him, at the Grand Tribunal, of his works of charity.

The particular qualifications previous to their admission were that they be poor, infirm people, not maimed, nor leprous, nor lunatic, nor mad, nor epileptic, nor dumb, nor labouring under any such incurable disease which might make them frightful to others; or, if young men, that they be such who, without their own fault, were maimed in or otherwise deprived of the use of their limbs, and so as that they could not get their own living, nor have of their own, or from their friends, any sufficiency hereunto.

Of these almsmen, one, at the nomination of the provost, was to preside over the rest with the title of "guardian." His business was to see that the rest behave decently in their habits, their houses, their meals, that they are every night at home, and observe the several rules prescribed to them. He was to acquaint the provost (or, in his absence, the vice-provost) of whatever he found amiss.

After the decease of the king, who was to have the first nomination, the election of almsmen was to be at the nomination of the provost (or, in his absence, of the vice-provost), but with the consent of the major part of the fellows then present. Every

The school was speedily resorted to as a place of education by the sons of the higher orders, as well as by the class for whose immediate advantage the benefits of the foundation were primarily designed. The vicinity of Eton to Windsor, the usual place of royal residence and of the court, probably aided much to make Eton, from its very commencement, the first place of education in the land. There is an interesting anecdote preserved, apparently first told by one of King Henry's chaplains, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, which shows both how early the school was frequented by the connexions of the king's attendants, and the gentle but earnest anxiety of the founder for his young alumni:<sup>1</sup>

"When King Henry met some of the students in Windsor

vacancy was to be filled up as soon as it might be conveniently done, yet within a month at farthest. In every such election due regard was to be had—1. To the poor parishioners of Eton, and especially if at any time they have been servants or helpers of the college. 2. Next to these were to be elected the parishioners or tenants in those several places or parishes where the college have any estates, such of them more especially who had met with losses by fire, robbery, murrain, &c., and who were so reduced as not to be able to support themselves without being driven to common beggary.

Before admission they were to take an oath as to their poverty, and of submission to the provost, and that any goods left at their death should be for the use of the almsmen.

They were never to go out of their apartments without a tabard of black russet reaching almost down to their ancles, and a cap of the same. Upon the tabard, on the right side, was to be a cross of white cloth in a certain form, as devised by the founder. Moreover, whenever they went abroad they shall carry their orisons (*precule*) in their hands, or hung round their necks, or tied to their girdles.

Besides their private set form of prayers, they were daily to attend the public service of the chapel, yet to come only in the nave of the same (or ante-chapel), where they had each his stall. They were more particularly required to be present at the mass preceding the election of a provost, and there earnestly to pray to God to favour the said election in the choice of a worthy provost. If they were too infirm to attend the stated services, one of the chaplains, at the appointment of the provost, was to celebrate mass for them at a portable altar purposely built for such occasions.

They were not to be street-walkers, nor to frequent public houses, nor play at dice or pile, nor be noisy, nor give bad language, nor swear, nor be drunken. They were not to beg about the country nor in the town, nor at the church, nor were they to receive anything from any one, unless freely offered out of pure charity. They were not to follow any trade, nor to go out to labour for gain, but to live like such poor as are maintained by charity, and to give up themselves wholly to God, in prayers and watchings and fastings, and devout and holy contemplations.

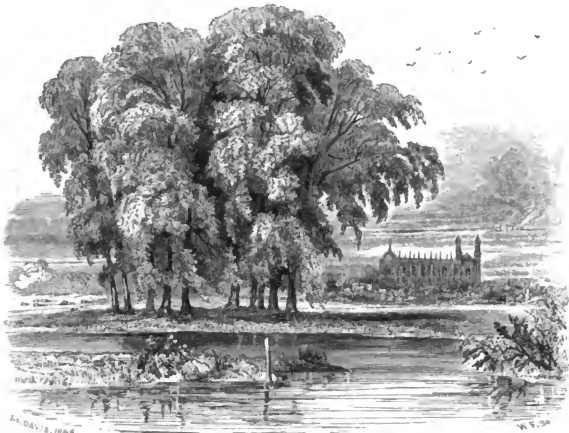
<sup>1</sup> Professor Creasy.

Castle, whither they sometimes used to go to visit the king's servants whom they knew, on ascertaining who they were, he admonished them to follow the path of virtue; and, besides his words, would give them money to win over their good-will, saying to them, 'Be good boys; be gentle and docile, and servants of the Lord.'"<sup>1</sup>

Eton College now occupies a station in this country far beyond the designs of the founder, for her school-rooms are crowded by between six and seven hundred of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of the land, in addition to the number of foundation scholars.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Sitis boni pueri; mites et docibiles, et servi Domini." (MS. Sloane, Brit. Mus., No. 4843, f. 450, cited by Professor Creasy. Mr. Huggett says—"It is probable the relator was a court chaplain, for he speaks of himself as officiating about the king, from which we may conclude he was an eye-witness to what is here related.")

<sup>2</sup> Haywood and Wright's 'Ancient Laws,' &c.



Eton College and the Brocas Elms from Clewer Meadows

## CHAPTER XV.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD THE FOURTH AND EDWARD THE FIFTH.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1461. SIR JOHN BOURCHIER, LORD BERNERS.

A.D. 1474. SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

A.D. 1462. JOHN FAUX.

A.D. 1473. WILLIAM DUDLEY.

A.D. 1470. WILLIAM MERLAND.

A.D. 1476. PETER COURTNEY.

A.D. 1471. JOHN DAVISON.

A.D. 1478. RICHARD BEAUCHAMP.

A.D. 1481. THOMAS DANETT.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1466. WILLIAM EYNTON AND HENRY FRANCEYS.

A.D. 1471. RICHARD LOVELL AND WILLIAM EYNYNGTON.

A.D. 1476. JOHN JOYE AND WILLIAM EYNYNGTON.

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#### PROVOSTS OF ETON.

A.D. 1461. WILLIAM WESTBURY.

A.D. 1477. HENRY BOST.

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Charter of Confirmation, 2 Edw. IV—Charter, 6 Edw. IV—Proviso in Acts of Resumption—Dr. Manning, Dean of Windsor, attainted of Treason—Members for Windsor—Flight of the King from the Moor to Windsor—Counter Plot by the King—Imprisonment of Queen Margaret at Windsor—Visit of Louis de Bruges to Windsor—Members for Windsor—Erection of St. George's Chapel—Removal of Old Buildings—St. George's Feast, 1476—Progress of the Works—Sir John Shorne's Chapel—The King erects Dean and Canons' Houses—Endowments of the College—Charter to the College—Further Endowments—Attempt to merge Eton College in St. George's, Windsor—Disputes between the Dean and Canons and the Poor Knights—The King keeps Christmas, 1480 to 1482, at the Castle—The King's Death—His Will and Burial—Tomb in the Chapel Royal—Its discovery in 1789—The King's Courtesy—Verses of John Skelton—State of the Chapel at the conclusion of this reign—Chantry in St. George's Chapel—Parochial bequests to religious uses—Corporation Records—Proceedings in the Borough Court—Regulations of the Corporation—Edward the Fifth—Execution and Burial of Lord Hastings.

EDWARD THE FOURTH, who assumed the title of king in 1461, by letters patent dated at Westminster, the 10th of March, in the

second year of his reign, reciting at length the charter of the seventeenth "of the Lord Henry the Sixth, in fact but not of right late King of England," ratified and confirmed that charter to the burgesses and their successors.<sup>1</sup>

A charter dated at Windsor, the 22d of September, in the sixth year of the reign of Edward the Fourth, recites that Henry the Sixth, by his letters patent of the 19th day of May, in the seventeenth year of his reign, confirmed by Edward on the 10th of March, in the second year of his reign, had remitted to the inhabitants of Windsor seven pounds of the annual rent of seventeen pounds, "in consideration as well of the great charges and losses which the inhabitants of the town of New Windsor had then had and sustained, and daily did have and sustain, as of the ruins of the tenements in the aforesaid town;" and that whereas the king (Edward the Fourth) knows "for certain that in these days the tenements in the town aforesaid are much more ruinous than usual, and that the aforesaid town and the inhabitants thereof are in a great part of the said town reduced to great poverty, want, and distress; and that moreover two hundred acres of land in the parish of New Windsor aforesaid, adjoining to the said town of New Windsor, in which the inhabitants of the said town, from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, have had common as well of pasture for all their cattle in the aforesaid town, levant and couchant, every year in which the said land was sown, after the crop thereof was cut, tied up, and carried away, until the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lady day), as also the right of digging and carrying away chalk and flint at all times of the year at their pleasure, and out of parcel of which said two hundred acres the burgesses and good men of the said town, for all the time they have had and held the said town to fee farm, have had and taken and ought to take divers yearly sums of money towards payment of the rent for the town aforesaid as parcel of the said farm, are now lately inclosed by us in order to make for us a certain park thereof, so that the inhabitants of the said town of New Windsor are not now nor will for the future be able to have and take such

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 2 Edw. IV, p. v, m. 1.

common or yearly sums out of and in the aforesaid two hundred acres of land, to the insupportable damage of them, the said burgesses, men, and inhabitants, and of their heirs and successors, unless our special grace be extended to them in this behalf." The charter then goes on to state that the king, specially affecting the relief and increase of the town and its inhabitants, and being unwilling that the burgesses of the same, their heirs and successors, should be in the least prejudiced by means of the inclosing of the before-mentioned land, and willing to recompense them for the same, of his special grace, as well for the relief of the town and inhabitants as in recompense for the losses which the inhabitants and burgesses had and would sustain by reason of the aforesaid inclosure, did thereby grant to Edmund Pury, the then mayor, and also to Thomas Sherman and William Stephen, bailiffs of New Windsor, and the burgesses and inhabitants thereof, that they, the burgesses and inhabitants, should from thenceforth for ever be one body in deed and name, and one perpetual commonalty incorporate of one mayor and two bailiffs and the burgesses of the said town, having perpetual succession, and be persons fit and capable in law to purchase, have, and possess lands and tenements, to them and their successors, in fee and perpetuity; and that they should plead and be impleaded in all the king's and other courts by the names of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the town of New Windsor; and for further consideration and recompense to them, the king pardoned, remised, and released to the then mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, and all the men and inhabitants in the said town, their heirs and successors, seven pounds yearly, parcel of seventeen pounds yearly which the burgesses or good men of New Windsor had rendered or were bound to render at the exchequer, as a fine for the farm of the said town, to the king and his ancestors or predecessors, and all sums of money and arrears due to the king in respect thereof; and that the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, men and inhabitants, their heirs and successors, should have and hold the town, with all its liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, rents, services, and appurtenances whatsoever, to them, their heirs and successors, of the king and his heirs, rendering therefor to the king, his heirs and successors, yearly, ten pounds only out of or for the farm of



the said town for ever. The king also granted to the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and their successors, that they might for ever have one fair in the town, to be holden yearly on the Feast of St. Edward the King and Confessor, with all things to such like fair belonging or appertaining; and commanded that the same might be held accordingly, provided it be not to the annoyance of the other neighbouring fairs.<sup>1</sup>

At St. George's Feast held at Windsor in the first year of this reign, the achievements (namely, the banner, sword, helmet, and crest) of Henry the Sixth were, by the express directions of Edward the Fourth, taken down and carried out of the choir of the chapel into the vestry, and the achievements of the new king put up instead.<sup>2</sup>

In the first year of this reign, John Austyn was appointed to the office of page of the bedchamber in the Castle of Windsor for life, with sixpence per day.<sup>3</sup> He was also appointed clerk of the works in the upper bailey "cum Lodcroft," under the castle, at fourpence per day.

The Act of Resumption, 4 Edw. IV (1464), contained this proviso :

"Provided alwey, that this acte extend not ne be in eny wise prejudicyall or hurtyng unto a graunte made by us by oure lettres patentes under oure grete seall, beryng date at Westmester, the xxiiij. day of July, the first yere of oure regne, unto Richard Walter, plomer, of the office of plommer of oure Castell of Wyndesore in the counte of Berk, with the wages of vj.d. by the day: Nor unto a graunte made by us by oure letters patentes under oure grete seal, beryng date at Westm', the xxj. day of February, the first yere of oure reigne, unto Robert Leget, of the office of chief mason of oure Castell of Wyndesore, with the wages of vj.d. by the day; but that oure said several lettres patentes and grauntes, and all thyng' in theym and either of theym conteyned, be and stond good and effectuell to the

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 6 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 1. At a forest court held at Windsor in the fourteenth year of this reign, before the Earl of Essex, itinerant justice, &c., the burgesses claimed and were allowed their usual privileges. (Ash. MSS.)

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 629.

<sup>3</sup> See Pat., 1 Edw. IV, m. 3. The appointment was subsequently cancelled, but restored in the sixth year of this reign. (Pat., 6 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 22, Ashmole's MSS., No. 1122, f. 105 b.)

seid Richard and Robert, and to either of theym, accordyng to the tenour and effect of the said lettres patentes and grauntes, by what name or names the seid Richard and Robert be named or called in theym or eny of theym; the seid act, or eny othir acte or ordenaunce made or to be made in this present parlement, notwithstanding."<sup>1</sup>

This Act of Resumption was passed to enable the king to live on the income of the crown, but it was clogged as usual with so many exceptions as to render it useless.<sup>2</sup>

The subsequent Act of Resumption, 7 and 8 Edw. IV (1467-8), made the following exception :

" Provided alwey, that this Acte of Resumption, or eny other acte to be made in this oure present parlement, extend not nor be prejudiciall to oure graunte by us made unto Davy Chirke, yoman of oure vestiarye of oure houshold, and keper of oure stuffur' within oure Castell of Wyndesore, of iij.d. by the day, to be taken for terme of his lyfe of the fee ferme of oure towne of Newe Wyndesore, as in oure lettres patentes, and all thyng conteyned in the same, be in good force and effect, and except and forprised oute of this said acte, and all other actes made and to be made in this said present parlement."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 539 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 596 *b*. The same act also contained the following proviso : " Provided alwey, that this Acte of Resumption, or eny other acte, ordenaunce, or statute, made or to be made in this oure present parlement, extend not nor be prejudiciall to eny graunte or grauntes, confirmation or confirmations, of eny maner thyng made by us, by eny our chartre or lettres patentes, unto the keper and chanons of oure Chapell of Wyndesore, or unto the keper or dean and chanons of oure free Chapell of Seint George within oure Castell of Wyndesore, and their successours; but that the same graunte and grauntes, confirmation and confirmations, be and stond in their force and effecte, by what soever name or names the seid keper or dean and chanons, or the said chapell, in eny such graunte or grauntes, confirmation or confirmations, be named or called; the seid Acte of Resumption, or eny other made or to be made in this present parlement, notwithstanding." (Rot. Parl., vol. v, p. 601 *b*.)

A similar reservation is contained in the Act of Resumption, 1 Hen. VII (1485), and extending to all grants made by any kings between the first of Edward the Third and the death of Edward the Fourth. (Ibid., vol. vi, p. 351 *a*.) An act passed in the fourth of Henry the Seventh (1488), to avoid letters patent granted to divers abbots, &c., releasing the gathering and payment of tithes, was expressly declared not to affect grants to the Dean and Canons of St. George. (Ibid., p. 418.)

The following entry occurs in the Ash. MS., No. 1115, f. 181: " A pardon granted 6 Dec., a° 11 E. 4, to John Davyson, Deane and Chanons of Windsor, of all transgressions, &c., before the last of Sept., a° 11 E. 4, provided it do not extend to the taking or detencon of any of the king's goods or chattells on this side the fourth of March,

Dr. Manning, Dean of Windsor in the previous reign, was a strong adherent of Henry the Sixth, who had appointed him his secretary. On the accession of Edward the Fourth, he was attainted of high treason, and was then described as "late of New Windsor, in Berkshire, clerk."<sup>1</sup> When Henry was taken prisoner in 1465, we are told that Dr. Manning was conveyed through the city to the Tower, with the king and others, with their feet bound under their horses."<sup>2</sup>

In the seventh of Edward the Fourth (1466), William Ewynton and Henry Franceyes were returned as members of parliament for Windsor, by John Scott and William Kemsale, bailiffs of the borough, and by the other burgesses. From the indenture of this return, it appears that the precept was from the sheriff, and directed to them.

The form of the return differs from those of the preceding reigns. In that of the twenty-fifth year of Henry the Sixth, for instance, the burgesses of parliament were chosen by the mayor and commonalty of the burgesses, under the seal of the burgesses and commonalty having a voice in elections; but here the return is in the name of John Scot and William Kemsale, "ballior burgi de Windore et Comburgenses burgi prædicti," and the common seal is affixed by them.<sup>3</sup>

Early in the year 1470, after the temporary imprisonment or restraint of Edward the Fourth by the Earl of Warwick, the Archbishop of York having invited the king to meet the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick at an entertainment, which he designed to give at his seat at the Moor in Hertfordshire, as Edward was washing his hands before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards Lord Fitz-Walter, whispered in his ear that one hundred armed men were lying in wait to surprise and convey him to prison. Without inquiring into the grounds of the information, he stole to the door, mounted a horse, and rode with precipitation to Windsor.<sup>4</sup> He

a° 11 E. 4, nor the goods and chattells of any traytors, rebels, or enemies of the king on this side the s<sup>d</sup> 4th of March, who had levied war ag<sup>st</sup> him, w<sup>th</sup> some other exceptions."

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., 1 Edw. IV, vol. v, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshead; Stow.

<sup>3</sup> See Pote's 'History of Windsor Castle,' pp. 23, 24; Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard, citing the 'Fragment Chronicle,' 302, Feb. 499.

shortly afterwards reached London and placed himself at the head of an army, and marched to meet the insurgent forces instigated by Clarence and Warwick.

Three years later, Windsor and the Moor were the scenes of a counter plot on the part of the king against the archbishop.

“Also this yere [a. r. 13], or a lytelle before, George the Archebyssshoppe of Yorke, and brother to the Erle of Warwyke, was withe Kyngedwarde at Wynsoure, and hunted, and hade there ryghte good chere, and supposid he hade stoude in grete favour with the kyng: for the kyng seid to the sayde archebyschophe that he wuld come for to hunte and disporte withe hym in his manere at Moore; whereof he was ryghte glade, and toke his leve and went home to make purvyauce therfore; and fett oute of Londone, and dyverse other places, alle his plate and othere stuffe that he hade hyde after Barnet felde and Teukysbury feld; and also borowede more stuff of other mene, and purveyde for the kyng for two or iij. dayes for mete and drynke and logynge, and arayed as rychely and as plesauntly as he coude. And the day afore the kyng schulde have comyne to the archebisshoppe, to the seid manere of Moore, whiche the saide archebisshoppe hade purchasshed and bylled it ryghte comodiusly and plesauntly, the kyng send a gentylman to the seide archebisshoppe, and commaundyd hym to come to Wyndsoure to hym; and asone as he came he was arested and apeched of hye treysone, that he schuld helpe the Erle of Oxenforde; and anone ryght he was put to warde. And forthewithe Sere William of Parre, knyghte, and Thomas Vaghan, squyre, withe othere many dyverse gentilmenne and yomen, were sent to the seide manere of Moore; and ther, by the kynges comawndement, seysede the seid manere into the kynges handes, and alle the good that was therin, whiche was worthe xx.m<sup>l</sup>.<sup>li</sup>. or more, and alle other lordschippes and landes that the seid byssshoppe hade witheyn Englonde, and alle his stuff and rychesse witheyn alle his lordschippes; and sent the same bisshoppe overe the see to Caleis, and from thens to the Castelle of Hammys, and ther he was kepte presonere many a day; and the kyng alle that seane toke the prophete of the archebysshopperyche, &c.; and anone after, the kyng brake the seyd archebysshoppes mytere,

in the whiche were fulle many ryche stones and precieuse, and made therof a croune for hyme self; and alle his other juels, plate, and stuff, the kynge gaff it to his eldest sonne and heyre, Prynce Edward."<sup>1</sup>

After the death or murder of the deposed king, Henry the Sixth, on the 22d of May, 1471, Queen Margaret, who was brought a prisoner to London the same day, was confined first in the Tower, afterwards at Windsor, and lastly at Wallingford, with a weekly allowance of five marks for the support of herself and her servants.<sup>2</sup>

In September 1472 Windsor was the scene of festivities in honour of the visit of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, the Governor of Holland under the Duke of Burgundy, who had hospitably rescued from pirates, and subsequently entertained Edward the Fourth, when that king had been forced to leave England for a time in the hands of the Earl of Warwick, and take refuge with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy.

In requital for these acts of kindness, Edward took an early opportunity, after his reaccession to the throne, to manifest his gratitude; and on the occasion of the arrival of the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse in England, in September 1472, he not only caused him to be received and treated with extraordinary honour, and publicly complimented by the Speaker of the Parliament, but conferred on him the dignity of Earl of Winchester. His reception is described in the words of a herald, who, as Sir F. Madden observes, must have been an eye-witness; and as the description of the proceedings at Windsor are extremely curious, it is given here in the original words,<sup>3</sup> from the time of the foreigner's arrival in London:

"Item, when he came to London, the ij Shereves of London wayted apon hym at Lyon Key, from whens they sente a Bote, in the whiche were iiij Sargeauntes, for to mete hym. And they caused hym to lande at the foresayde Key, where he was honnorably received by the foresayde Shereves. And so forthe conduicte to oon of there

<sup>1</sup> Warkworth's 'Chronicle,' edited by Halliwell, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard.

<sup>3</sup> Additional MS., British Museum, No. 6113, f. 103 b; printed, with an introduction and notes by Sir F. Madden, in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxvi, p. 275.

Places to Denner, whiche ys called Shylley. And there he had an honnerable and a plentuous dynner; and after dynner he was accompanied by the sayde Shereves to the Crane in the Vintery, where as for that tyme they toke there leve. And so the forsayde Lorde Grautehuse wente by water from thens to Westmester, to the Dean of Sainte Stevens chappell, to a place in Chanon Rowe, whiche was ordeined for hym by the Kinge and his Councell; and w<sup>t</sup> in ij dayes after, by the advyse of Mayster Thomas Vaghan,<sup>1</sup> he rode to Winde-sore, to the Kinge, accompanied also w<sup>t</sup> the foresayde ij esquiers, Mayster Morrys Arnold, and Mayster John Heryllys, w<sup>t</sup> oder. And when he com into the castell, into the quadrante, my Lord Hastings, chamberlein to the Kinge, Sir John A'Parre, Sir John Don, w<sup>t</sup> divers other lordes and nobles, received hym to the Kinge.

"M<sup>d</sup> that the Kinge dyd to be imparrailled on the fur syde of the quadrant, ij chambres richely hanged w<sup>t</sup> clothes of Arras, and w<sup>t</sup> Beddes of astate; and when he had spoken w<sup>t</sup> the Kinges grace, and the quene, he was accompannyed to his chambre by the lorde Chamberlein, [and] Sir John Parre, w<sup>t</sup> divers moo, whiche supped w<sup>t</sup> hym in his chambre; also there supped w<sup>t</sup> hym his Servauntes. When they had supte, my lord chamberlein had hym againe to the Kinges chamber. Then incontinent the Kinge had hym to the quenes chamber, where she had there her ladyes playinge at the morteaulx,<sup>2</sup> and sum of her ladyes and gentlewomen at the Closheys<sup>3</sup> of yvery, and Daunsinge, and sum at divers other games, accordinge; the whiche sight was full pleasaunte to them. Also the Kinge daunsed w<sup>t</sup> my lady Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>, his elste<sup>5</sup> doughter. That done, the night passed over, they wente to his chamber. The Lorde Grauthuse toke leve, and my lorde Chamberlein, w<sup>t</sup> divers nobles, accompenyed hym to his chambre, where they departed for that night. And in the morninge, when Matyns was don, the Kinge herde in his owne chappell our ladye masse, whiche was melodyously songe, the Lorde Grautehuse beinge there presente. When the masse was doon, the Kinge gaue the sayde Lorde Grautehuse a Cuppe of Golde, garnished w<sup>t</sup> Perle. In the myddes of the

<sup>1</sup> Chamberlain to the prince.

<sup>2</sup> "*Martheaus*, jeu des petits palets." (Roquefort's '*Glossaire de la Langue Romaine*,' 1808.) It was a game, probably, resembling bowls.

<sup>3</sup> The game of closh only differed in name from the nine-pins of the present day. The game of Kayles was nearly the same, but played with a stick instead of a bowl. By the statute 17 Edw. IV, c. 3, it was enacted "q' null p'sone use ou jeue as jewez appelez *Cloissh*, *Kaillez*, *Halfboule*, *Handyn*, *Handoute*, et *Quekeborde*," on pain of two years' imprisonment and forfeiture of £10.

<sup>4</sup> Born in 1465.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic*.

Cuppe ys a greate Pece of an Vnicornes horne,<sup>1</sup> to my estimacyon vij ynches compas. And on the couer was a great Saffre. Then he wente to his chambre, where he had his brekefast. And when he had broken his faste, the Kinge cam in to the quadrante. My lorde Prince,<sup>2</sup> also, borne by his Chamberlayn, called Mayster Vaghan, whiche bad the foresayde Lorde Grautehuse welcom. Then the Kinge had hym and alle his Compenny into the lyttle Parke, where he made hym to have greate Sporte. And there the Kinge made hym ryde on his owen horse, on a right feyre hoby, the whiche the Kinge gaue hym. Item, there in the Parke, the Kinge thenkinge<sup>3</sup> gaue hym a royalle Crosbowe, the stryng of Silke, the case covered w<sup>t</sup> velvette of the Kinges collours, and his Armes and Bagges<sup>4</sup> thereapon. Also the heddes of quarrelles were gylte. The Kinges dynner was ordeined in the lodge, whiche<sup>5</sup> before dynner they kylded no game, savinge a doo; the whiche the Kinge gave to the Servauntes of the foresayde lorde Grauthuse. And when the Kinge had dyned, they wente an huntinge agayne. And by the castelle were fouden certein dere lyinge; som w<sup>t</sup> greyhoundes, and som renne to deathe w<sup>t</sup> Bucke houndes. There were slaine halfe a doussein Buckes, the whiche the Kinge gaue to the sayde Lorde Grautehuse. By that tyme yt was nere night, yett the Kinge shewed hym his garden, and Vineyard of Pleasour, and so turned into the Castell agayne, where they herde evensonge in theirre chambres.

"The quene dyd to be ordeined a greate Bankette in her owne chambre. At the whiche Bankette were the Kinge, the quene, my lady Elizabeth the Kinges eldest doughter, the Duches of Exeter,<sup>6</sup> the lady Ryvers,<sup>7</sup> [and] the Lorde Grautehuse, settinge at oone messe, and at the same table sattu the Duke of Buckingeham,<sup>8</sup> My lady his wyfe,<sup>9</sup> w<sup>t</sup> divers other Ladyes, My lorde Hastings, Chamberlein to the Kinge, My lorde Barnes,<sup>10</sup> chamberlein to the quene, [the] Sonne of the foresayde Lord Grauthushe, Mayster George Bartte, Secretory to the Duke

<sup>1</sup> According to the belief of this and earlier periods, supposed to guard against the existence of poison in the cup.

<sup>2</sup> Edward the Fifth, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster, November 1471.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>4</sup> Badges.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>6</sup> Anne, daughter of Richard Duke of York, and sister to Edward the Fourth, wife of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, from whom she was divorced November 12th, 1472. She afterwards married Sir Thomas St. Leger, knt.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Scales, wife of Anthony, second Earl Rivers.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Stafford, who succeeded his grandfather in 1460, being then somewhat more than five years of age. Beheaded by Richard the Third in 1483.

<sup>9</sup> Katherine, daughter of Richard Wydeville, first Earl Rivers.

<sup>10</sup> Sir John Bourchier, Lord Barners or Berners, K.G., made Constable of Windsor Castle in 1472. He died May 16th, 1474.

of Burgoine, Loys Stacy, acher<sup>1</sup> to the Duke of Burgoine, [and] George Mytteney; also certeyn nobles of the Kinges owen courte. Item, there was a syde table, at the whiche satte a great Vue<sup>2</sup> of ladyes, alle on the oon syde. Also in the utter chambre satte the quenes gentlewomen, alle on oone syde. And on the tother syde of the table, over againeste them, as many of the Lord Grauthuse Servauntes, as touchinge to the abundant welfare, lyke as yt ys accordinge to suche a Bankett. And when they had soupped, my lady Elizabeth, the Kinges eldest daughter, daunsed w<sup>t</sup> the Duke of Buckingeham, and divers other ladyes also. Then, aboute ix of the clocke, the Kinge and the quene, w<sup>t</sup> her ladies and gentlewomen, brought the sayde Lorde Grautehuse to iij chaumbres of Pleasance, alle hanged w<sup>t</sup> whyte Sylke and lynnyn clothe, and alle the Floures covered w<sup>t</sup> carpettes. There was ordeined a Bedde for hym selve, of as good doune as coulede be gotten, the Shetes of Raynys,<sup>3</sup> also fynce Fustyns; the Counterpoynte clothe of golde, furred w<sup>t</sup> armyn, the Tester and the Celer also shyninge clothe of golde, the Curteyns of whyte Sarsenette; as for his hedde Sute and Pillowes, [they] were of the quenes owen Ordonnance. Item, [in] the ij<sup>de</sup> chambre was a other of astate, the whiche was alle whyte. Also in the same chambre was made a Couche w<sup>t</sup> Fether beddes, hanged w<sup>t</sup> a Tente, knytt lyk a nette, and there was a Cuppborde. Item, in the iij<sup>de</sup> chambre was ordeined a Bayne<sup>4</sup> or ij, whiche were covered w<sup>t</sup> Tentis of white clothe. And when the Kinge and the quene, w<sup>t</sup> alle her ladyes and gentlewemen, had shewed hym these chambres, they turned againe to their owen chambres, and lefte the sayde lorde Grauthuse there, accompanied w<sup>t</sup> my lorde chamberlein, whiche dispoyled hym, and wente bothe togethr to the Bayne. Also there was Sir John A'Parre, John Grautehus, son to the foresayde lorde, Mayster George Bartt, Secretory to the Duke of Burgoine, Jeys Mytteny, and

<sup>1</sup> Usher?<sup>2</sup> View, sight, or number.<sup>3</sup> Manufactured at Rennes in Britanny. It was celebrated as early as the fourteenth century. Thus, Chaucer—

“I wol geve him a fether bed,  
 Rayed with gold, and right wel cled  
 In fine blacke satten d'outremere,  
 And many a pilowe and every bere  
*Of clothe of Raynes* to slepe on softe.”

(‘Booke of the Duchesse,’ v. 251, ed. Urry.) And in the ‘Romance of the Squire of Low Degree’ (v. 841)—

“Your blankettes shall be of fustyan,  
 Your shetes shall be of clothe of *Rayne*.”

<sup>4</sup> Bath.



these Servauntes that were longenge to theire chambres. And when they had ben in theire Baynes as longe as was there Pleasour, they had grene gynger, divers Cyryppes, Comfyttes, and Ipocras, and then they wente to bedde. And on the Morne he toke his Cuppe of the Kinge and the quene, and turned to Westmynstre againe, accompenied w<sup>th</sup> certein knightes, esquiers, and oder the Kinges Servauntes, home to his Lodgenge. And on Sainte Edwardes daye<sup>1</sup> opynly in the parlemente chamber was create Erle of Winchester."

In the twelfth of Edward the Fourth (1471), Richard Lovell and William Evington were chosen members. The return was made by Edward Pury, mayor, and Richard Grenewey and John Josepp, bailiffs of the borough; one part of the indenture, with the seal of the mayor annexed, being left with William Stafferton, Esq., the sheriff, and the other part, with the sheriff's seal, remained with the mayor and bailiffs.

In the seventeenth of Edward the Fourth (1476), John Joye sat with William Evington. From this year until 1541 the parliamentary rolls are defective.

The persons returned to parliament at this period were evidently inhabitants of the town of Windsor.

The erection of that splendid monument of English architecture, the existing Collegiate Chapel of St. George, renders this reign (says Mr. Poynter) an important epoch in the history of Windsor. The foundations and walls of the chapel of Edward the Third being found upon a survey to be in a state of great decay (a fact which it has been suggested, as already noticed, may have arisen from some imperfection in the foundation), Edward the Fourth determined to replace it by a more spacious and magnificent structure. To this purpose, in the thirteenth year of his reign,<sup>2</sup> he appointed that distinguished prelate and architect, Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to the office of Surveyor of the chapel. The writ of appointment, taking notice that divers of the officary houses, and other irregular buildings and old walls, stood in the way, and hindered the royal design to enlarge the structure, gave the bishop power wholly to remove all such impediments, and to demolish

<sup>1</sup> 13th of October.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 13 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 17.

and dig up their foundations, particularly those ancient buildings on the east side of the chapel which extended to the walls on the north side of the castle, where the towers commonly called *Clure ys Tower*, and *Le Amener ys Tower*, and *Barner ys Tower* were situated; as also on the south side of the chapel, to the belfry there, exclusively, and to employ the stone, timber, and other materials thereof, upon such edifices in the castle as he should think most convenient.

This order (Mr. Poynter observes) probably swept away whatever might remain of the thirteenth century in the direction of the new edifice.

The three towers above mentioned have been before alluded to in treating of the buildings erected by Henry the Third, with Mr. Poynter's suggestion that they completed the line of defence on the north side of the castle, between the Bell Tower and the site of the Winchester Tower.<sup>1</sup>

The Clure or Clewar Tower may have derived its name from the manor and parish in which the castle stood, or from the village of Clewer, lying to the west, and almost overlooked by the towers on that side of the castle. Another was the Tower of the Almoner, whose room was restored in the reign of Henry the Third; and Barner's or Berners Tower may have acquired its name from Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners, constable of the castle in the reign of Edward the Fourth.

With what diligence and sedulity (says Ashmole) and how well the bishop performed this office and employment, appears from the testimony given him by the king, in the preamble of the patent by which, in his fifteenth year, he constituted the bishop, and his successors for ever, Chancellors of the Order of the Garter, namely, that, out of mere love towards the order, he had given himself the leisure daily to attend the advancement and progress of this goodly structure.<sup>2</sup>

The success with which the work was prosecuted is yet more

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 72, 73.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 15 Edw. IV, p. iii, m. 13; Ashmole, p. 136. Ashmole, by mistake, assigns the appointments as surveyor of the chapel and Chancellor of the Garter to the same year, 15 Edw. IV—an error which Mr. Poynter has observed.

apparent from the fact, that within five years it was so far advanced that provision was made for hanging the bells, and contracts entered into for carving the stalls in the choir; and that in the twentieth year of the king's reign the lead was cast for covering the roof, to the amount of 46½ fother and 21 lbs.<sup>1</sup>

The king held the Feast of St. George in 1476 at Windsor. Stow gives the following account of its celebration :

"This yeere Edward kept the Feast of Saint George and Order of the Garter at Windsore in most royall manner; first on the Satterday before noone, the king being Soveraigne with the knights of the order, entered the chapiter within the castle—which chapiter was also continued in the after noone,—in this manner, towards evensong time, being all mounted on horsebacke in their habits of blew, rode to the chapiter.<sup>2</sup> From thence they went to the quire on foote, where they remained while evensong was done, and then rode againe to the castle (in their habits as afore), where they had their voide of spices, &c.

"On Sunday morning the Soveraigne, with the knights, rode to mattens, which being ended, they entred the chapiter; from whence they went to the Dean's house to breakefast, and after to the quire againe, every man to his owne stall. Then came the Queene, with the Lady Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, the Dutchesse of Suffolke, the king's sister, the Lady Marchionesse of Montague, the Lady Marchionesse of Dorset, the Lady Hastings, &c., all in one livery of murrey embrodered with garters, except the Marchionesse of Montague, who rode in a gowne of silke—and these ladies were placed in the roode loft. And in the same order and habite came the Soveraigne and Knights, with the Queene and her Ladies, in the afternoone to evensong. The king this day dined in his great Chamber, on whose right hand sate Richard Bewcham, Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor of the order, and on the left hand the D. of Clarence and the Duke of Suffolke. At a side table sate the Marquesse of Dorset, the Earles of Arundale, Northumberland, and Essex, the Lord Maltravers, the Earle Dowlglas, the Lords Dudley, Ferrers, and Howard, and Sir John Astely, knight, all on one side. And at a table on the other side sate Master Dudley, Deane of S. George's Chappell, and with him, all on one side, the Chanons of the same chappell, in their mantles of murrey, and rundlet of S. George.

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole refers to this feast as an instance on which the procession proceeded from the castle to the chapel on horseback, in order "to enlarge the state and gallantry of the show." ('Order of the Garter,' pp. 548, 549.)

"On the Munday the sovereigne and knights of the order entred the chapiter, where they had a short communication; from whence they went to the quire, where every knight stood before his stall whiles the king had offered a rich sute of vestments, and certaine coapes of the same sute which the deane received: that done, the king went to his stall, and every knight sate him downe in their owne stales, till the offertory, and then the Marques and the D. of Suffolke offered the sword of John Mowbray, late D. of Norfolke, deceased, the Lords Maltravers and Howard his helme: which being done, and obeisance made, every knight stood before their stals, while the king had offered, and then every knight offered according to his stal, to wit, the D. of Clarence, the Marques Dorset, the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Essex, and the D. of Suffolke, the Earle of Northumberland, the Earle of Dowglas, the Lord Maltravers, and the Lord Howard, the Lord Duedly, the Lord Ferrers, Sir John Astley. The masse being ended, they went to the Chapiter, and thus the feast was ended, from the which were absent of the order out of the Realme—the King of Ciell, the King of Portingale, the Duke of Burgoigne, the D. of Vervin, the Lord Rivers, the Lord Scrope, the L. Durasse. Absent within the realme—the prince, the D. of Glocester, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Hastings, and Sir William a Par."<sup>1</sup>

In this year (1476) the Countess of Oxford died, and was buried at Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

The king and queen were at Windsor when intelligence was brought of the conduct and expressions of the Duke of Clarence, which cost the latter his life. The king, we are informed, hastened from Windsor to London, sent for the duke, upbraided him, and committed him to the Tower.<sup>3</sup> His death occurred a few weeks after, the common notion being that he was drowned in a butt of malmsey.

The king, in the sixteenth year of his reign, appointed Thomas Cancellor comptroller of the king's works in the Castle of Windsor.<sup>4</sup> This appointment did not interfere with the progress of the works of the chapel under the superintendence of Bishop Beauchamp; on the contrary, Thomas Cancellor acted as the bishop's deputy.

<sup>1</sup> Stow's 'Annals,' p. 429, edit. 1631. See also Anstis, vol. ii, p. 126, note (f).

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 16 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 11.

Some portions of the accounts of the bishop have been preserved,<sup>1</sup> and furnish (says Mr. Poynter) many interesting particulars concerning the progress of this great work. The funds for its execution were drawn from the estates of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the Lord Morley, which were in the king's hands by reason of the heirs being under age, and in the eighteenth year (when these accounts begin) amounted to £1408 16s. 9½d., of which only £1178 18s. 10½d. was expended. The principal part of the stone used this year came from Tainton, in Oxfordshire, where Henry Jennings, the master mason, purchased 9755 feet, at 2d. the foot. The carriage by land, through Burford and Culham to Henley, cost £151 12s., and it was thence conveyed by water to Windsor Bridge. Some portion of Caen stone was also used, and heath stone from Cranbourne Chase. Caen stone was used in great quantities in England from an early period, as we have already seen in describing the works at the castle. A writer of the reign of Elizabeth says—"Our elders have from time to time, following our natural vice in misliking of our own commodities at home and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteemed the Caen stone that is brought hither out of Normandy: and many even in these our days, following the same vein, do covet in their works almost to use none other."<sup>2</sup> The timber came principally from Upton, Ashridge, Farnham, Wyke, and Sunning-hill; and the carriage of these materials, and of sand [arena et sabulum] and lime, amounted to £29 10s. 3½d. The cost of the timber and other materials and stores necessary for the prosecution of the works—such as scaffolding, tools and utensils of various descriptions, bellows for the forges, tiles and tile-pins (probably for the workmen's sheds), *withs* to tie the scaffolding, straw, candles, sea-coal, charcoal, steel, iron for the windows, iron bolts for the carts, sheet iron, tin, tin pans, nails, &c., &c.—amounted to £141 8s. 1d.; and £555 6s. 1½d. was paid in wages to the workmen and labourers. The allowance to the clerk of the works, Thomas Canceler, was £10, and to the two purveyors £5 10s. and £4 8s. respectively. The clerk of the works, the chief mason, and the

<sup>1</sup> In the Chapter House, Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison's description of England, prefixed to Holinshed, vol. i, p. 394, edit. 1807.

chief carpenter had also gowns allowed them. The pay of the principal smith, John Tresilian, was far the largest, being 16*d.* per day. Over and above these salaries, there is an entry of £20 6*s.* 8*d.* for the expenses of John Tresilian in waiting six days for the making of a great anvil; for the expenses of William Carver, being in London overlooking the making of the tabernacles; for the expenses of Thomas Canceler, the deputy of the lord the bishop, his servants and horses, riding on divers occasions from Windsor and divers other places to buy stuff, &c.; for the expenses of John Turpin in *taking masons*,<sup>1</sup> and for the rewards given to the head mason, head carver, and head carpenter, as is more fully set forth in the books of accounts.

“The details of the contracts for the carved work are very curious. One is for cleansing and embossing eighteen spandrils and seventeen buttresses for the stalls in the choir, for the cleansing of three *bowtelles*,<sup>2</sup> the making of thirteen *entercloses*,<sup>3</sup> the making of twenty-one *caters*,<sup>4</sup> and for the rounded *bowtelles* of the lintels, made by contract in gross, £13 14*s.* 6*d.* Another is with Robert Ellis and John Filles, carvers, for making six *tabernacles*<sup>5</sup> for the choir; and with Derrick Van Grove and Giles Van Castel, for making the image of St. George and the Dragon, the image of St. Edward and the Lord on the Cross, with images of the Holy Mary and St. John the Evangelist, at 5*s.* the foot in length; at which rate the six tabernacles came to £40, St. George and the Dragon to £17, and the rest of the images to £4 10*s.*

“With the chapel, the chapter-house was rebuilt, and seems at this time to have been completed, since a charge is made for fitting it up with ninety yards of tapestry, white, red, and green, with the arms of St. George and the Garter, two pieces of *borde alisondre*,<sup>6</sup> and fourteen yards of green cloth. The king’s great

<sup>1</sup> The best workmen were so completely monopolised by the king for St. George’s, that other buildings were impeded in consequence. This was the case with the Divinity School at Oxford. (See Chandler’s ‘Life of William Waynflete.’)

<sup>2</sup> Or *bollet*, the perpendicular shaft of a column, comparing it to the shaft of a halbert, javelin, or *bolle*, used for any round moulding or torus.

<sup>3</sup> Partitions.

<sup>4</sup> Or *quates*, probably *quatre-foils*.

<sup>5</sup> Canopies, or niches or stalls covered with canopies.

<sup>6</sup> Bord alezan, sorrel-coloured border.

chamber in the castle also appears to have been fitted up this year under the directions of the bishop, and a new ceiling made, decorated with the rose.

"In the twentieth year of Edward the Fourth, the expenditure on account of the works at the chapel amounted to £1249 18s. 5½*d.* The sum of £137 5s. was paid for stone from Caen, Tainton, Sherborne, Ryegate, Milton, and Little Daryngton, £349 18s. 0½*d.* for carriage, £144 11s. 11½*d.* for other materials and stores, and £457 10s. 6½*d.* for wages. The sum of £62 12s. 6*d.* is set down for making two *popeis*<sup>1</sup> for the stalls in the choir, for sixty-two feet of *trailez*<sup>2</sup> and *crestes*,<sup>3</sup> and for making six tabernacles in the choir for the knights and canons. In the following year there is another contract for making and carving twelve tabernacles for the choir, fourteen *baces de les countrez*<sup>4</sup> within the stalls, and thirty-two feet of *baces* in the same choir; also for two *popeis*, four *chaptreilles*<sup>5</sup> for the stalls, for the ceiling and making of a frame of three panels, and for making and carving thirty feet of *crestes*, thirty feet of *trayls*, eight lintels for the *enterclose* of the chapel of Master John Shorne, thirty-one feet of *trayls* in the same chapel, and forty-two *enter-closes*, *counters*, and *dabrias*,<sup>6</sup> made with the stalls of the choir, £100 10s. 4*d.* The sum of £146 1s. 5¼*d.* was laid out this year on the dwellings of the clergy, and the total expenditure was £1145 7s. 2¾*d.*"<sup>7</sup>

John Shorne, or Schorne, whose chapel is mentioned in these accounts, was a pious rector of Northmarston, in Buckinghamshire, about the year 1290, and was held in great veneration for the virtues which his benediction had imparted to a holy well in his parish, and for his miracles, one of which, the feat of *conjuring the devil into a boot*, was considered so remarkable, that it was represented in the east window of his church, and was also recorded in the following lines, existing in the last century, on the wall enclosing the holy well:

<sup>1</sup> The carved ends of the stalls, from some fancied resemblance to the carved poop, puppis, or end of a ship.

<sup>2</sup> Open work, *trellis*.

<sup>3</sup> Cornices, running battlements, or any crowning moulding or carving.

<sup>4</sup> Counters, desks?

<sup>5</sup> Capitals.

<sup>6</sup> (Quere.)

<sup>7</sup> Poynter's 'Essay.'

“ Sir John Schorne,  
Gentleman borne :  
Conjured the Devil into a Boot.”<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Beauchamp, in 1478, obtained a licence from the pope to translate the remains of John Shorne from Northmarston wherever he pleased in the diocese of Salisbury, and he accordingly removed it to the Lincoln Chapel at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> The advowson of Northmarston was previously acquired by the college, and its value to the dean and chapter is apparent from the fact that at the Reformation the college lost £500 per annum from the offerings at the shrine there.<sup>3</sup>

“ In the twenty-second year of Edward the Fourth the expenses of the new chapel amounted to £960 12s. 10d. Out of this sum, £186 10s. 4d. was paid for making and carving twelve tabernacles for the knights and canons in the choir, and forty-eight *vaults* of wainscot under the said tabernacles, three hundred and fifteen feet and a half of *crestes* and *trayls*, twenty-seven lintels, twenty-nine *caters* and six feet of *caters*, one hundred and twenty *chaptreilles* and *baces*, seventeen *stolys*,<sup>4</sup> forty-two *bottresses*, one hundred and nine panels behind the choir, one hundred and eighty-two *gablettes*,<sup>5</sup> twenty-two *fenyailles*,<sup>6</sup> three doors for divers closets, for the carving of the story of St. George, for making an altar within the closet of the king, for making a mill for the use of the smiths and a house for the masons working on the tomb of our lord the king, for sawing timber, and for casting 10½ fothers of lead for covering the side aisles.”<sup>7</sup>

The new chapel exceeded in length that of its predecessor at least one hundred fathoms.<sup>8</sup>

Edward the Fourth also built the dean and canons' houses situate on the north side of the chapel, and those for the petty canons, erected at the west end of it in the form of a fetter-cock

<sup>1</sup> Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire, vol. i, p. 339; Lysons' Buckinghamshire, p. 603.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter; Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Stools, benches, or pews.

<sup>5</sup> Small gables or pediments.

<sup>6</sup> Finials.

<sup>7</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on the History of Windsor Castle.'

<sup>8</sup> 'Bulla de Concessione Episcopo Sar. ad condendum novas Ordinationes,' cited by Ashmole, p. 136.



(one of Edward the Fourth's royal badges), and commonly called after it.<sup>1</sup>

The "singular respect and favour" entertained by the king for the college was not evinced in the buildings alone, for he added largely to its endowments.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a summary of this king's grants :

By letters patent bearing date at Windsor, the 18th of July, in the seventh year of his reign,<sup>a</sup> in aid and relief and towards the support "of the great burthens"<sup>b</sup> of the dean and canons, he gave them the manor or lordship of Atherston, in the county of Warwick, being part or member of the alien Priory of Okeborne in Warwickshire;<sup>c</sup> the manor of Chesynbury, otherwise Chesynbury, in Wiltshire; and the manor and advowson of the Church of Quarle, in Hampshire, the Church or Priory of Uphaven, and the Deanery or Chapel of St. Burien, or Burrene, in Cornwall; also an annual pension which the Abbot of Sawetre was accustomed to pay for the Church of Fulborne to the Abbey "de Bona Requie," and another annual pension of twenty pounds, paid to the king by the Abbot of Rufford, for the moiety of the Church of Rotheram, in Yorkshire.

In the thirteenth year, by patent bearing date the 29th of January,<sup>d</sup> he gave to William Dudley, as dean, and to the canons, the Manor or alien Priory of Monkenlane,<sup>e</sup> in the county of Hereford.

The following year (27th of February)<sup>f</sup> he granted to the dean and chapter the advowson, patronage, and free disposition of the house, hospital, or free chapel of St. Anthony, London,<sup>g</sup> with all the liberties, privileges, lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, oblations, and emoluments whatsoever belonging to it; and upon any vacancy to enter and take the said house, hospital, or free chapel, with its before-mentioned appurtenances, to the use of the dean and chapter.

On the 17th of May following,<sup>h</sup> the king gave to the dean and canons the Priory of Brimesfield, in the county of Gloucester; the manor of Blakenham in Suffolk (part of the Priory of Okeburne); the Priory of St. Elen, in the Isle of Wight; the Priory or Manor of Charleton, in Wiltshire; and all the lands, tenements, rents, and services in Northmundam, Compton, and Welegh, in the counties of Sussex and Southampton (which had

<sup>a</sup> Pat., 7 Edw. IV; printed in the 'Monasticon,' from the Inspecimus Charter, 4 Hen. VIII.

<sup>b</sup> "Grandium onerum."

<sup>c</sup> The king had previously, by letters patent bearing date the 20th of November, in the first year of his reign, confirmed to the college the Priory of Okebourne, granted by the Duke of Bedford, and confirmed by Henry the Fifth. *Vide* Cart., 1 Edw. IV, m. 20. It is printed at length in Dugdale's 'Monasticon.'

<sup>d</sup> Pat., 13 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 6; printed in the 'Monasticon.'

<sup>e</sup> Monkland, near Leominster, Herefordshire.

<sup>f</sup> Pat., 14 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 5; printed in the 'Monasticon.'

<sup>g</sup> A preceptory of the Monastery of St. Anthony, at Vienna. (Ashmole.) See *post*, p. 390, note 1.

<sup>h</sup> Pat., 14 Edw. IV, p. i, m. 1; printed in the 'Monasticon,' but there the patent is described as of 17 Edw. IV.

In the nineteenth year of his reign, Edward the Fourth granted a charter to the college, bearing date the 6th of December. It

belonged to the Abbey of Lucerne, in Normandy); the manors of Ponyngton and Wedon, in Dorsetshire (part of the possessions of Okeburne Priory); an annual rent or pension of twelve marks, payable by the prior of the Priory of "Monteacuto," together with all and singular the lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, liberties, &c., annexed to the said priories, with licence to the dean and canons to appropriate the same to themselves and their successors.

About two months later,\* the king gave them the manor of Membury, in Devonshire; the lordships of Preston and Monkesilver, in Somersetshire; the advowsons of the churches of Puryton and Wollavinton, in the same county (being parcel of the alien Priory of Golylf, in Wales), together with the knights' fees, advowsons, profits, rights, &c., thereunto belonging.

In the eighteenth year of Edward's reign, the queen, Thomas Archbishop of York, and several bishops, noblemen, and others, being seised to the use of the king, his heirs and successors, of the manor of Wykecombe, called Bassetsbury, the fee farm of the town of Great Wykecombe, the manor of Crendon in Buckinghamshire, and of the manors of Haseley and Pyrton in the county of Oxford, parcel of the lands of the Duchy of Lancaster (at the special command of the king), demised and granted the premises, with all their appurtenances, to the dean and canons and their successors, until the king, his heirs or successors, should grant to them other lands of the like yearly value.<sup>†</sup>

On the 17th of February in the same year, the king gave them the advowson of the parish church of Chesthunt, being then in his own patronage, with licence to appropriate it; and on the 21st of February the king united the custody or deanery of the free chapel of Wolverhampton to the custos or dean of this college, and his successors for ever.<sup>‡</sup>

In the twentieth year of his reign, the king gave (27th of September) the dean and canons the advowson or patronage of the prebend of Ewern in Dorsetshire, with a licence of appropriation.

And lastly, on the 21st of November in the following year, he granted to them two parts of the manors of Old Swynford and Gannowe, in Worcestershire, and the reversion of the third part of them after the death of Margaret, the widow of Fulk Stafford, Esquire; and also the advowson of the church of Old Swynford.

Edward the Fourth was not (says Ashmole) "alone bountiful" to this chapel, "but

\* Pat., 14 Edw. IV; also printed in the 'Monasticon.'

† Ex ipso Autogr. in Ærar. Colleg. Windsor, cited by Ashmole.

‡ Pat., 18 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 4; printed in the 'Monasticon.' Ashmole says the licence to appropriate the living was "provided the vicarage were sufficiently endowed, and a competent sum of money annually distributed among the poor parishioners, according to the diocesan's ordinance and form of the statute in such case provided."

§ Ashmole. "This church, *cum membris*, is exempt not only from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, but, by a papal bull, from all his legates and delegates; nor is it subject to any terrene power but the majesty of England, and, under it, to the perpetual visitation of the keepers of the great seal *pro tempore*." (Ibid.)

¶ Ashmole, citing Pat., 20 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 23.

§ Pat., 21 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 3; printed in the 'Monasticon.'

recites and sets out the charter of Edward the Third, and the charter made in the eighth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth,

excited others to be so likewise." In the first year of his reign<sup>a</sup> he licensed all his subjects in general to give what lands, rents, or advowsons they pleased to the dean and canons, within the value of 300 marks per annum, as well such as they held of the king in capite, or in burgage, or otherwise, as any other land; the same to be united and appropriated to the college and its uses in perpetuity, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain; and he afterwards<sup>b</sup> extended this licence to lands, &c., of the value of £500 a year.<sup>c</sup>

In the twentieth year of his reign, the king, by letters patent dated the 29th of June,<sup>d</sup> licensed John Duke of Suffolk and Elizabeth his wife, the king's sister, to assign to the dean and canons the manor or lordship of Grovebury, otherwise called Leighton-Busard, in Bedfordshire;<sup>e</sup> the church of Tintagell in Cornwall, with all its reversions and emoluments; and various houses and lands, with their appurtenances, in Newford and Blanford, in Dorsetshire; in Stukely, Northalle, Edelesburg, and Rodenache, in Buckinghamshire; in Compton St. John, in Sussex; in Portesmuthe (Portsmouth) and Burghesge, in Hampshire; and in Stodeham, in Hertfordshire, held of the king in capite.

On the 10th of January following, Sir Walter Devoreux de Ferrers, knight, following this example, with his feoffees, Sir John Devoreux and others, granted to the dean and canons the advowson of the church of Sutton Courtney, in Berkshire, having first obtained the king's licence for that purpose.<sup>f</sup>

All the above-mentioned endowments are called the lands of the *Old Dotation*, to distinguish them from those settled on the college by Edward the Sixth, which bear the title of lands of the *New Dotation*.<sup>g</sup> Several of these endowments of Edward the Fourth were never enjoyed by the college, namely, the manor of Atherston, the manor and advowson of Quarle, Uphaven, St. Burien, Fulburne Pension, Brimfeld, St. Elen, Charleton, Blakenham, Ponyngton, Wedon, Old Swinford, and Gannow; and others only for a short period, namely, the manor and advowson of Chesingbury, and the lands in Newford, Blanford, and Portsmouth. Besides these, the college was dispossessed of Gottesford in the reign of Henry the Sixth; of Cheshunt advowson in the reign of Henry the Seventh;

\* Ashmole, citing Cart., 1 Edw. IV, m. 20. [There does not appear to be any such licence in the charter of this date and number printed in the 'Monasticon.']

<sup>b</sup> Pat., 19 Edw. IV, m. 5; printed in the 'Monasticon.'

<sup>c</sup> Henry the Eighth extended the licence to £100 yearly. (Ashmole, citing Lib. Denton, f. 115.)

<sup>d</sup> Pat., 20 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 25. The particular quantities and description of the land in each place is specified in the patent, which is printed in the 'Monasticon.'

<sup>e</sup> "The 24 of July, anno 18 E. 4, this Duke of Suffolk infeoffed Richard Duke of York, Thomas Bishop of Lincoln, and others, of the manor of Leighton Busard, who, the 25 of June, anno 19 E. 4, at his special instance, demised and granted the said manor to the dean and canons for ever; and in the octaves of St. John Baptist, anno 20 E. 4, the Duke of Suffolk and his duchess levied a fine to the dean and canons, who thereupon agreed that for this their so large donation they should be had in their perpetual orisons." (Ashmole.)

<sup>f</sup> Pat., 20 Edw. IV, p. ii, m. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 172.

"in fact, but not of right, King of England," with the assent of the then parliament, and proceeds to incorporate the dean and canons by the name of the Dean and Canons of the Free Chapel of St. George in the Castle of Windsor, with the usual powers of perpetual succession, holding lands, &c., and of suing and being sued. The charter also empowers the Duke of Suffolk and Elizabeth his wife to grant and assign to the dean and canons the manor or lordship of Grobury or Grovebury, otherwise called the manor or lordship of Leighton Busard, in Bedfordshire, held of the king in capite. The king also granted permission to all persons to endow the dean and canons with lands, &c., to the annual value of five hundred pounds; and also granted them freedom from fines for these and all other letters patent and writs.<sup>1</sup>

This charter, which effected the complete incorporation of the dean and canons, was obtained through the interest of Bishop Beauchamp,<sup>2</sup> who had been installed dean of the chapel on the 4th of March, 1478, and who was the first chancellor of the Order of the Garter. For the greater security of the body, the provisions of the charter were incorporated in a statute of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the king's reign,<sup>3</sup> and still in force.<sup>4</sup>

The wardrobe accounts of the twentieth year of the king's reign contain entries of presents to the college of silk, velvet, satin, and cloth of gold.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the possessions mentioned in the grants of this reign had formed part of the revenue of Eton College, and are included

and of Wodemersthome, Tyltchey, Retherfeld, Levynghdon, Stoke-Basset, Stretham, Totingbeck, Fordham, Ethorp, Newenham, and Tollesworth during or shortly before the reign of Henry the Eighth. Afterwards they surrendered into the hands of the last-mentioned king the manors and advowsons of Eure, Clyff, Ashton, Rowhand, Kingston, Est-Henrith, Northumunden, Compton, Weleg, Compton St. John's, and Shobingdon Portion. (Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 169—172.)

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 19 Edw. IV, m. 5. This charter is printed in the 'Monasticon.'

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Rot. Parl., 22 Edw. IV, n. m. (*Vide* Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 208.) A clause in this act respecting the poor knights will be mentioned in a subsequent part of this chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> See Sir H. Nicolas' 'Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth,' pp. 156—159.

in Henry the Sixth's charter of endowment. Edward the Fourth is said to have diverted property from the College of Eton to that of Windsor, to the yearly value of nearly one thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup>

Not only was the progress of the buildings of Eton College checked, but Edward the Fourth obtained, in 1463, a bull from Pope Pius the Second for dissolving Eton College and merging it in the College of St. George at Windsor. It was represented to the pope that Eton Church was hardly begun, and therefore could be of little or no use for the purposes originally intended, and that therefore it would be better to unite it with Windsor. Edward, however, subsequently applied to Paul the Second, acknowledging that he had been misinformed in the matter, and desiring to have the union dissolved. The pope thereupon issued his commission, in 1470, to Thomas Bourchier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to determine the question. The archbishop summoned the members of both colleges before him; but nothing was decided until 1476, when he gave judgment in favour of Eton College, with an injunction to the College of Windsor to give the members of the Eton foundation no further molestation, under pain of excommunication.<sup>2</sup> For this escape from destruction Eton was indebted to the strenuous exertions of William Westbury, "*clarum et venerabile nomen*" to all Etonians, whom the founder had made provost, and who publicly and solemnly protested against the designed incorporation,<sup>3</sup> and exerted himself so effectually that King Edward restored to Eton many of the possessions which he had originally taken from it. Still the college, though saved,

<sup>1</sup> "King Edward the 4. tooke from the Colledge of Eaton and the King's Colledge in Cambridge, which King Henry the 6. had founded (saith Sir Tho. Smith), almost 1000. pound by yeere, and gave to the Colledge of Windsor." (Stow's 'Annals.') Lambard also says—"Kinge Edward the Fourth (enclined more to the aduancement of vaine pompe, to feede the sence then to the promotion of verie vertue) tooke from those foundations of his competitor, Kinge Henry the Sixth (most noblie performed at Eaton and Cambridge for the increase of learning) so muche yearlie revenue as amounted almost to a thousand pounds, and bestowed it upon canons, vicars, singing-men, organistes, and choristers at Wyndsores." ('Topographical Dictionary.')

<sup>2</sup> Huggett, MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 174 and f. 220; No. 4843, f. 86—89.

<sup>3</sup> See Sloane MS., No. 4840, f. 218; No. 4841, f. 156 and f. 310; No. 4843, f. 56—89.

suffered severely, nor was the full number of members of the various branches of the foundation ever completed.<sup>1</sup>

On the settlement of the dispute with Windsor, Provost Westbury and the college executed a release to Peter Courtney, the dean, and to the canons, of all actions, claims, and demands which they might have. One of the causes of action probably referred to a compulsory delivery of the college plate by the provost to the Dean of Windsor in an earlier part of this reign.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever may have been the state of the buildings at Eton at this period, the progress of education had commenced, as is evident from a letter written in 1467, by William Paston, jun., from Eton, to his elder brother, John Paston, in which he gives a specimen of Latin verses; proving, as Professor Creasy says, "both how early the sons of the English gentry were educated at Eton, and also that, from the very first period of the school's existence, skill in Latin versification was regarded as the crowning excellence of an Etonian."<sup>3</sup>

The disputes between the dean and canons and the poor knights were renewed in this reign, and at length grew so serious that a reconciliation could not be effected.<sup>4</sup>

A separation took place at last, for in the statute 22 Edw. IV (which has been already mentioned as incorporating the provisions of the king's charter to the college of the nineteenth year of his reign<sup>5</sup>) the poor knights were omitted; and, upon pretence that the king had greatly increased the number of the ministers of the chapel, so that the revenue was not sufficient to maintain both them and the alms-knights, and also that the king had otherwise provided for the latter, a clause was inserted enacting that the dean and canons and their successors should thenceforth for ever be wholly quit and discharged from all manner of exhibition or charge of or for any of the said knights.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College, and of the Past and Present Condition of the School.' By E. S. Creasy, M.A. London, 1848.

<sup>2</sup> See Sloane MS., No. 4840, f. 220 and f. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Creasy's 'Memoirs of Eminent Etonians,' pp. 31, 32. See the curious and amusing letter in Fenn's 'Paston Letters,' vol. i, p. 297, and reprinted by Professor Creasy.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, pp. 159, 160.

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 377.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Parl., 22 Edw. IV, m. 11. (*Vide* Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 208.)

There can be little doubt that this clause was inserted at the instigation of the dean and canons, although they afterwards alleged, in answer to the petition of the knights for the repeal of the statute, that William Omerey and John Kendall, two of the alms-knights, "laboured much before this act passed to be incorporate by themselves, to get lands settled on them, to be exempt from the obedience and rule of the dean and canons, and governed by ordinances made among themselves."<sup>1</sup>

How the knights subsisted for some time after this period, when thus cut off from the benefit of the "quotidians, portions, and fees" assigned to them by Edward the Third, does not, says Ashmole, "fully enough appear." We shall find them, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, petitioning without success for the repeal of the above statute.<sup>2</sup>

The Christmas of the year 1480, and also of 1482, the king kept "royally" with his queen at Windsor.<sup>3</sup>

Mary of York, the second child of Edward the Fourth, who was born at Windsor in August 1466, died at Greenwich on Thursday, the 23d of May, 1482. On the Monday following, her corpse was brought to Greenwich, "and there had her dirige began by James Goldwell, Lord Bishop of Norwich, who also sung mass the next morning, there being present several lords and ladies; and in the afternoon the body was conveyed into a mourning chariot, drawn by two horses, also trapped with black, and adorned with lozenges of her arms. Thus from Greenwich they set forward to Kingston, where the corpse rested that night; and from thence, the next morning, towards Windsor, where being met by the parish in procession, at the foot of the bridge next Eaton, they proceeded to the chapel at Windsor, where the body was buried with the usual offices thereunto belonging."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, Chapter XVII.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed; Stow.

<sup>4</sup> Sandford's 'Genealogical History;' and see Sir H. Nicolas' 'Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York.' George of Shrewsbury, the third son, born at Shrewsbury, and created Duke of Bedford in his infancy, and dying soon afterwards, was also buried at Windsor.

The king died at Westminster on the 9th of April, 1483.<sup>1</sup> He had made a will in 1475, some of the clauses of which relating to his burial and to the works of St. George's Chapel are sufficiently curious to be inserted here.

The will thus commences :

“ R. E.

“ In the name of the moost holy and blessed Trinitie, the Fader, the Sonne, and the holy Goost, by and under whoom alle Kings and Princes reigne. We, Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, remembreing inwardly that we, as other creatures in this world, bee transitorie and have noon abidunt therin certain, considering also that we bee nowe upon oure journey and in taking oure passage, by Godds sufferance and assistence, toward oure Reame of Fraunce, for the recoueryng of oure undoubted right and title unto the same, Willing therfore to dispose us in alle things to the pleaser of God, for the helth and relief of oure soule, as ferforthly as we, by his grace and assistance, can call to oure mynde, the xx day of Juyn, the yere of oure Lord God M.cccc.lxxv, and the yere of oure Reigne the xv<sup>th</sup>, beeing in helth of body and hole of mynde, thanked bee his Grace, at oure Towne of Sandwich make this oure last Wille and testament, in the manere and fourme hereafter enswing.

“ Furst we bequeth [our soul] to allmighty God, and to his glorious Moder oure Lady Saint Marie, Saint George, Saint Edward, and all the holy Companie of heven, and oure body to bee buried in the Church of the Collage of Saint George within oure Castell of Wyndesore, by us begonne of newe to bee buylded, in the place of the same Church by us limited and appointed and declared to the Reverende Fader in God, oure right trusty and welbeloved the Bisshop of Sarum, where we will oure body be buried lowe in the grownde, and upon the same a stone to bee laied and wrought with the figure of Dethe, with seochyne of oure Armer and writings convenient aboute the bordures of the same, remembreing the day and yere of oure decease, and that in the same place or nere to it an Autre bee made metely for the rome, as hereafter we shall devise and declare.

“ Item, we wol that overe the same Sepulture ther bee made a vawte of convenient height as the place wil suffre it, and that upon the said vawte ther bee a Chapell or a Closet with an Autre convenient, and a Tumbre to bee made and set there, and upon the same tumbre an Image for oure figure, which figure we wil bee of silver and

<sup>1</sup> This is the date assigned by Sir H. Nicolas, in his ‘Chronology of History,’ although it differs from that mentioned in the narrative printed in a subsequent note.



gilte, or at the lest coopre and gilt, and aboute the same tumber scripture made convenient, remembreing the day and yere of oure deceasse.

"Item, we wol that nere to our said Sepulture ther bee ordeigned places for xiiij personnes to sit and knele in, to say and kepe such observance, divine service, and praiers as we hereafter shall expresse and declare."

The king then provides for the payment of his debts, and for marriage portions for his daughters, and lands for his sons, and proceeds as follows :

"Item, we wol that the Church of the said Collage begonue by us of newe to bee buylded bee thoroughly finisshed in all things as we have appointed it by the oversight and assent of the said Bisshop of Sarum during his liff, and after his deceasse by the oversight of the Dean of the said Collage for the tyme beeing, soo alway that our Executours and Supervisour of this our last Wille and testament bee prive to all charges and expenses that shal bee expended about it.

"Item, we wol that oure said Executours and Supervisour here oons in the yere thaccompts and rekenyng as well of the said Bisshop as of the said Dean, and all other that shal have the charge and governance of the said buyldings, soo as the charges therof may bee provided for from tyme to tyme as the cas shal require.

"Item, where we have graunted unto oure said cousin the Cardinall and other to oure use and behove all Castelles, Lordshippes, Manoirs, lands, and tenements that were late John Erl of Shroosbury and John late Erl of Wiltes', or either of hem, and commen unto oure hands after thair deceasse and by reason of the nonnage of thair heires, and also all such Manoirs, lands, and tenements as late were Thomas Tresham, Knight, and commen to oure hands by vertue of an Acte of forfaiture made in our said last Parliament, withouten eny thing yelding unto us for the same, we wol that the revenues, issues, and proffits of all the same Castelles, Lordshippes, Manoirs, lands, and tenements, the rents, issues, and proffits of the Lordshippes, Manoirs, lands, and tenements graunted by us to oure welbeloved Conseillour, William Lord Hastings, for the sustentation and fyndyng of the newe Erl of Shroesbury, son and heire of the said late Erl of Shroesbury, oonly except, bee employed by the oversight aforesaid about the buyldings of the said Church as ferre as it will strecche over the ordinarie charges therof; and if the said Erles or either of thaim deceasse, or that they or either of thaim have lyveree of thair londes beeing within age, and afore the said Church and oure other werks there thoroughly buylded and finisshed, then we wol that asmuch of the revenues, issues, and

profits of the premisses parcell of oure said Duchie of Lancastre put in feoffement by auctoritie of Parliament aforesaid, as the revenues of the said Erles lands, or either of thaim soo dieing or having liverie of his lands, extendeth unto in yerely valuc, bee employed by oure Executors aboute the same buylding and werks by the oversight abovesaid.

“ Item, we wol that ther bee two prests perpetuelly founden within the said Collage to synge and pray for us and oure said Wiff, oure faders, and other of our auncestres, in such fourme and manere as hereafter we shal doo to bee ordeigned and devised, which two prests we wol bee chosen and named by the Dean and Chanons of the same Collage for the tyme beeing and thair successours by the oversight and assent of the said Bisshop of Sarum during his liff, in the which election we wol that the said Dean and Chanons bee sworne upon the holy Evangelists that they shall name noon of the said two prests for favour or affection or at the desire or request of eny personne what soo ever he bee, but that they shall chose such as bee notarily knowen good and of vertuous conversacion, and nat promoted to any manere benefice, Chaunters, prebende, nor free Chapell, in the which eleccion we wol that such Clerks of the Universities of Oxonford and Cambrigge as bee Doctours of Divinitie, or Bachelers of Divinitie at the lest, beeing of good conversation as afore is said, bee preferred afore all other, which prests, and either of hem soo chosen, we wol thay bee sworne upon the holy Evangelists upon thair admission, before the said Deane and Chanons, truly to observe and kepe all observances and divine service as we shall ordeigne to bee doon, and at such tyme and place as shal also bee limited and appointed.

“ Item, we wol that ther bee founden perpetuelly within the said Collage xiiij poure men, whoo we wol that thay daily pray and say such service and praiers as we shall ordeigne to bee said by thaim and at such tyme and place also as we shall ordeigne and devise, for observation of the which we wol that they bee straitlie sworne upon the holy Evangelists at thair furst admission in the presence of the said Deane and Chanons.

“ Item, we wol that the said xiiij poure men bee chosen and named by the said Dean and Chanons for the tyme being by the oversight of the said Bisshop during his liff, in the which election we wol that the said Dean and Chanons bee sworne in the fourme as afore is declared in thelection of the said prests with this addicion, that thay shall noon chose but such as bee moost poure and nedy and next dwelling to the said Collage and unmarried, and in this election we wol that oure servants and such other as were servants to my said Lord and Fader have preferment afore all other albeiet that thay bee not next dwelling or abiding to the said Collage.

"Item, we wol that either of the said two prests have yerely for thair salarie xx marc' in redy money at iiij termes of the yere by even porcions, by the hands of the said Deane and Chanons and thair successours, and that every of the said xiiij poure men have two pens by the day to bee paied wekely thorough out the yere, that is to say every Satirday immediatly after even songe of the day said in the said Collage by the hands of the said Dean and Chanons for the tyme being or oon of thaim to bee deputed in that behalve.

"Item, for seurtie of paiement aswell of the salarie of the same two prests as of the almesse of the same xiiij. poure men we wol that oure said cousin the Cardinal and his Cofoeffees of and in the Lordship and Manoir of Wicomb called Basset Bury with the Fee ferme of the towne of Much Wicomb, and of and in the Manoir of Dadyngton in the shire of Oxenford, doo make estate therof to the said Dean and Chanons of Wyndesore and to thair successours for evermore, undre such fourme as shall bee thought to oure Executours moost seurtie and convenient for the paiement of the said salarie and almesse truly to bee had and made to thaim according to this oure Wille.

"Item, we wol that the said two prests bee discharged of keping divine service in the Chauncell of the said Collage or in any other place within the said church other then aboute oure sepulture and tumber as afore is said, of lesse then it bee upon the principall Fests in the yere, or that the Quere goo a procession, which daies we woll thay goo a procession with the Quere weryng surplees and copes as the Vicairs there doo.

"Item, we wol that the said two prests and xiiij poure men bee contynuelly abiding and resident within the said Collage and that thay daily kepe and say thair observances and divine services aboute oure sepulture and tumber in the fourme as shal more at large bee declared in oure Ordenance thereof; and if eny of the said two prests bee promoted to eny manere of benefice, bee it with cure or without cure, that immediatly after his promocion he bee avoided and removed from this his service, and a newe to bee chosen, as afore is declared, and put in his place.

"Item, if eny of the said poure men bte promoted to eny manere of lyvelode rents offices fees or annuities by enheritaunce or by eny other moyen to the value of v. marc' by the yere, that he immediatly after bee discharged of his service and have noo lenger paiement of our said almes, and an other to bee chosen, as afore is said, and put in his place.

"Item, if eny of the said prests or poure men absente thaim from the said Collage for eny cause more then xxviiij daies in all by the yere, or elles he bee negligent or remisse in keping the said observance divine service or praiers that shall be in his charge to doo and

say, of lesse then it bee by occasion of sekenesse or feblenesse notorili knowen to the Dean and Chanons for the tyme beeing there present, that he soo absentyng him or bee negligent or remisse in keping or dooing the said observances divine service or praiers, after certain monissions yeven unto him soo dooing, bee discharged of his service and an other for that cause chosen, as afore is declared, and put in his place.

"Item, we wol that the hows and Hospitall of Saint Antonies,<sup>1</sup> with all the possessions, rents, proffits, commodities, and advayles therunto belonging, bee in the moost seure wise appropriated and annexed to the said Collage to bee had to the said Dean and Chanons and thair successours for evermore, thay with the same to fynde and bere in the same place in London and elleswhere all manere observances divine service almes and all other charges in as large manere and fourme as it hath bee ordeigned by the founders and benefactours of the same place to bee had and doon, and specially as it hath been used and accustomed to bee doon at eny tyme within xl. yeres last passed, and with the residue of the revenues commyng therof we wol that the said Dean and Chanons and thair successours for evermore doo fynde ten Vicaires with Calaber ameses, vj. Clers, and iiij Children over thair nombre that they nowe have, under such manere and fourme as we shall doo to bee ordeigned and stablissed.

"Item, we wol that oure said feoffees contynue thair astate and possession of and in all the said honours Castelles Lordshippes manoirs lands tenements and all other the premisses ordeigned to the paiement of oure said debtes, restitution of wrongs if eny bee, the mariages of oure said doughtres, and buylding of the said Church and other the charges above expressed, unto the tyme this oure Wille and testament in the manere and fourme afore expressed and declared in that behalve bee thoroughly and perfetely executed and perfourmed,

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 379, note 2. Ashmole says that at the Reformation the College of Windsor lost at least 1000 marks a year in the profit made by St. Anthony's pigs. ('Order of the Garter,' p. 172.) Stow, in his 'Survey of London,' in describing the Hospital of St. Anthony, says—"The proctors of this house were to collect the benevolence of charitable persons towards the building and supporting thereof. And amongst other things observed in my youth, I remember that the officers (charged with oversight of the markets in this city) did divers time take from the market-people, pigs starved, or otherwise unwholsome for man's sustenance: these they did slit in the ear. One of the proctors for St. Antonies tyed a bell about the necke, and let it feed on the dunghills, no man would hurt or take it up: but if any gave to them bread or other feeding, such would they know, watch far, and daily follow, whining till they had somewhat given them; whereupon was raised a proverbe, *Such an one will follow such an one, and schine as it were an Antonie pig*. But if such a pig grew to be fat, and came to good liking (as oftymes they did), then the proctor would take him up to the use of the hospital."

without eny astate making therof or eny part thereof to oure said son Edward or to such as shall please God to ordeigne to bee oure heire or eny other oure Sonnes or other personne what soo ever.

"Item, we wol that *cc.li.* bee disposed yerely for evermore in almes wherof *l.li.* to bee disposed by the discretion of the said Bisshop of Sarum during his liff and after his deceasse by the said Dean of the said Collage and his successours by the oversight of the Bisshop of Sarum for the tyme beeing to the mariages of poure mayd[ens] as nat having fader or moder nor other frende able to preferre thaim; other *l.li.* to bee departed by the same oversight to the moost miserable and pourest people next dwelling to the said Collage, wherin we wil that oure olde servants have preferment afore all other, albee it thay bee nat next dwelling to our said Collage; the third *l.li.* to bee departed by the said oversight amongs prisoners condempnd for debte or other cause where the duetie or damages excede not *iiij.li.*, or elles to such as remaigne in prison for lakke of paiement of thair fees; and the fourth *l.li.* to bee applied yerely by the said oversight about highwayes next lieing to the said Collage moost necessarie to bee repaired; and to thentent that this oure almes may seurlly bee had for evermore, we wol that our feoffees of and in the Manoir of Westcote in the said shire of Buk', the Manoir of Purton Haseley Kyrteylngton, Dadyngton and Ascote, in the shire of Oxon', the Manoirs of Asperton and Stretton with thappurtenenees, in the shire of Glouce', and the Manoir of Longbenyngton in the shire of Lincoln with thair appertenaues doo make estate therof to said Dean and Chanons and thair successours for evermore under such seure fourme in that behalve as shall seme to oure Executours moost seurtie and convenient."<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of April, 1483, the body of the king was brought from Westminster to Windsor, "with great funeral honor and heaviness of his people,"<sup>2</sup> and buried in St. George's Chapel,

<sup>1</sup> 'Excerpta Historica,' pp. 366—376.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed. The following is the curious narrative of an eye-witness of the ceremonies attendant on the king's burial:

"When that noble prince the good King Edward the *iiij*<sup>th</sup> was decessed at Westminster in his paleys, which was the *v*<sup>th</sup> day of Ap'ill, the *xxiij* yer of his reign;

"First, the corpse was leyde upon a borde all naked, saving he was cou'ed from the navell to the knees, and so lay openly for *x* or *xij* hourez, that all the lordes both spirituell and temp'ell then beying in London or ner therabout, and the meyer of London w<sup>th</sup> his bredre sawe hym so lying, and then he was sered, &c., and was brought into the chapell on the morn aft, wher wer songen *iiij* solemn masses; first of our Lady songe by the chapeleyn; and so was the second of the courte; the *iiij*<sup>de</sup> masse of Requiem whiche was songen by the Bishop of Chichester, and at aft'non ther was songen dirige and

under a large stone raised within the uppermost arch, at the north side of the altar.<sup>1</sup>

comendacion. And after that he had the hole psalter seid by the chapell, and at nyght well weched with nobles and oder his s'u'ntz, whose names eusuen' like as apperethe in the watche rolle from the first nyght in tyme he was beryed. And at the masse of Requiem, the Lord Daere, the queen's chambrleyn, offred for the quene, and the lordes temp'ell offred dayly at that seid masse, but the lordez sp'uells offred not to the bishop' but to the high auter, and oder the king's s'v'nts offred also; this ordre was kept in the paleys viij dayez, savinge aft' the first daye ther was but on' solempn masse, whiche alway was songen' by a bishop'; and on Wednesdays, the xvij day of the monyth above-seid the corps was conveyed into the abbey, born by diu's knyghts and esquires that wer for his body, (that is for to sey) Sir Gelba<sup>r</sup>d Stanley, Sir John Savage, Sir Thomas Wortley, Sir Thomas Molyneux, Sir John Welles, John Cheyny, maist' of the king's horse was Hungerford Guy of Wolston, John Savacotts, Thomas Tyrell, John Rysley [or Ryfley], Thomas Darcy, John Noryse, Loys de Brittain, and Pofre Colyns; leaving upon the corps a riche and a large blak cloth of gold with a crosse of white clothe of gold, and above that a rich canopy of cloth imp'rall, fringed w' gold and blue silk, born by Sir Thomas Seyntleg', Sir Will Parr, countroller, &c., Sir John Asteley, and Sir Will'm Stonouar, knyghts. And at eu'y corner a baner: the first of the Trinite, whiche was born by Sir Herry Ferrers: the secound of our Lady, born by Sir James Radelyf: the iiij<sup>th</sup> of Seint George, born by S' George Broun: the iiij<sup>th</sup> of Seint Gelbard, born by S' Gilbert Debenh'm. And the Lorde Haward ber' the king's baner next before the corps, having the officers of armez aboute them. Wher was ordeyned a worthy herse like as it apperteyneth, having before hym a grete p'resson, and th' archebishop of Yorke, ch'nceler of England, the bishop of London, the bishop of Chest'r, the bysshop of Bathe, the bisshop of Chichest'r, the bisshop of Norwiche, the bisshop of Durl'm, the bisshop of Lincoln, the bishop of Ely, the bisshop of Rowchest'r, th' abbot of Habyngdon, th' abbot of Beremondessey, and these lordes folowed the corps and aboute the corps, leying their handez therto; th' erle of Lincoln, the Marques of Dors', th' erle of Huntingdon, the Viscount Barkley, the Lord Stanley, &c.; the Lorde Hastings, the king's chamberleyn, the Lorde Daere, the queyns ch'mberleyn, the Lord Dudley, the [1<sup>st</sup>] Burgeyn, the Lorde Morley, S' Richard Woodvyle, the Lorde Awdley, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lord Lisle, Sir Gelbard Wodevyll, the Lorde Cobh'm, Lorde Wellex, Sir John Bourser, Sir Thomas Bourser, and Sir Thomas Bourser of Berneys, which Lordes wer w'in the herse that s'vice; and on the morn, also the s'vice at Westmynster was don by the archebishop of York, &c., and at the masse th' Abbot of Bermesey was

And in that herse, above the corps and the clothe of gold above-seid, ther was a p'sonage like to the similitude of the king in habite roiall, crowned w' the verray crown on his hed. Holding in that one hande a scepter, and in that o'r hand a balles of silver and gilte w' a crosplate. And aft that the lords that wer w'in the herse, and the bisshoppes had offred, the meyer of London offred, and next aft hym the chef juge and other juges and knyghts of the kings hous, w<sup>th</sup> the barons of the eschequier and aldermen of London as they myght went to. And when the masse was don and all other solempnite, and that the lordes wer redy for to ryde; ther was ordeyned a roiall char, cov'd w' blak velvet, having above that a blak clothe of gold with a white cross of gold; under that a mageste clothe of blak sarsenet, drawen w' vj co'sers, trapped with blaue velvet, w' certeyn

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 149.

"Over this arch hung the king's coat of mail, gilt, covered over with crimson velvet, and thereon the arms of France and England

seochens betyn upon sarsenet betyn w' fyne gold. Apou the fore hors and the thill hors sate ij charet men. And on the iiij oder hors satte iiij henschemen. On either side the forseid draught went diu'se knyghts and esquiers for the body and other; some leying their handez to the draught and su'me leying the hors unto tyme they passed the townes whose namez ensuen'.

"And the Lorde Haward, the kings banerier, rode next before the forehorse bering the kings baner upon a courser trapped w' blak velvet, with diu'se seochous of the kings armez, with his morenyng hudd on his lied. When the corps w' the p'sonage as above w' pro'ssion of bisshoppes in pontificalibz, and the iiij ordrez of frerez was conveyed to the chare. And in ordre as above to Charingcrosse, wher the bisshop'z censed the char, and the lordes toke their horse, and so p'ceded to Syon that nyght, wher at the churche dore the bisshoppes censed the corps, and the corps and the p'sonage was born as before into the quere. And ther the bisshop' of Duresm did the s'vce. And on the morn in like ordre as above he was conveyed to the chare, and from thens to Wyndesore. Wher at Eton the bisshop of Lincoln and the bisshop of Ely, w' the college, mette and censed the corps. And so p'ceded to the castell gate the archebisshop of York, the bisshop of Wynchest', censed the corps, beyng ther w' the bisshop of Norwiche, the bisshop of Duresm, the bisshop of Rochest', w' the chanons of the college and the kings chapell, and p'ceded to the newe churche, wher in the quer was ordeigned a mervellous wele wrought herse, and forthw' to dirige. In the evenyng they of the college seid the hole psaulter, and ther was a grete watch that nyght by grete lordez, knyghts, esquiers for the body, gentilmen ushers, and other whose names ensuen'. First, w'in the herse the Lorde of Burgeyne, the Lorde Audley, the Lorde Morley, the Lorde Lisle, the Lorde Haward, the Lorde Wells, the Lord Delawar, the Lord Fitzhugh, the Lorde Coth'm, S' John of Arundell, S' Thomas Boursier of Berneys; knyghts w'out the herse, S' Thom's Seintleger, S' Gilbert Debenh'm, S' Herry Ferrers, S' John Savage, S' Gelbard Stanley, Sir Thomas Wortley, S' Thom's Molyneux, Sir Will'm Parker, Sir Will'm Stonouar.

"Esquiers for the body, John Cheyny, maist' of the horse, Will'm Barkeley, Will'm Odall, Rob' Poyntz, John Rysley, Loys de Brytaillies, Anethe Malyverer, John Sabacotts.

"Gentilmen usshers, Will'm Colynghurn, Edward Hargill Baff, Nicholas Cromer, Will'm Myddleton, and Po'fre Colyns, Will'm Clyfford, Mytton.

"Officers of armes, Garter, Norrey King of armes, Gloucest'r herald, Ruge Croys, Ginez and Harrington, p'su'nts.

"Esquiers of household, Thomas Mortymer, D'yrok, Redmell, Delanier, Edmond Georgez.

"Yomen usshers, Will'm Ryder, Roger Chelsale, George Cheyny, James Pemberton, w' diu'rs and many yomen of the crown, and of his ch'mbre and houshold, whiche hylden' torehcz.

"And on the morn', aft' the comendacions, begaunne the masse of our Lady, songen by the bysshop of Duresm, at which masse Sir Thomas Bourghier offred the masse peny because ther was no grett astate p'sent, and aft' hym alle other as wer in the herse, &c.

"After that masse done, begaunne the masse of the Trynity, songen by the bisshop of Lincoln, at which masse th' Erle of Huntingdon offred the masse peny. Aft' hym the oder lords and noblez as above. Atte the begynnyng of the masse of Requiem, the whiche was songen by the archebisshop of York, officers of armez wente to the vestyary,

quarterly, richly embroidered with pearl and gold, interwoven with divers rubies."<sup>1</sup> This trophy of honour hung safely over his grave from the time of the funeral until the 23d of October, 1642, when the chapel was plundered by Captain Fogg, one of the officers of the Parliamentary forces, and the plate and ornaments of the chapel removed.<sup>2</sup>

The king had, as appears from the accounts of the last year of

wher they receyved a riche embrowdred cote of armes, which Garter king of armes hyld w<sup>t</sup> as grete rev<sup>e</sup>nce as he cowde at the hede of the seid herse till the offring tyme, at whiche tyme, aft<sup>r</sup> that the erle of Lincoln had offred the masse peny, p<sup>r</sup>sented it to the Marquess of Dors' and to th<sup>r</sup> erle of Huntingdon, they to offre it; and the seid Gart<sup>r</sup> receyved it ageyn of the archebisshop, and hyld it stille at the high auter ende till the masse was done. In likewyse Clarenceux and Norrey kings of armes reseeyved the shilde, and at the offring tyme p<sup>r</sup>sented it to the Lorde Maltrevers and to the Viscount Berkeley; but ther was a question whether the son and heir of an erle shuld go above a viscount, &c.

"Kings of Armes.

"And Marche and Ireland reseived a rich swerde whiche had be sent from the Pope, and in like forme behaved themself, and p<sup>r</sup>sented it to S<sup>r</sup> Johu and S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bows', the kings aunts sonnez.

"Also Chest'r and Leycest'r herauldes receyved a basenet w<sup>t</sup> a riche crown of gold, and p<sup>r</sup>sented it to the Lorde Stanley and the Lorde Hastings.

"And Gloucest'r and Buckingh'm herauldes, w<sup>t</sup> Rouge Crosse, Rosse, Bla'ehe, Caleys, Ginez, and Berwy'k and Harrington p<sup>r</sup>syu'nts, went w<sup>t</sup> the knyghts and esquiers for the body to the churehe dore for to reseyyve of John Cheyny, maist<sup>r</sup> of the horse, the man of armez, whiche was Sir Will'm Parr, armed at all peeces, saving he was barcheded, having an axe in his hand, the polle downward, and thus aecompanied to the quere dore wher he did alight. And the dekyu toke the horse which was trapped w<sup>t</sup> a riche trapper of the king's armez, wher the Lorde Audeley and the Lord Ferrers receyved the man of armez, and with the forseid company of knyghtes, esquiers, heraulds, and pursyv<sup>nt</sup>, accompenyed hym to his offring; whiche done, eu'y lorde in mornyng habits offred for hymself; and aft<sup>r</sup> them, div<sup>se</sup> other noble knyghts, officers, &c. Incontinent that don, the lordez offred certeyn clothes of gold to the corps, eu'yche aft<sup>r</sup> his degree or astate; that is for to seye, th<sup>r</sup> erle of Lincoln iiij, because he was the kings newew, and son and heir of the Duc of Suff<sup>r</sup>; the Marques of Dors', iiij; th<sup>r</sup> erle of Huntingdon, iiij; the Lorde Malt'uers, ij, because he was the son and heir of th<sup>r</sup> erle of Arundell; the Viscount Berkeley, ij; W<sup>m</sup> le Debat. Every baron and the other knyghts, moorners, because of nyghnesse of bloode, j. I cannot ordre how they offred because the presse of the people was so grete betwene them and me; but the longest in astate or degree by to the corps beganne first. The namez of the barones and knyghts aforeseid. The Lorde Stanley, the Lorde Hastings, the Lorde Audeley, the Lord Burgeyn, the Lorde Dudley, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lorde Fitz Hugh, the Lord Delawar, the Lord Morley, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Cobh'm, the Lorde Haward, the Lord Wellez, and the Lord Mountjoye, S<sup>r</sup> Johu of Arundell, &c." ('Archæologia,' vol. i, p. 348.)

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. See *post*, Reign of Charles the First.



his reign already referred to, caused a monument to be prepared for his grave. No inscription was placed on it,<sup>1</sup> and it does not appear ever to have been completed.<sup>2</sup> A curious fabric of wrought iron was erected in front of the grave, and was probably intended, Mr. Poynter observes, "as a screen to the monument."

"This elaborate piece of workmanship," says the same writer, "has generally been considered as of foreign manufacture ;<sup>3</sup> but the high price at which the services of King Edward's principal smith were retained point him out as an artist of some pretension far beyond that of wielding a sledge-hammer, and there is no reason why it should not be the handiwork of Master John Tresilian."<sup>4</sup>

Ashmole describes it as made of "steel gilt,"<sup>5</sup> and others as of brass gilt. The frame is, however, of worked bar-iron, and the small rich Gothic compartments of plate iron are cut with a punch stamp. The whole of the work appears to have been executed in the most simple manner possible, and put together with similar simplicity.<sup>6</sup>

This screen was originally placed on the north side and open to the aisle ; but about 1789 it was moved into the choir, and the vacancy thus left on the north side of the vault was filled by a new monument, represented in the woodcut at the end of the present chapter.<sup>7</sup>

Elizabeth Wydeville was buried by the side of her husband in 1492, as will be mentioned in the succeeding chapter.

In the year 1789, the coffin of Edward the Fourth was dis-

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> It had been generally attributed to Quintin Matsys. (Stoughton.)

<sup>4</sup> Poynter.

<sup>5</sup> 'Order of the Garter, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.', vol. i, p. 210, note (f), citing an examination made by "Dr. Lind, who has carefully examined it with Mr. Davis, his majesty's blacksmith at Windsor." Mr. Stoughton received a corroboration of this opinion from the workmen of Messrs. Berridge and Sons, who had been then (1844) recently engaged in cleaning this piece of work. ('Windsor in the Olden Time,' p. 96.) There is an engraving of the screen in Sandford's 'Genealogical History,' p. 391, 1st edit.

<sup>7</sup> 'Vetusta Monumenta,' vol. iii, p. 4.

covered by some workmen. It was of lead, seven feet long, and was much compressed in some parts, and a little decayed. On opening it, the entire skeleton was found, measuring six feet three inches and a half in length. Some brown hair was found lying near the skull and neck. The coffin also contained a liquid, which at the feet was three inches deep, and which Dr. Lind, who examined it, pronounced to be the result of the decomposition of the body.<sup>1</sup>

In proof that the "courteous and familiar virtues" of Edward the Fourth continued up to the period of his death, the chroniclers narrate "that in summer the last that ever he saw, his highnesse, being at Windsore in hunting, sent for the maior and aldermen of London to him, for none other errand but to have them hunt and be merry with him; where he made them not so stately, but so friendly and so familliar cheare, and sent venison from thence so freely into the city, that no one thing in many dayes before gat him eyther more hearts or more hearty favor amongst the common people, which oftentimes more esteeme and take for greater kindnes a little courtesie than a great benefit."<sup>2</sup>

Hunting appears to have been a favorite amusement of this king, and several instances of his indulgence in the sport at Windsor have been mentioned in the present chapter. The wardrobe accounts for one year (1480) contain many entries of disbursements on account of horses, saddles, and harness. Among various kinds of spurs, described as "long spurs," "short spurs," and "black spurs," is one described as "hunting spurres, 1 paire, parcelle gilt."<sup>3</sup>

The following lines from the poem 'Of the Death of the Noble Prince, Kynge Edward the Forth,' written by John Skelton, poet laureate in the reign of Henry the Seventh, may be inserted here as containing a reference to Windsor:

<sup>1</sup> 'Vetusta Monumenta,' vol. iii, where see engravings of the vault, body, &c., plates vii and viii. See also Gough's 'Monumental Antiquities,' vol. ii, p. 278. A lock of the hair is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Grafton; Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir H. Nicolas' 'Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth.'

" I had ynough, I held me not content,  
 Without remembraunce that I should dye;  
 And more ever to incroche redy was I bent,  
 I knew not how longe I should it occupy:  
 I made the Tower stronge, I wust not why;  
 I knew not to whom I purchased Tetersall;<sup>1</sup>  
 I amendid Dover on the mountayne hie,  
 And London I provoked to fortify the wall;  
 I made Notingham a place full royall,  
 Wyndsore, Eltam,<sup>2</sup> and many other mo.  
 Yet at the last I went from them all,  
*Et, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio!*

" Where is now my conquest and victory?  
 Where is my riches and my royal aray?  
 Wher be my coursers and my horses hie?  
 Where is my myrth, my solas, and my play?  
 As vanyte, to nought al is wandred away.  
 O lady Bes, longe for me may ye call!  
 For I am departed tyl domis day;  
 But love ye that Lorde that is soveraygne of all.  
 Where be my castels and buyldynges royall?  
 But Windsore alone, now I have no more,<sup>3</sup>  
 And of Eton the prayers perpetuall,  
*Et, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio!"*<sup>4</sup>

It is evident (says Mr. Poynter) that at the conclusion of this reign "the eastern portion of the chapel at least was roofed, and the choir nearly finished; yet how far the work might be advanced in other respects is uncertain. The well-known cognizance of the founder, the *rose en soleil*, prevails throughout the whole of the lower part of the building; but the Tudor bearings on and above the west window indicate that portion to have been incomplete for some years later. Of the interior stone groining, the roof of the Lincoln Chapel, with the adjoining compartment at the east end of

<sup>1</sup> Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire.

<sup>2</sup> This line and the next are given thus in one MS.:

" Wynsore and eton, and many oder mo,  
 As Westmynstre, Eltham, and sone went I from all."

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.*, More; alluding of course to the king's burial in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

<sup>4</sup> See Dyce's 'Skelton,' vol. i, pp. 3, 4.

the south aisle, the corresponding compartment on the north side, and the passage at the back of the altar, are the only portions which could have been executed by Bishop Beauchamp. Nothing more appears to have been done to the vaulting until the reign of Henry the Seventh, and it was not completed until that of his successor."<sup>1</sup>

Besides the royal foundation, there were several chantries endowed about this period in St. George's Chapel. The two in this reign are thus described by Ashmole :

"The 26 of November, anno 18 E. 4, the feoffees of Richard Duke of Gloucester confirmed and delivered to the dean and chapter the manors of Bentfieldbury in the county of Essex, Knapton in the county of Norfolk, and Chellesworth in the county of Suffolk ; who thereupon granted (among other things) that they and their successors should cause yearly for ever a mass to be daily celebrated in this chapel, for the good estate of the said duke and of Anne his duchess while they lived, and their souls when dead ; as also for the souls of their parents and benefactors.

"Sir Thomas St. Leger, knight (some time husband to Anne Duchess of Exeter, sister to King Edward the Fourth), founded a chantry of two priests, who (in the middle chapel, situate on the north side of the church) were ordained to pray for the healthful estate of King Edward the Fourth and his queen, and Cicely Duchess of York, the king's mother, while they lived, and for their souls when dead : as also for the soul of Richard Duke of York, the good estate of the said Sir Thomas, and Richard Bishop of Salisbury, then living, and after their decease for their souls, and the soul of Anne Duchess of Exeter. The foundation of this chantry, and the covenants between Sir Thomas St. Leger and the dean and college, are dated the 20 of April, anno 22 E. 4."<sup>2</sup>

Among the parochial endowments of this reign were the following :

John Fayrefeld, of New Wyndsor, by will dated the 9th of January, 1469, among other things gave his tenement situate in Shete Strete to his son Hugh and Alice his wife ; and if they died

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay.'

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 149.

without issue, then the tenement was to be sold, and the one half of the profit to be disposed of to the reparation of "the wayes" about New Wyndsor, and the other upon the reparation of the Church of St. John the Baptist, so that all Christians might pray for the soul of the testator and the souls of all the faithful departed.

John Scott, *alias* Coney, by will dated the 30th of April, 1470, directed that he should be buried in St. Mary's Chapel, in the Church of St. John the Baptist, in New Windsor, on the south side of the chapel. He gave to the lights of every altar in the church the sum of sixpence; and if his sons William and John died without issue, he directed all his lands, tenements, &c., in New Windsor, Old Windsor, and Clewar to be sold, and the profits to be distributed in good works, as well in aid of God's church as for other good and charitable uses, for the good of his soul.

Roger Norreys, gentleman, and Thomas Blewet, yeoman, by deed dated the 8th of September, in the twenty-second year of this reign, demised a messuage and one croft adjoining, situate in New Wyndesor in Underore, in fee of the Abbot of Reading, to Thomas Engeley and Christian his wife, for their lives, and afterwards to Robert Rothery and Lucy his wife and the heirs of their body, and, if they should die without issue, then to the dean and canons of the College of St. George "within Wyndesor Castle" and their successors for ever, to the end that they should find a yearly obit for ever in the said college for the souls of Geoffry Pasley and Julian his wife, Walter Norris and Helen his wife, Thomas Engely and Christian his wife, their parents, friends, and benefactors, and all the faithful departed.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest existing records among the muniments of the corporation of Windsor are entries of proceedings in the borough court during this reign. Little is recorded besides the names of the parties and the form of action, except in a few instances where issue was joined and the cases proceeded to trial. The jury process and panels of those causes remain, but are devoid of interest,

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1125.

beyond supplying us with the names of inhabitants of Windsor at this period.<sup>1</sup>

The "statutes" or rules of the corporation established in this reign are, however, sufficiently curious to warrant their insertion, from a transcript formerly existing among the records of the corporation :

"The Statutes for the Order and Regiment to be hadde, used, and contynued in the Corpora<sup>co</sup>n or Fraternitie of the Guylde hall in New Wyndesor, made and decreed and ordeyned the 14<sup>th</sup> day of July, and in the 14<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reigne of the Kyng of most famous Memory, Kyne Edward the 4<sup>th</sup>, before the Lord Steward of Englande, the Treasurer and Control<sup>r</sup> of the Kyngs most ho<sup>ble</sup> hoscholde, the re<sup>ver</sup>end father Thomas Byshop of Winchester, S<sup>r</sup> Edward Ferys, S<sup>r</sup> Witton Denys, K<sup>te</sup>, and div<sup>s</sup> other of the Kings most ho<sup>ble</sup> Councell, as appe<sup>th</sup> by the Booke remaining of Record within the compting house of the Kings householde afores<sup>d</sup>, the yere above written, William Bullok then Maior of the Burrough, Tho: Nesse and John Grace Bayleffe, and the hole corpora<sup>co</sup>n p<sup>re</sup>sent consenting and accepting the same to continue for ever.

"Inprimis, yt ys stablyshed and agreed that the Eleccion of the Maior and Bayliffs shal be continued as before hath been accustomed and used, That is to saye, the most part of the Bretherne being no Benchers shall Elect and Chuse 2 of the Aldermen, of whome one to be chosen Maior by the most voyces of the Burgesses and Aldermen, And also the seide Bretheren to chuse one Bayliff among themselves,

<sup>1</sup> The following were the aldermen in the thirteenth year of this reign: Richard Lovell, seneschal; Edmund Pury, William Bullok, Richard Grenewey, William Stevens, Thomas Lynnett, John Bernard, John Joyes, Nicholas Keye, William Evington, William Hether, John Toller. The names of the burgesses in the same year were John Bernard (elected alderman in the place of William Frauncceyes, deceased), John Grace, William Hether (elected alderman), William Kempshall, Thomas C. Kouper, William Quynchant, Richard Dawe, John Toller (elected alderman), John Oldwode, William Pratte, John Joseph, Thomas Nesse, Robert Legate (elected alderman), Thomas Ergeley, Ralph Bullok, Christopher Broun, William Evyngton, John Joyes, Nicholas Keye, Robert Gerard (the last four being elected aldermen), John Plomer, armiger, John Bucknell, Abraham Sibiles (elected alderman), John Squire. In the next year, Thomas Nesse and John Grace were bailiffs, and William Bullok mayor. (Ash. MSS., No. 1125.) Ashmole, speaking of the fourteenth year of this reign, says—"This is the first year bailiffs are mentioned in the catalogue in the large vellum book, and they held also the following year." (Ibid.)

and the Aldermen and the Burgesses to chuse an other. So that asswell the same Alderman so elect and chosen to be Maior as the Bretheren Elect to be Bayliffs shal be inhabit<sup>s</sup> within the seide Towne, or else in no wyse to be admitted to the seide offices, but to chuse other dwelling wthin the same Towne.

"Item, yt is established and agreed, That there shal be 28, or 30 at the most, of the substauncyest and wysest men of the same Towne to be of one Fraternitie of the Guildehall, and of the 28 or 30 brethern 13 of them shall be Benchers and sitt upon the Benche, and shalbe called Burgenses, and of the same Burgenses 7 of them shal be called Aldermen, yf soe many have borne the office and charge of the Mayor within the s<sup>d</sup> Towne of Wyndsor.

"And it is further agreed, That if so many of the Burgenses have not borne the office of the Mayor, Then it shal be lawfull unto the Maior w<sup>th</sup> the consent of the most p<sup>te</sup> of the Aldermen then being to call and appoint one or as many of the other Burgenses as shall fulfill the nombre of 6 Aldermen besyde the Mayor, and in like manner w<sup>th</sup> the consent of the most p<sup>te</sup> of the Burgenses to call and appoint one or as many of the Brethern w<sup>ch</sup> have borne the office and charges of the Bayliff w<sup>th</sup>in the same Towne, to sitt upon the Bench to fulfill the number of Burgenses. And even so w<sup>th</sup> the consent of ye most p<sup>te</sup> of the Brethren to call and appoint one or as many of the wysest and honestest p<sup>sones</sup>, Comeners of the same Towne, to fulfill the nombre of the Brethren.

"Item, yt is moreover agreed, That if there be any Gentlemen, lerned man, or other p<sup>son</sup> not inhabyting wthin the seide Towne, whome the seide Maior and Aldermen shall thynke y<sup>t</sup> they maye by powre, wysdome, or auctoritie to be ayding, benefyciall, or assistaunt to the Inhabitants of the seide Towne, That then hyt shall be lawfull unto the seide Maior and Aldermen (yf the seide Gentyman, learned man, or other persson be desirous of the same) to be made Brethren thew [although] the aforesaid nombre fullfylled notwithstand<sup>s</sup>, yet nevtheless they shall beare neither the office of Maior nor Bayliff.

"Item, yt is Ordeyned and establyshed and decreed, That it shal be lawfull for the Maior for the tyme being or his deputie at any tyme to comāwnde asswell the Brethren and Burgenses as Aldermen to come to the Guilde hall, or to any other convenient place where the seide Maior or his deputie shall thynke best, to consult and councell take w<sup>th</sup> the said Brethren, Burgenses, and Aldermen, of ony matt<sup>r</sup>, cawse, or buisnes as the seide Maior or his deputie shall thinke requisite or necessarie, aswell for the preserva<sup>o</sup>n of the Kings peace, tranquillitie and concord of his graces subjects, as also for the good ordre, comoditie, profyte, and mayntenance of the seid Towne. At w<sup>ch</sup> meeting the

seide Burgenses and Brethren shall lovingly debate, Reason, and declare there wysdome and discretion before the seide Maior or his deputie and the Aldermen, of all suche matters, causes, or buisnes as shal be by the Maior or his deputie opened and declared unto them. And after such reasoning and debating by the seide Burgenses and Brethren the Maior and Aldermen shall ordre, determyne, finish, and conclude all the Matters, Cawses, or Busynes as by there wysdome and discretion shal be thought most necessary and requisite.

“ Item, yt ys farther establyshed and decreed, That aswell all souche lawdable Statutes and Ordinaunces heretofore made by the Maior and Aldermen of this Towne of Wyndesor, as also all such lawdable Ordinaunces, constetucions, and Statuts in lyke manner hereafter to be made for the Comon wealth, good rule, and ordre, tranquillitie, concord, and conservacōn of the Kynges subjects inhabyting w<sup>th</sup>in the seide Towne, shal be from henceforth observed and kept, and evry offender and breaker of the same to be amerced and punished by the discretion of the Maior and Aldermen after the matter heard, debated, and Reasoned as before is expressed.

“ Item, yt ys decreed, That yf ony Alderman, Burgenses, or Brother, or any other pson w<sup>th</sup>in the precincts or lymitte of ye Towne stubbornely or disobediēctly dissobey, repuyne, or rebell agaynst the Comandem<sup>t</sup> of the Maior or his deputie, or yf they dispise, vex, or myssuse the seide Maior or his deputie in executing his office for reformatiōn of things that he supposeth to be amisse, That then the seide Maior or his deputie shall imprison or punish all and evy souche person or persons so offending as he and the seide Aldermen then not offending shall thynke to be condigne, necessary, and sufficient, and in like manner to be amerced and pay fyne before they departe owte of prison.

“ Item, yt ys also decreed, That if ony comp<sup>l</sup> be made to the Maior or hys deputie that ony of the Brethren do stryke, myssuse, revyle, rayle, or mocke ony of the Brethren and duely pved, That then the same offender shalbe comytted to warde, and there to remayne two dayes and two nyghts, except the Maior or his deputie w<sup>th</sup> the consent of the Brother so offendyd wyll release ony p<sup>te</sup> of his imprisonm<sup>t</sup>, And yet he shall pay souche fyne before he dep<sup>te</sup> owt of prison as shal be by the Maior and Aldermen thought necessary for souche offence. And if ony of the aforesaide offences be comytted ag<sup>t</sup> ony of the Burgenses the same offender shall suffer 4 dayes imprisonment, except the Burgeis is so offended &c. as before is expressed, and yet the fyne to be paid as yt ys above expressed. And if ony of the seide offences or souche like be comitted ag<sup>t</sup> any of the Aldermen, the offender shall suffer 6 dayes imprisonm<sup>t</sup>, except the Alderman &c. as before is menconed, and yet the fyne to be p<sup>d</sup> the imprisonm<sup>t</sup> notwith-



standing. And yf any other Inhabitants or Strawnger offending any of the Aldermen, Burgenses, or Brethren, as before is expressed, he shal be comytted to warde, there to remayne by the discre<sup>o</sup>n of the Maior and Aldermen, and in no wyse any souche offence to be unpunished besyde the fynes ordeyned in that behalfe to be paid in the Guilde Awle or hall, Bycawse that evy man shal be taken, knowen, and esteemed, accordyng to his calling, into office, and his charges borne for the mayntenance and sustentation of the seide Towne, to the intent that such Rulers and Guv<sup>n</sup>ours of the Kings Towne may the easier redresse any thyng amysse when neede shall require.

"Moreover, yt ys decreed, That evy Alderman shall comaunde any officer in the absence of the Maior or his deputie to take and carry to Stocks or prison any person being a peace brcker, fyghter, quareler, scolder, or any other mysdemeaned person w<sup>h</sup>in the precinct of the seide Towne, And after any such offence done, yf yt be before none [noon], The seide Alderman shall gyve knowledge thereof unto the Maior or his deputie within 6 howers after his Comawndem<sup>t</sup> executed, And yf yt be after 4 of the clocke at after none, Then he shall gyve like knowledge in the morning the next day."<sup>1</sup>

The few weeks' nominal reign of Edward the Fifth afford no materials for a separate chapter in the history of Windsor.

By letters patent dated the 20th of May, 1483, Edward Hardgill was appointed to the vergership of Windsor Castle, jointly with William Evyngton, who held the office in the preceeding reign. The following petition was presented to the infant king about the same time :

"Please it to your highenes of your most noble grace, in consideration of the feithfull service which your humble servant Richard Tilles, Clerk, Countroller of your most honerable Houshold, hathe hertofore done unto the most famouse prince of blessed memorie your fader late king, and during his lyff intendeth to do unto your said highnes, to geve and graunt unto your said servaunt thoffice of Countroller of your Workes within this your royalme, now beyng voide by the deth of Sir John Kendale, late one of the almesse knightes within your collage of Wyndesore, to have, occupie, and exercise the said office by him self or his depute or deputees sufficient during our pleasure, with wages and fees and other libertees and commoditees to the said office of olde

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., transcribed "out of the Boarded Book of Inrolments, f. 120."

tyme due and accustomed, and in as ample manner and forme as the said John or any other persone or persones before tymes the said office occupieng have had and enioied in and for the same. And he shall pray to God for your most noble and royall astate."

On the last day of May this warrant was issued to engage painters for the works in the castle :

" Edward, &c. To all maner our officers, true liegemen, and subgettes to whome these our letters shalbe shewed, and to every of them greeting. Forasmuche as by thadvise of our most entirely beloved uncle the Duc of Gloucestre, protectour and defendour of this our royalme during our yong age, we have commaunded our welbeloved servaunt Anthony Lambeson to take up in our name as well within franchises as without all suche peynters as by his discrecion shalbe thought metely and convenient for the peynting of suche our workes as he shall do within our castell of Wyndesore as elles where within this our royalme. Therefore we wolle and charge you that in due execucion of this our commaundement ye be unto the said Antony favoring, assisting, and obeyng in every behalve as it shall appertheyne, as ye entende to please us and to eschue the contrarie at your perilles."<sup>1</sup>

Lord Hastings, the favorite of Edward the Fourth, who was beheaded at the Tower by the Lord Protector (Richard the Third) on the 13th of June, 1483, was buried at Windsor ("his bodie with his head") "beside the tomb of King Edward."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Hastings had, by his will dated the 21st of June, 1481, bequeathed his body to be buried in St. George's Chapel, "appointing one hundred marks to be bestowed on his tomb there; and gave to the dean and canons of that college a jewel of gold or silver of £20 value, there to remain perpetually, to the honour of God, as a memorial for him. Moreover, he ordained that his feoffees should amortize lands to the yearly value of £20 to the dean and canons aforesaid, to the end that they should perpetually find a priest to say daily mass and divine service at the altar next to the

<sup>1</sup> This warrant and the preceding petition are taken from 'Grants, &c., from the Crown during the Reign of Edward the Fifth, from the original docket-book, MS. Harl., No. 433,' edited by J. G. Nicols, F.S.A., for the Camden Society, 1854.

<sup>2</sup> Fabyan; Hall; Holinshed.

place where his body should be buried, in the said chapel or college, and there to pray daily for the king's prosperous estate during his life, and after his death for his soul, as also for the souls of him the said Lord Hastings, and his wife, and all Christian souls; and that the same priest, for the time being, should have £8 yearly of the said £20; which," says Dugdale, "was accordingly performed."<sup>1</sup> His widow and son subsequently erected and endowed the little chapel still known as "the Hastings Chapel," or, more correctly, "St. Stephen's Chapel," to whom it was dedicated.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Baronage,' tome i, p. 585. The will is printed in Sir H. Nicolas' 'Testamenta Vestusta,' p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> See the curious paintings in this chapel, engraved and described in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments,' vol. ii, p. 284.



Tomb of Edward the Fourth, from the North Aisle of St. George's Chapel.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE THIRD.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. ——. THOMAS WINDESOR, Esq.                      A.D. 1483. SIR JOHN FRILLINGTON.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. 1483. WILLIAM BENLEY.                      A.D. 1484. JOHN MORGAN, LL.D.

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#### PROVOST OF ETON.

A.D. ——. HENRY BOST.

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Appointment of Constable and other Officers of the Castle—The King and his Queen at Windsor—Letter to the Mayor—The body of Henry the Sixth removed from Chertsey Abbey to St. George's Chapel—Works of the Chapel—Warrants—Sir Reginald Bray.

By writ dated the 8th of April, in the first year of the reign of Richard the Third, Thomas Windesor received "the office of Constable of the Castel of Windesor, and lieutenant of al Forests, parks, warrens, and other places to the said office belonging, for the term of his life, with the wages of xxx*li*. yerely," from the 10th of March previous.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, John Frith was appointed to the office of gaoler of the "utter gate of the Castle of Windesore" during his life, with the wages of three pence daily;<sup>2</sup> and Sir Thomas Bouchier, the late constable of the castle, received a warrant directing the treasurers and barons of the exchequer to allow him in his accounts the sum of three pence daily, paid by him to the said John Frith, from Michaelmas, in the twenty-second year of

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS., No. 433, f. 61 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., f. 77.

Edward the Fourth, to the 26th of the following May, in respect of the same office of gaoler of the utter gate.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Cressy obtained a confirmation of the letters patent of Edward the Fourth, conferring on him the office of keeper of the beds within the Castle of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

After the coronation of Richard and his queen Anne, on the 5th of July, 1483, they went to Windsor for a few days. From Windsor they proceeded to Woodstock, Oxford, Gloucester, Coventry, and so to York, where great festivities took place.<sup>3</sup>

The following curious letter from Richard the Third to the Mayor of Windsor was written about this period :

"By the King. Trusty and well beloved, wee Greet you well ; and for asmuch as wee are credibly informed that our Libell<sup>re</sup> and traytours, now confederated with our Antient Enemyes of France, by many and sundry wayes conspire and studdy the meanes to the subversion of this our Realme, and of unity amongst our subjects, as in sending writings by seditious persons, which counterfeite and contrive false inventions, tydeings, and rumours, to the intent to provoke and stirr discord and division betwixt us and our Lords, which bee as faithfully disposed as any subjects can suffice, wee therefore will and command you straightly that in eschewing of the Inconvenients above said, you put you in yo<sup>r</sup> utmost devoire if any such Rumours or writings come amongst you, to search and enquire of the first shewers and utterers thereof, and them that yee shall see finde yee doe committ unto your warde, and after proceed to their sharp punishment, in example and feare of all other ; not failing hereof in any wise, as yee intend to please us, and will answ<sup>r</sup> unto us at your perills. Given under our signett, at our pallace of Westm<sup>r</sup>, the 6th day of Decem<sup>r</sup>." <sup>4</sup>

In 1484, Richard the Third caused the body of Henry the Sixth to be removed from Chertsey Abbey and to be buried at Windsor,<sup>5</sup> where it was solemnly reinterred, on the 12th of August, in St. George's Chapel, under the uppermost arch on the south side of the altar.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS., No. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., f. 38 b.

<sup>3</sup> See Buck's Life, &c., of Richard the Third, in Kennett, vol. i, p. 527.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 12,520.

<sup>5</sup> Stow's 'Annals,' p. 466, edit. 1631. Sandford attributes this translation to Edward the Fourth, but most historians assign it to Richard the Third. (See Gough's 'Monuments' and Poynter's 'Essay on Windsor Castle'.)

<sup>6</sup> Ashmole, citing Spelman's 'Councils,' vol. ii, p. 712. Gough and Poynter say the second arch from the altar.

It is narrated that "the holy body was, on this occasion, found very odoriferous, which was not owing to any spices employed about it when it was interred by his enemies and tormentors. It was in a great measure uncorrupted, the hair of the head and body perfect; the face as usual, but somewhat sunk, with a more meagre aspect than common. A number of miracles immediately proclaimed the king's sanctity, as sufficiently appeared from the written account of them there."<sup>1</sup>

Sandford, writing about 1676, says the king was interred "under a fair monument, of which there are at present no remains. The arch on the south side of the chapel (between the choir and the altar), under which he was deposited, is gilt and painted with the several devices of this king; on the keystone of which are carved his royal arms, ensigned with a crown, and supported by two antelopes collared and chained together. In the south window of which arch was pencilled the history of his life in coloured glass, which, with many more windows in the same chapel, was defaced in the late rebellion."<sup>2</sup>

In 1789, when the workmen were preparing for the new pavement of the aisle in which he is interred, they found the entrance of the vault, but were directed not to open it.<sup>3</sup>

The works of the chapel "were not neglected," says Mr. Poynter, "during the short and busy reign of the last of the Plantagenets. A commission from Richard the Third, appointing John Penley and Thomas Canceler receivers of the estates of the Lord Morley, provides 250 marks yearly for the building of the College of Windsor;<sup>4</sup> and the total sum appropriated to the chapel during the first year of his reign amounts to £733 10s. 9½d."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gough's 'Monumental Antiquities,' vol. ii, p. 231, citing Ross of Warwick.

<sup>2</sup> 'Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England.'

<sup>3</sup> Stoughton. "In Gough's 'Monuments' there is a design for a richly decorated chantry tomb for Henry the Sixth, from a drawing in the Cottonian MS., Aug. A II, made probably on the occasion of the proposed canonization and removal of his remains to Westminster by Henry the Seventh, for which a bull was actually obtained from Pope Alexander the Sixth." Stow imagined the removal to have been accomplished, for he says—"There [at Windsor] he rested for a time; but now his tombe being taken thence, it is not commonly knowne what is become of his body."

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MSS., No. 433.

<sup>5</sup> MS. in Chapter House, Westminster. A writ from Richard the Third, dated at

A warrant was issued on the 6th of August, in the first year of this reign, to John Clerk and John Coton, auditors of the exchequer, "to hear and determyne the accompt of Thomas Cancellor, aswel of al money by him receyved and al charges and costs by him doon, from the xj day of January, the xxij yere of King E. the iiijth, unto the xj day of January, an. primo R. Ric. ter., and from thense yerely, from tyme to tyme, as the buylding of the chapel of Wyndesore, the vicairs newe loggings, and the reparacons of the grete manour in the Olde Parke shal be done; and to allow unto him or his deputies the said charges by him had and doon, as the wages of him and diverse other artificers therein appointed with certain other particular sommes in the said warrant compised."<sup>1</sup>

The "Olde Parke" was probably identical with the Great Park, and may have been called "the Old Park" to distinguish it from the Little Park, to which two hundred acres had been recently added by Edward the Fourth. In this reign, Thomas Gray, esquire, keeper of the Old Park, had "a restreint in the straitest wise for noon hunting in the said parke without a special commaundement from the kings grace."<sup>2</sup>

The manor-house in the Great Park has been before mentioned.

After the death of Bishop Beauchamp in 1481, the works of the castle had fallen under the superintendence of Sir Reginald Bray,<sup>3</sup> the son of Sir Richard Bray, physician to Henry the Sixth.<sup>4</sup>

Westminster, the 15th of May, in the first year of his reign, directed to the Constable of the Castle of Windsor "who now is and who may hereafter be," recites letters patent of the 21st of February, 1 Edw. IV, granting the office of chief mason of the Castle of Windsor to Robert Legat for life, to be performed by him or a sufficient deputy, with the accustomed fees received during the time of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, through the hands of the constable of the castle; and, because the wages and fees of Geoffrey de Carleton, mason in the time of Edward the Third, were six pence a day, the constable is commanded to pay the said Robert six pence a day, from the 21st of February aforesaid, during his life, from the rents and profits of the castle.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS., No. 433, f. 73 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 443.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter's 'Essay.'

<sup>4</sup> "Sir Reinold Bray, knight (the son of Richard Bray, physician, as some have noted, to King Henry the Sixth), being servant to Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry the Seventh, was, for the fidelity to his lady, and good service in furthering King Henry the Seventh to the crown, received into great favor with the said king, and made lord treasurer of England, as appeareth by the record of Pellis exitus, made under his

He was probably a member of the family of that name who at this period were possessed of land at Bray, near Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

name in the first year of the reign of Henry the Seventh, being the year of our redemption 1485; besides which office he had many other offices and honors, part whereof were that he was treasurer of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to King Henry the Seventh, that he was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blackheath field. He died the eighteenth year of the Solomon of England, King Henry the Seventh, being the year of our redemption 1503, and was honorably buried at Windsor." (Holinshed, edit. 1808.) See his Life in Kippis' *Biographia Britannica*.

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, in describing Bray, says—"In 1444, John Bray, esquire of the body to King Henry the Sixth, held in fee a house and lands, said to have been formerly called 'John of Bray's Place,' and afterwards 'Heoyndens.'" (*Magna Brit.*, vol. i, p. 248.) The family appears to have acquired its name from Braie in Normandy. Edmond Bray, the grandfather of Sir Reginald, was styled of Eton Bray, in the county of Bedford. See a further notice of Sir Reginald Bray in the next chapter.



Bray Church.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1485. SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER.

A.D. ——. LORD DAUBENY.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. ——. JOHN MORGAN, LL.D.

A.D. 1505. CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE, LL.D.

A.D. 1495. CHRISTOPHER URSWICK.

A.D. 1507. THOMAS HOBBS, D.D.

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#### PROVOSTS OF ETON.

A.D. ——. HENRY BOST.

A.D. 1504. ROGER LUPTON, LL.D.

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Reservation of Grants in the Act of Resumption—St. George's Day, 1488—Feast of Whitsuntide—Treaty with Portugal—Will and Burial of Elizabeth Wydeville—Writs of Habeas Corpus and Certiorari to the Mayor and Coroner of Windsor—Proclamation respecting the Coinage—Inventory of Weights and Measures—Confirmation Charter—Works of the Chapel—Sir Reginald Bray—The Deanery rebuilt—Agreement for Vaulting the Roof of the Choir—Extracts from the King's Privy-purse Expenses—Spur Money—Privy-purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York—Visit of Philip Archduke of Austria to Windsor—Additions to the Upper Ward—Commencement of a Friary on the site of the King's Garden—The King's Bequest for the Making and Repairing of Roads—Tragedy in the Castle Ditch—Dispute between the College and the Poor Knights—Yearly Expenditure of the Dean and Chapter—Knights on the Foundation—Windsor Borough Court—Swans and Swan Upping—Earliest existing Windsor Charity—Obits in the Parish Church—Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, a resident of Windsor—Obits in St. George's Chapel—Bequests to Eton College.

By the Act of Resumption, 1 Henry VII (A. D. 1485), the office of "Constableness of the Castell of Wyndesore" and "of the Keping of the Parke of Byflete in the Countie of Surrey" was reserved to "Sir Thomas Bourghchier Knyght."<sup>1</sup>

The same act contained the following proviso :

"Provided alwayes, that this Act of Resumpcion, or any other Act made or hereafter to be made in this present Parliament, extend not,

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 359.

or in any wise be prejudicial or hurtfull to Gilbert Mawdesley, oone of the Kings Sergeaunts at Armes, to or for the Graunte or Fee belongyng to the Office of the said Sergeaunte at Armes, or to or for the Graunte of the Office of the Portership of the Utter Gate of the Castell of Wyndesore, or of or for the Graunte of the Keping of the Parke called Mote Parke, in the Forest of Wyndesore, unto hym made by the Kings severall L<sup>res</sup> Patents, by whatsoever name the said Gilbert, or any of the said Fees or offices, be named: but that the same L<sup>res</sup> Patents, and every thing in theym conteyned, be unto the said Gilbert gode and available in the Lawe, after and according to the tenoure and effecte of the said L<sup>res</sup> Patents; this said Acte notwithstanding.”<sup>1</sup>

The same act also contained provisos, respectively reserving “unto oure well beloved Servaunt Robert Marleton” the office of “Vergerarshipp of Wyndesore;”<sup>2</sup> “to Hugh Annesley” the office of “Kepyng of oure Warderobe within oure Castell of Wyndesore;”<sup>3</sup> and to Piers Warton “the offices of Keping of the Keys of th’ynerward of oure Castell of Wyndesore, and of the fee of the Crowne.”<sup>4</sup>

In the same year the sum of one hundred pounds was assigned out of the fee farm town of Windsor, towards the sum of £2105, the amount to be yearly delivered to the keeper or wardrober for the king’s wardrobe.<sup>5</sup>

On St. George’s day, 1488, Henry was at Windsor, on which occasion the queen and the Countess of Richmond, from whom indeed she appears to have been rarely separated, were present, each being habited in a gown of the Order of the Garter; but he deferred the solemnization of the feast of that saint until the Sunday following, on the eve of which day the king, and the Knights of the Garter, rode to the College, and were accompanied by the queen and her suite. Her majesty and the Countess of Richmond again wore the livery of the order, and sat in a rich chair, covered

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl., vol. vi, p. 342 *a*. This proviso, apparently from an oversight, is repeated in a subsequent part of the act. Gilbert Mawdesley is there termed “Squier,” and after the words “Moote Parc” there is added, “with the oute wodes of Crambourne.” (*Ibid.*, p. 359.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347 *b*, 383 *b*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367 *a*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384 *a*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304 *a*.

with cloth of gold, drawn by six horses, harnessed in a similar manner, and followed by a suite of twenty-one ladies, among whom was her sister the Princess Anne, habited in crimson velvet, and mounted on white palfreys, the saddles of which were made of cloth of gold, and the trappings covered with white roses, the badge of the house of York.<sup>1</sup> "Sir Roger Cotton Master of the Queens Horse, riding upon a courser trapped with Goldsmith's work, led her Horse of State in his hand, being furnished with a saddle of Cloth of Gold, and thereon three crowns of silver gilt, with Fimbres of the same cloth hanging down to the Knees on both sides, and harnised with Goldsmiths work demy-trapper-wise."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Memoir of Elizabeth of York,' p. 83. A contemporary narrative of the feast is preserved in the Cottonian MSS., and is printed in Leland's 'Collectanea,' vol. iv, pp. 239, 241; in Anstis, vol. ii, p. 226; and in Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 106. See also Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 518, 519.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 519. The following verses, attributed by Ashmole to John Skelton (afterwards poet-laureate), and printed with his works in Mr. Dyce's edition, were presented to King Henry at this feast :

"O moste famous Noble King! thy fame doth spring and spreade,  
Henry the Seventh our Soverain in eiche Regeon,  
All England hath cause thy grace to love and dread,  
Seing Embassadors seche fore protectyon,  
For Ayd, helpe, and succore, which lyeth in this Electyone.  
England now Rejoyce for Joyous mayest thou bee,  
To see thy Kyng so floreshe in dignetye.

"This Realme a Season stooode in greate Jupardie,  
When that Noble Prince deceased king Edward;  
Which in his Dayes gate honore full nobly,  
After his decesse nighe hand all was marr'd,  
Eich Regione this Land dispised mischefe when they hard :  
Wherefore Rejoyse for joyous mayst thou be,  
To see thy Kyng so floresch in high dignetye.

"Fraunce, Spayne, Scoteland, and Britanny, Flanders also,  
Three of them present keepinge thy noble feaste,  
Of St. George in Windsor, Ambassadors comyng more,  
Iche of them in honore bothe the more and the lesse,  
Seeking thie grace to have thie Noble behest;  
Wherefore now Rejoise and joyous maiste thou be,  
To see thy kynge so florishing in dignetye.

The feast of Whitsuntide, 1488, was also kept at Windsor; after which the court removed to Woodstock, thence, at Allhallow's-tide, to Windsor, and from Windsor their majesties went to Westminster.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty of peace with Portugal was confirmed at Windsor in August 1489, and attested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, legate, and chancellor; the Bishop of Exeter, keeper of the privy seal; the Earls of Northumberland, Shrewsbury, and Essex; George Stanley of Strange, knight; Richard Nevill of Latymer, and John le Souche, of Souche, Martin Oliver Kyng, Henry's secretary, barons; and Thomas Lovell and Richard Guldeford, knights.<sup>2</sup>

The queen dowager, Elizabeth Wydville, widow of Edward the Fourth, who died in the spring of 1492, by her will, bearing date the 10th of April in that year, expressed her wish to be buried at Windsor, in the following terms: "I bequeath my body to be buried with the bodie of my Lord at Windessore, according to the will of

"O knightly Ordere clothed in Robes with Gartere,  
The Queen's grace and thy Mother clothed in the same;  
The nobles of thie Realme Riche in araye, Aftere  
Lords, Knights, and Ladyes, unto thy greate fame,  
Now shall all Embassadors know thie Noble Name,  
By thy Feaste Royal; nowe joyeous mayest thou be,  
To see thie King so florishinge in dignety.

"Here this day St. George Patron of this Place  
Honored with the Gartere, cheefe of Chevalrye,  
Chaplenes synging processyon keeping the same,  
With Archbushopes and Bushopes besecene nobly,  
Much people presente to see the king Henrye;  
Wherefore now St. George all we pray to thee,  
To keepe our Sovereaine in his dignetye."

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Memoir of Elizabeth of York.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Fœdera,' vol. xii, p. 379. Sir Harris Nicolas remarks that "it is worthy of attention, as indicating that the king's secretary was of higher importance than he had hitherto been considered, that he was classed with the barons in the list of witnesses on that occasion. Dr. King was probably at that time a privy councillor, for in May 1492 he was styled 'our councillor and secretary.' ('Fœdera,' vol. xii, p. 477.)" ('Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vi, Preface, p. cxiii.)

my saide Lorde and myne, without pompes entreing<sup>1</sup> or costlie expensis doune thereaboughts.”<sup>2</sup>

An account of the funeral by an eye witness shows that the queen's wishes were literally complied with.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pompous interring.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols' 'Royal Wills.' Another dowager queen recently followed the example of Elizabeth. Queen Adelaide, the widow of William the Fourth, was at her own request buried beside her husband at Windsor, without the pomp and ceremonies usually attendant on royal funerals.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the account, taken from the Arundel MS., No. 26, f. 29 b: "And the said queen desired in her dethe bedde that assoone as she shuld be decessed she shuld [be] in all goodly hast without any worldly pompe by water conveied to Wyndesore and ther to be beried in the same vault that her husband the kyng was beryed in on Whitsunday she was accordyng to her desire by water conveied to Wyndesore and ther prevely thorow the littill parke conveied into the castell w'out Ryngyng of any belles or Receyvyng of the dean or chanons in their habits or accompaynyed as whos sayed but w' the prior of the charterhous of Shen docter brent her chapelain and oon of her executores Edmond Haust maistres grace a bastard dowghter of Kyng Edward and upon an other gentilwomen and as it tolde to me oon preest of the college and a clerke Receyved her in the castell And so prevely about xi of the clocke in the nyght she was beried w'oute any solempne direge or the morne any solempne masse doon for her owbebyt on the morne theder came the lord awdeley bysshop of Rochester to doo the Service and the substance of the officers of armes of this Realme but that day ther was nothyng doon solely for her saryng a low hers suche as they use for the comyn peple w' iij wooden candelstikks abowte hit and a clothe of blacke cloth of gold over hit w' iij candlestikkes of silver and gilt everyche havynge a taper of noo gret weight and vj scoelyns of her armes crowned p'nyted on that clothe On the tewsday theder came by water iij of Kynges Edwardes doughters and heirs that is to say the lady anne the lady catherine the lady bregett accompeyned w' the lady marquys of dorsset the Duc of buckyngham daughter and nyce of the foresaid qwene Alsoo the doughter of the Marquis of Dorsset The lady herbert alsoo nyce to the said qwene the ladye Egermont dame katherine gray dame gilford whiche after duryng the derige And oon the morne that is to say the wensday at the masse of Requiem And the thre daughters at the hed there gentilwomen behynde the thre ladyes Alsoo that same tewsday theder came the lordes that folowyn—The lord Thomas marquys of Dorsset soon to the foresaid quene The lord Edmond of Suffolke Therll of Essex The Vicount Welles Sir Charles of Somerset and Roger Coton maister Chaterton And that nyght began the direge the foresaid bisshop of Rochestre and Vicars of the college were Rectors of the qwer and noo chanons the bisshop of Rochestre Red the last lesson at the direges of the chanons the other two but the dean of that college Red noon though he were present at that service nor att direge nor at non at thay was ther never a new torche but old torches nor pounce man in blacke gowne nor whod but upon a dozēyn dyvers olde men holdyng old torelles and torches under and on the morne oon of the chanons called maister Vaughan sange our lady masse at the whiche the lorde marquys offred a piece of gold at that masse offred no man sayyng hym selfe and in likewise at the masse of the trenytie whiche was songen by the dean and kneled at the hers hed by cause the Ladyes came not to the masse of Requiem and the lordes before Reherced sat above in the qwer Into thoffryng tyme when that the foressaid lordes

In the eighth year of this reign we find a writ of *habeas corpus* directed to John Baker, the mayor of Windsor, to remove the body of Roger Cherrie, *alias* Roger Stearries, then committed a prisoner in the the king's gaol in that town, into the Court of Queen's Bench, he being indicted in the county of Middlesex for divers felonies and trespasses.<sup>1</sup>

By a writ of certiorari, dated the 30th of June, in the sixteenth year of Henry the Seventh, a writ of certiorari was issued to the coroner of Windsor to return without delay the proceedings against William ap Ewyn, a felon, who it appears had abjured the realm.<sup>2</sup>

and alsoo the officers of armes ther beyng present went before mylady anne whiche offred the masse peny Iustede of the qwene wherfore she had the carpet and the cussbyn hed and the vicount welles toke her thoffryng whiche was a very peny in ded of silver and dame Katherine gray bere the said lady agnes trayne In tyme she was turned to her place ageyn they everyche of the kings dowgthers bere ownnes traynes and offred a peece of gold after the ladies had offred in likewise the lord marquys offred a peece of gold than the other foresaid lordes offred their pleasirs than offred the dean and the qwer and the poure knyghtes then garter kyng of armes w<sup>h</sup>ym all his company they offred all other esqyres present and yemen and the Su<sup>n</sup>ts that wold offre but ther was non offryng to the corps duryng the masse ther was geven certayne money In almes after masse the lord marquys Rewarded their costes xl.s. I pray to god to have mersy on her sowle At this same season the qwen her doughter toke her chambre Wherfore I cannot tell what dolent howve it she goth in but I suppose she went in blew In likewise as qwen Margaret the wife of Kyng Henry the VI went in whenne her mother the qwene of Ceille deyed."

<sup>1</sup> "Term. Hill. 8 Hen. VII, et per cont. ejusdem rot. 13.

"Berks.

"Roger Cherrie nuper de Nova Windsor in com. pred. yeoman, alias dict. Rogerus Stearries nuper de eadem in eodem com. yeoman, per Johan. Baker majorem villæ dom. regis de Nova Windsor in com. pred. virtute brevis dom. regis de habeas corpus ad sect. ipsius regis pro quibusdam felonis et transgr. unde in com. Midd. indietatus est sibi inde direct. coram domino rege duct. cum causa, viz. quod idem Roger. commissus fuit gaol. dom. regis infra vill. pred. per mandat. dom. regis qui committitur marr. &c." (See Selden's Works, vol. iii, p. ii, p. 1983.)

<sup>2</sup> By the ancient common law of England, if a person guilty of any felony, excepting sacrilege, fled to a parish church, or churchyard, for sanctuary, he might, within forty days afterwards, go clothed in sackcloth before the coroner, confess the full particulars of his guilt, and take an oath to abjure the kingdom for ever, and not to return without the king's licence. Upon making his confession and taking this oath, he became *ipso facto* attainted of the felony; he had forty days from the day of his appearance before the coroner to prepare for his departure, and the coroner assigned him such port as he chose for his embarkation, to which he was bound to repair immediately with a cross in his hand, and to embark with all convenient speed. If he did not go immediately out of the kingdom, or if he afterwards returned into England without licence, he was condemned to

The following curious order and proclamation was issued in 1495 :

" Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland To our trusty and welbeloved the Maior and Bailiffs of o<sup>r</sup> Towne of Windesor, greeting. Wee will and charge you y<sup>t</sup> in all places within your Jurisdiction as by your discrecon shall be thought most expedient and behovefull ye doe make open and solempne proclamacions in forme follow<sup>e</sup>. ' Whereas o<sup>r</sup> most dread So<sup>v</sup>aine Lord the King Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> by the grace of God king of England &c. is certainly enformed that in div<sup>s</sup> places of this his said Realme his subjectts some of selfe will and frowardenesse and some of Ignorance refuse to receive or take in paiem<sup>t</sup> smale penyes and also old woren penyes of gode and fyne sil<sup>v</sup> lawfully coigned, w<sup>ch</sup> that have ben ev<sup>n</sup> wont to be currant before this tyme, and woll in nowyse receive of pore men ne other neither for vitailles nor other necessities, but oonly grots and thicke and large penyes chosen by them after their owne myndes to the manifest noisance disturbance and hurt of his saide subjects and specially of the poores. Therefore our saide So<sup>v</sup>aine Lord entending to provyde for due remedy herein, willing his lawfull money to have concours as hertofore have ben used and accustomed, willeth and straitely chargeth and commaundeth alle and evy of his subjects and liegmen of what estate degree or condicion y<sup>t</sup> thei be, that noon of tham from hensforth refuse to Receive or take in paym<sup>t</sup> eny Sil<sup>v</sup> penny lawfully coigned within this his said Ray<sup>m</sup>e of England, be it woren thynne or lythe<sup>1</sup> bering eny knowledge of a peny coigne upon paine of his body to be comytted unto prison and to make fyne at the will of our said So<sup>v</sup>aigne lord upon the complaint and due prove of any of his saide subjects. And God save the king.' And that ye faile not of due execucon hereof, as you woll avoyde oure grete displeasure. Given undre o<sup>r</sup> privie seale at our Castle of Wyndesore the 2<sup>d</sup> daie of Octob the xi<sup>th</sup> yere of oure Reigne."

" R. BOLMAN." <sup>2</sup>

In this proclamation, which was no doubt made throughout the kingdom, two descriptions of coin appear to be referred to in the

be hanged, unless he happened to be a clerk, in which case he was allowed the benefit of clergy. This practice, which has obvious marks of a religious origin, was by several regulations in the reign of Henry the Eighth in a great measure discontinued, and at length, by the statute 21 James I, c. 28, all privilege of sanctuary and abjuration consequent upon it were entirely abolished. (Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Abjuration.')

<sup>1</sup> Smooth.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 63. This proclamation is not noticed by Ruding, in his 'Annals of the Coinage.'

recital, namely, small pennies, and pennies worn smooth and thin by time, although the directory part of the proclamation only expressly refers to the latter.

This measure did not attain the desired object, for a similar but not identical proclamation was issued on the 12th December, 1498, forbidding persons to "refuse to take and receive in payment all manner pennies of our said sovereign lord's coinage, so that they be silver and whole."<sup>1</sup>

Among the corporation records of the borough of Windsor there is an inventory of the weights, measures, &c., belonging to the corporation in this reign. It is inserted in a page near the end of a volume of borough accounts of the sixteenth century. Many of the items in the list have been drawn through with a pen, and additions and alterations made, evidently at various times, but the following is a copy of the original entries as far as they can now be deciphered :

"Thes ben the Standard Mesures and wheytys longyng to the Gilde Aule there made the xv day of Octob the xv yere of ye Reign of Kyng Henr the vij<sup>th</sup>

"In p<sup>m</sup>is v peyer of amances (?) c<sup>p</sup>lete.<sup>2</sup>

It. v peyer of ffeters c<sup>p</sup>lete and iij Shakillis.

It. a hanging lok. It. a aramble (?).

It. a chaynye at the hal dor.

It. a Brasyn bushell.

It. ij yerdes on of brasse and a noy<sup>r</sup> of yron.

It. ij gallons l pottell l qu<sup>t</sup> of Brasse.

It. di. p<sup>3</sup> l qrt di. qrt<sup>4</sup> vij<sup>lb</sup> vj<sup>lb</sup> v<sup>lb</sup> iij<sup>lb</sup> iij<sup>lb</sup> ij<sup>lb</sup> of Brasse.

<sup>1</sup> MS. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, cited by Ruding, vol. i, p. 295, 3d edit. Mr. Ruding treats the words "of our said sovereign lord's coinage" as necessarily meaning pennies coined in his reign, and suspects that their thinness was authorised, or at least connived at, by him, from motives of avarice. The Windsor proclamation, however, which speaks of "old worn pennies," proves the suspicion to have been ill founded. It is possible, however, that the "small pennies" mentioned in that proclamation may refer to a coinage of Henry's own reign; and that, as the fine or imprisonment only referred to the old worn pennies, it was found requisite to issue the later proclamation with reference to the small pennies of the king's own coinage.

<sup>2</sup> Manacles complete.

<sup>3</sup> A half-pint measure.

<sup>4</sup> A half-quart, or pint (?)



- It. ij di. p<sup>r</sup> of ledde xiiij<sup>lb</sup> of ledde.  
 It. a Beame w<sup>t</sup> a peyere of skalys.  
 It. a Beame to wey w<sup>t</sup> hey.  
 It. ij scales to make wt dobull w and another w<sup>t</sup> ir<sup>n</sup> (?)  
 It. a Bolster of yron.  
 It. a gallon and a pottell of tin.  
 It. a pyce of yron for the stokks.  
 It. a gyn for the bryge corner.  
 It. iiij coshonnys<sup>1</sup> of carpet work.  
 It. i peyer of balance and a troy-wheyth to wey brede w<sup>t</sup>all.<sup>2</sup>  
 It. a yron barr for the Trapp dor.  
 It. a canstik of latten hangyng yn the gilde aule.  
 It. a bande baskett. If m an olde pile of troy wheyth.  
 It. a Rynge of yron.  
 It. ij yron chaynes.  
 It. a dossen vessell barell to assise the brewers vessell xiiij gallous lost.  
 It. a busshell di a busshell di a pek.  
 It. a Rope w<sup>t</sup> an hoke for the ladder.  
 It. a Ring yron w<sup>th</sup> an (?)  
 It. ij Staves for the constubullis payd owt of the com<sup>on</sup> chest.  
 It. ij peyre of Robynnetts of tyn.  
 It. a barr to the chymeney of the gilde aule.  
 If m two hokis upon polis to pull down an howse in tyme of nede."

Henry the Seventh some years before, "intending," as the statute says, "the commonwele of his people, and to avoide the great disceite of Weightis and Mesures longe tyme used within this his Realme, contrarie to the statute of Magna Carta and othre estatutes therof made by divers of his noble progenitours, att his great charge and coste did doo make weightis and mesures of brasse according to olde standardes therof remaynyng in his Tresorye." These weights and measures were subsequently delivered to the knights and citizens of every shire and city assembled in the parliament holden the 14th October, 1495, the barons of the Cinque Ports and certain burgesses of borough towns, to be by them conveyed to certain cities, boroughs, and towns, mentioned in a

<sup>1</sup> Cushions.

<sup>2</sup> "Item, 1 pair of balance and a troy weight to weigh bread withall.

schedule to the statute 11 Hen. VII, c. 4, there to remain for ever. Windsor is not included in the schedule, Reading being the town mentioned in Berkshire.

These weights and measures, however, "upon more diligent examynacion had synz the making of the seid estatute been proved defective and not made according to the old lawes and statutes therof ordeyned within the seid realme," and in the following year (1496) it was enacted that the bushel should contain eight gallons of wheat, and that every gallon contain eight pounds of wheat of troy weight, and every pound contain twelve ounces of troy weight, and every ounce contain twenty sterlings,<sup>1</sup> and every sterling be of the weight of thirty-two "cornes of whete that grewe in the myddes of the eare of the whete according to the old Lawes of this Land."

A standard of a bushel and a gallon were ordered to be made after this assize, and the cities, boroughs, and towns, were required to send the former bushels and gallons to the king's receipt in order to be broken, and new measures made out of the "stuffe and metall."<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Seventh, by letters patent, dated at Westminster, the 4th day of December, in the fifteenth year of his reign, reciting the charter of confirmation of the second of Edward the Fourth, and the charter of the same monarch in the sixth year of his reign, confirmed and approved the same to the bailiffs and burgesses.<sup>3</sup>

The works of the chapel were directed during a great part of the reign of Henry the Seventh by Sir Reginald Bray, whose munificence provided for their continuance after his death, which occurred on the 5th of August, 1503.<sup>4</sup> By his will, he left his personal property and the profits of his lands to be laid out by his execu-

<sup>1</sup> The sterlings mentioned in this statute are pennyweights, and not the coins of that name. (Ruding.)

<sup>2</sup> See the statutes 11 Hen. VII, c. 4, and 12 Hen. VII, c. 5. See also a curious table of "The Standards of Weights and Measures in the Exchequer, anno 12 Henrici Septimi," in the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> E carta orig. penes Majorem et Ballivos de Windsor. (Mr. Snowden's MS., p. 37.) Upon the grant of these letters, five marks were paid into the Hanaper Office.

<sup>4</sup> Stow. On the 24th of January previously, Sir R. Bray had taken part in the ceremony of laying the first stone of the new Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey.

tors in completing the new works in the body of the church, and in erecting his tomb in the chapel he had built there for his burial place.<sup>1</sup> The Bray Chapel forms the south transept of the building, but the tomb seems never to have been executed.<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Seventh took down the original chapel of Henry the Third for the purpose of building a royal mausoleum in its room. The work was commenced, and in the privy-purse expenses of Henry the Seventh the following payment occurs on the 23d July, 1501: "To Master Esterfelde for the kinges tounge £10," and other payments to Mr. Esterfelde on account of this tomb are inserted, amounting to £68 3s. 2d. "The king was, however,

<sup>1</sup> The clauses of the will relating to Windsor are thus given, apparently somewhat imperfectly, in Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 375, and in Huggett's MS. Sloane, No. 4847, f. 100: "I Sir Reynold Bray K<sup>t</sup> to be buried in the Church of ye College of our Lady and St George within ye Castle of Windsor at the west ende and south side of ye same Church in ye Chappell there new made by me for ye same entent also in ye Honour of Almighty God oure Saviour, oure Lady St Mary and of alle ye Saints in heaven, and for ye helthe of my Soule, and for ye Soules of them that I am mooste bounde to doo and praye fore, and for all Christian Soules. I will that myn Executours immediately aft my decease indevoire themselves with alle diligence with my goodes and thissues and profits of my seid Lands and tenements by them to be received and had to make and perforce and cause to be made and performed the werk of ye new works of ye Body of ye Church of ye College of our Lady and St George within ye Castell of Windesore, and ye same works by theym hooly and thurghly to be performed and finished, accordyng and after ye fourme and entent of ye foundation therof, as well in stone-work, tymbre, ledde, iron, glasse, and alle other things necessary and requisite for ye utter performance of ye same. Also I will y<sup>e</sup> myn Executours underwritten imediately after my decease shall cause a convenient Tombe to be made in ye s<sup>d</sup> chapell upon my grave in alle goodly haste after [my] decease as may be if it be not made [in] my lif. That myn executors shall cause as much of my lands as shall amount to ye yerely value of xl marks, above all charges to be graunted and amortised to ye Dean and Chanons of ye s<sup>d</sup> College of Wyndesore and their successors for evermore, so that ye same Dean and Chapter and Chanons and their successors shall be bound for ye same, in suche maner and fourme as shall be thought by myn executors to be sure, perpetually whyles ye world shall endure, at ye dore of ye s<sup>d</sup> Chapell, where my Body shall be buried to xiii poor men or women xiiij*l*. that is to say to every of ym i*l*." &c. It may be observed that the document given as the will of Sir Reginald Bray in Sir H. Nicolas' 'Testamenta Vetusta,' vol. i, p. 446, appears to be a very imperfect abstract.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter, and Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 374. "The description of Sir R. Bray's Chapel in his will answers rather to the Beaufort Chapel than to the south transept. The latter has nevertheless always been known as Bray's Chapel." (Poynter.) Ashmole identifies Sir R. Bray's Chapel by "his arms, crest, and the initial letters of his Christian and surname, cut in stone, and placed in divers parts of the roof." ('Order of the Garter,' (p. 136).

diverted from his original intention," observes Mr. Poynter, "to that gorgeous structure which covers his remains at Westminster,"<sup>1</sup> and the tomb was accordingly removed there in 1503. In January of that year, this entry occurs in the privy-purse expenses: "To Master Estfeld for conveying of the Kinges tombe from Windsor to Westminster £10."<sup>2</sup> The shell of the building at Windsor was probably completed at this time, the close of the fifteenth century, since it bears no heraldic decorations of a later date. The porch, or passage to the cloister, is marked with the initials of Henry and his queen.<sup>3</sup>

In 1500 the Deanery was rebuilt by Dr. Christopher Urswick.<sup>4</sup> A picturesque remnant of the architecture of this edifice still remains within the cloister, but, like the rest of the collegiate buildings, its original features are nearly obliterated. The houses of the minor canons, called the horse-shoe cloister, may also with the greatest probability be referred to this reign. The ambulatory has once displayed an elegant specimen of the timber architecture of the period, though now so dilapidated that the design is not to be collected without some difficulty. The plan is supposed to represent the fetterlock, the badge of the last founder of the chapel.<sup>5</sup>

The following agreement was made in 1505 for building the roof of the choir of St. George's Chapel:

"This Indenture made the v<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth of June in the xxj<sup>th</sup> yeare of the Reigne of our soveraign Lord King Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> betwene George Talbott Lorde Steward, Giles Daubeney Lord Chamberlain and S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Lovett Knight in the name of our said Soverain Lord and all the Lords and Knights of the most hon<sup>ble</sup> Order of the Garter of the oon partie, and John Hylmer and William Vertue fre

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay,' citing Stow.

<sup>2</sup> Vide 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 85. Lambarde says—"Kynge Henry VII mynding to prepare for his owne sepulture at Wyndsore, pulled downe that Olde Chappel, which Kinge Edw. III had builte, and which stoude at the East Ende of this greater Worke, and in the place therof he raised a new Ende. But for as muche as he afterwarde changed his purpose, and made for his owne Burial that incomparable Worke at Westminster (which now yet beareth his name) this other Peice of Building at Wyndsore was otherwise employed." (Lambarde's 'Topographical Dictionary.')

<sup>3</sup> Poynter.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole.

<sup>5</sup> Poynter.

maçons on the other partie, Witnesseth that it is covenanted, bargayned and agreed betwixt the parties above named that the said John Hylmer and William Vertue at their owne proper costs and charges shall vawlte or doo to be vawlted with free stone the Roof of the Quere of the Colledge Roiall of our Lady and Saint George within the Castell of Wyndesore according to the Roof of the body of the said Colledge ther, which Roof conteyneth vij Senereys, as well the Vawlte w<sup>h</sup>infurth as Archebocens,<sup>1</sup> Crestys, Corses<sup>2</sup> and the Kings bestes stondyng on theym, to bere the fanes on the outsides of the said Quere, and the creasts corses beasts above on the out sides of Maister John Shornes Chappell to bee done and wrought according to the other creastes and comprised within the said bargayne. Provided alway that the principall Keyes of the said Vawte from the high Awter downe to the Kings stall shall bee wrought more pendaunt and holower than the Keyes or pendants of the body of the said Colege with the King's armes crowned with Lyons, Anteloppes Greyhounds and Dragons bering the said Armes and all the other lesser Keys to bee wrought more pendaunt and holower than the Keyes of the Body of the said Colege also with Roses portecoleys flouredelyces or any other devyce that shall please the King's grace to have in them. To all which worke the said John and William promysen and by these presents bynden themself thair heires and executors in cccc<sup>li</sup> sterlings to fynde all manner of Stone tymbre for Scaffolds, Bords, Nayles and all other things necessary with carryage for the same by water or by Land and to have fully fynished the said Vawte with thappurtenances by the Fest of the Nativite of our Lord which shall bee in the yeare of our Lord God after the course and accounting of the Church of England M<sup>l</sup>. V<sup>h</sup>. and viij. For all which workes before named the Kings Grace and the Lords and Knights of the Garter must paye or doo to bee paid to the sayd John and William or to their assignes vij c<sup>li</sup>. sterling after this manner and fourme folowing that is to say at the'nsealing of thies Indentures c<sup>li</sup>. At the fest of the Nativite of our Lorde then next following c<sup>li</sup>. At the fest of Easter then next and immediatly following lxxx<sup>li</sup>. At the fest of

<sup>1</sup> Arcs-boutants, flying buttresses.

<sup>2</sup> "The term *corse* (says Mr. Poynter) has hitherto been unexplained. In this case it evidently applies to the pinnacles. In a MS. of the Itinerary of William of Worcester, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Professor Willis), there is a drawing explanatory of a well-known passage describing the door of St. Stephen's Church at Bristol, and in this case the term is applied to the pinnacles flanking the archway in each side. It is probable, however, that the square shaft is the member indicated; and it is to be observed that the pinnacles at St. George's have caps only, and no *finials*."

<sup>3</sup> £700.

the Nativite of Seint John Baptist then next following lxxx<sup>ii</sup>. At the fest of S<sup>t</sup> Michael th' archangell then next following lxxx<sup>ii</sup>. At the Nativite of our Lorde than next folowing lx<sup>i</sup>. At the nativite of Seint John Baptist then next folowing lx<sup>k</sup>. And the residue of the som<sup>e</sup> amounting to four-score pounds to bee payed as the workes goes forward bitwixt that and the Fest of the Nativite of our Lord then next following, by which day the said workes must bee fynyshe and ended. To all w<sup>ch</sup> bargaynes and covenantes wele and truly to be kept and p<sup>r</sup>formed the p<sup>r</sup>ties above named to theis present Indentures interchaungeably have set to their Seales the daye and yere abovesaid.<sup>1</sup>

"It appears," says Mr. Poynter, "that the vaulting of the nave had been previously completed; and that recently, since the arms of Dean Urswick are displayed upon it, and there is every reason to suppose that the fan groining of the side aisles was executed at the same time. The profusion with which the arms, cognizance, and initials of Sir Reginald Bray<sup>2</sup> are scattered over the whole of this work, shows how large a share he took in its erection, probably by contributing to its cost during his life, as well as in his office of surveyor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 11, 12. This agreement is printed in Wright and Halliwell's 'Reliquæ Antiquæ,' p. 115. Letters of licence, in Latin, from Henry the Seventh to the dean and canons to make a doorway in the castle wall, recite the petition of the dean and canons—"quatenus impune possunt ac valeant partem Muri Castri n<sup>r</sup>i Borial. predict Collegii quant. suffic. pro uno hostio sive Janua per quam possunt libere exire et ingredi quociens eis placere demolire sive prosternere et illam partem muri iterim construere sive reedificare cum Janua forte sive hostio securo propriis eorum sumptibus;" "Nos igitur ob charitatis fervorem sincerumq[ue] [&c.] dedimus, &c., plenariam licenciam [&c.] transponendi construendi et faciend. o<sup>i</sup>a pred<sup>ca</sup> et content. in hac sedula. Etiam [&c.] licenciam [&c.] colendi, transponendi, plantandi, alterandi, totam illam partem terre extra mu<sup>r</sup> Castri n<sup>r</sup>i Borial. iacent infra mu<sup>r</sup> construend. a pred<sup>co</sup> decano et Canonicis ex lapidibus adustis absq. aliquo Impedimento [&c.]" Dated at Windsor, 26th of July, a. r. 13. (Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 19 b, 20; see also No. 1123, f. 129 b.)

<sup>2</sup> The arms of Bray are, argent a chevron between three eagles' legs crased, armed gules. The device of Sir Reginald is a flax-breaker. The arms of Urswick, argent on a bend sable, three lozenges of the field, each charged with a saltire gules.

<sup>3</sup> See, in Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 65, a woodcut of Edward the Fourth and Bishop Beauchamp on their knees before a cross, carved on the centre stone of the arch at the east end of the south aisle, and also the initial letters of various benefactors. In an adjoining arch the bishop placed a missal or breviary, with the following inscription: "Who lyde this Booke here? The Reverend Fader in God Richard Beauchamp Bischop of this Diocess of Sarysbury. And wherefore? To this intent that Preestes and

"The expense of vaulting the choir was defrayed by a subscription among the Knights of the Garter. The king contributed in his own name and that of the prince (Henry) £100, the Bishop of Winchester, £100, the Duke of Buckingham, £40, the Earl of Arundell, 50 marks, and the rest of the knights various sums, from £20 to £30 each."<sup>1</sup>

"The main vaulting of St. George's Chapel," continues Mr. Poynter, "is, perhaps, without exception, the most beautiful specimen of the gothic stone roof in existence; but it has been very improperly classed with those of the same architectural period in the chapels of King's College, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh at Westminster. The roofing of the aisles and the centre compartment of the body of the building are indeed in that style, but the vault of the nave and choir differ essentially from *fan vaulting* both in drawing and construction. It is in fact a *waggon-headed* vault, broken by *Welsh groins*; that is to say, groins which cut into the main arch below the apex. It is not singular in the principle of its design, but it is unique in its proportions, in which the exact mean seems to be attained between the poverty and monotony of a waggon-headed ceiling, and the ungraceful effect of a mere groined roof, with a depressed arch of large span. To which may be added, that with a richness of effect, scarcely if at all inferior to fan tracery, it is free from those abrupt junctions of the lines and other defects of drawing, inevitable when the length and breadth of the compartments of fan vaulting differ very much, of which King's College Chapel exhibits some notable instances. On the outside of the building the vanes supported by 'the King's beasts' are sorely missed. They are shown very distinctly in Hollar's view, and

Ministers of Goddis Church may here have the Occupacion thereof, seyying therein theyr Divyne Serryse, and for alle othir that lystyn to sey thereby ther Devocyon. Askyth he any spiritual Mede? Yee asmoche as oure Lord lyst to reward hym for his goode intent; praying every Man, whose Dute or Devocion is eased by thys Booke, they woll say for him thys commune Oryson, *Domine Jesu Christe*. Knelyng in the Presence of this Holy Crosse, for the wyche the Reverend Fadir in God aboveseyd hatho grauntid of the Trespure of the Chirche to every Man 40 Dayys of Pardon." (Pote, pp. 65, 66.)

<sup>1</sup> Poynter, citing Ashmolean MSS., No. 1132. "Lysons is therefore mistaken in supposing the choir to have been vaulted out of Sir Reginald Bray's bequest." (Poynter.)

their removal has left an abrupt and unfinished character upon the pinnacles, which is the only defect in the architecture."<sup>1</sup>

The following entries, more or less connected with Windsor, occur in the privy-purse expenses of Henry the Seventh, from December, A° 7, 1491, to March, A° 20, 1505:<sup>2</sup>

"A° 1492, April 15, at Windsor. To a woman of Wyndesor for surdeac, 5*s*. July 19, at Windsor. To Sir John Hudelston servant, that brought tidings of Hopers takyng, in rewarde, 5*s*. To Sir John Hudelston for one that toke Hoper, 20*s*. and for hym that aspied Hoper in a tree, 40*s*.—£3. To three yomen of the grome for conveying of Hoper from Windesor to the Toure for thir costs, 3*s*. Hofer was in all probability one of the adherents of Perkin Warbeck; but his name is not mentioned by any writer of the time.<sup>3</sup>

"1493, Oct. 28. For carrying the Kings harness from Stony Stretford to Windesor, and so to London, 8*s*. 8*d*. 1494, Aug. 14, at Windesor. To the bell ringers of Windesor College, £3 6*s*. 8*d*."

The king went into Oxfordshire about the middle of August.

"1495, May 18. To Sir Cha<sup>r</sup> Somerset for offringes and expences of my Lorde the Duc of York at Windesor, at his instalacion, £13 6*s*. 8*d*."<sup>4</sup> "Sept<sup>r</sup> 30, at Bisham. Oct. 1, at Windesor (on his return from Wales). To the Children for the King's spoures, 4*s*."

Entries similar to the last occur in the privy-purse expenses of Henry the Eighth in 1530. Thus, on the 30th of April, 1530, six shillings and eightpence were paid—"To choristurs of the College of Wyndesor in reward for the kings spurres."

The nature of this payment has not, however, been hitherto satisfactorily ascertained. In the time of Ben Jonson, in consequence of the interruptions to divine service occasioned by the ringing of the spurs worn by persons walking and transacting business in cathedrals, and especially in St. Paul's, a small fine was

<sup>1</sup> 'Essay on the Antiquities of Windsor Castle.'

<sup>2</sup> Vide 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Anstis' 'Register of the Garter,' vol. i, p. 41.



imposed on them, called spur money, the exaction of which was committed to the beadles and singing boys.

The exaction of spur money by the choir boys exists at the present time at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. A stranger making his appearance in the chapel wearing spurs is applied to for a fine, the amount of which is, however, left to his generosity. Officers in the army are exempt from the fine.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Harris Nicolas, who considers it doubtful whether such a customary payment prevailed at so early a period, suggests that the entry in question was money paid to redeem the king's spurs, which had become the fee of the choristers of Windsor, perhaps at installations, or at the annual celebration of St. George's Feast.<sup>2</sup>

The following ceremony, which took place at the creation of Henry, the son of James the First, Prince of Wales, may, perhaps, throw some light on this spur money.

The Knights of the Bath attended evening service in the chapel of Durham House, and "evening prayer being ended, there stood," says Stow, "at the Chappell doore, the kings master cooke with his white apron and sleeves, and chopping knife in his hand guilded about the edge, and challenged their Spurres which they redeemed with a noble a piece: and he sayd to every Knight as they passed by him, these or the like wordes.

"'Sir Knight looke that you bee true and loyall to the King my master: or else I must hew these Spurres from your heeles.'

"And so they marched through the Hall into the Court yard, and at the Gate tooke their horses and returned to Durham house," &c.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A similar custom appears to prevail at cathedral churches. An anecdote told of George the Fourth, visiting Worcester Cathedral, when Prince Regent, has been communicated to the editors by Mr. Secker, Clerk of the Peace for Windsor, who heard it from the verger very soon after its occurrence. The prince went with Earl Beauchamp to see Worcester and its cathedral. Seeing the choristers buzzing about him in the nave, and pointing to his spurs, the prince inquired of the dean what it meant, when one of them delicately hinted about the spur money. The custom was explained, and the prince encouraged the demand, and paid the boys handsomely.

<sup>2</sup> 'Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth,' p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> 'Annals,' p. 899, edit. 1631. See also the account of the creation of Knights of the Bath in 1616, reprinted in Nichols' 'Progresses of James the First,' vol. iii, pp. 218, 219, and Heath's 'Chronicle,' p. 481, 2d edit.

Notwithstanding these facts and the suggestions hitherto made, it seems probable that the payment was of a totally distinct nature, and was in fact an offering to the tomb and relics of Henry the Sixth. The body of that king was, as has been already stated, removed from Chertsey to St. George's Chapel by Richard the Third, and the miraculous powers and virtues attributed to him, qualified him for a saint, and but for the parsimony of Henry the Seventh, who hesitated to pay the necessary fees, the pope would have admitted him into the calendar.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, persons flocked to the tomb and made their offerings to the relics collected there, consisting, it seems, among other things, of the king's spurs. Fox, in his 'Book of Martyrs,' when giving an account of the persecutions at Windsor in the reign of Henry the Eighth, has the following passage in describing the causes of Robert Testwood's "trouble:" "As it chanced Testwood one day to walke in the church at afternoone, and beheld the pilgrims, specially of Devonshire and Cornewall, how they came in by plumps with candles and images of waxe in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatrie committed and how vainely the people had spent their goods in comming so farre to kisse a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; insomuch, that hee could not refraine, but (seeing a certaine companie which had done their offring, stand gasing about the church) went unto them, and with all gentlenesse began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumbe creatures," &c.<sup>2</sup>

In the extracts from the privy-purse expenses of the queen, Elizabeth of York, inserted in a subsequent part of the present chapter, there will be found an entry of her offerings at Windsor, including 2s. 6d. "to King Henry:" and from a subsequent entry it is evident that a gift to the "children of the Colledge" sometimes accompanied the offerings made in the chapel.

<sup>1</sup> See Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> So Lambarde, writing in the same earnest but intolerant spirit, says—"As in the late Tyme of general Darkness, no place was free from one Sorte of superstitious Mawmetrie or other; so this Church of Wyndsore, not longe after the last Building, was polluted with the wil woorship of Holy Kinge Henry (as they called him) in Revenge (as it should seme) of that despitefull Injurie, which Kinge Edward IV (the author of this chappell) had done unto him. The seely bewitched People gaddd hither on

Returning to the privy-purse expenses of Henry the Seventh, we find the following payments :

"1499. Jan. Payde to S. M Shaa in full payment of all his rekenyngs to this day, as well for newyeres gifts and making of diverse juels and setting and polishing of stones, as for money delivered by hym to Master Seymour for the werkes at Windesour, £667 2s. 11d. 1500. July 25. To the hervest-folk beside Burneham Abbey, 1s. 1503. April. For the king of the Romannes fyne at Windesor, £20."

The privy-purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, the queen of Henry the Seventh, from March 1502, to her death in February 1503, contain several entries connected with Windsor.

In March 1502, there was "delivered to S<sup>r</sup> William Barton preest for thofferings of the Quene to oure lady and Saint George at Wyndesoure and to the Holy Crosse there ij.s. vj.d. to king Henry ij.s. vj.d. to our Lady of Eton xx.d. to the Childe of Grace at Reding ij.s. vj.d. to oure lady of Caversham ij.s. vj.d.," &c. Sir William Barton was occupied twenty-seven days in making a pilgrimage to the above and a variety of other places, including Worcester, Northampton, and Ipswich, for which the queen allowed him tenpence a day.

On the 10th of April, 6s. 8d. was paid "to Edmond Bur-tone for money by him geven in reward by the Quenes commaundement to the keper of the litle gardyn at Windesour."

From the 17th of June to the 12th of July the queen was at Windsor, arriving there from Richmond, and proceeding thence to Oxford.

Pilgrimage, being perswaded that a smalle Chippe of his Bedsteade (which was kepte heare) was a precious Relique, and that to put upon a Man's Heade an olde red Velvet Hatte of his (that laye theare) was a Sovereigne Medicine against the Head-ache. The Figure of al which Superstition yet standethe in the Glasse Windowe over-against the place of his Burial. And if my Memorie do not muche deceive me, Mr. Jhon Shorne (that holy man whiche helde the Divile in a Boote) had an Offering Place, and St. Anthonie the Savioure of Swyne had his Styre or Stalle in this Church also." (Lambarde's 'Topographical and Historical Dictionary.') In the reign of Henry the Eighth, Dr. Dunton, Canon of Windsor, "ded, with Dr. John Clerke, dean of Windsor, receive by Indenture from the lord Hastings, the sheets (as a relique) wherein K. Hen. 6, founder of Kings College in Cambridge, lay, when he was murdered in the Tower." (Wood's 'Fasti Oxoniensis.')

The sum of 2*s.* was paid to Arnold Cholerton "for his costes prepayring logging for the Quene from Richemount to Windesore by the space of twoo dayes at xij.*d.* the day." "Itm to Edmond Lyvesey yeoman for ij dayes at xij.*d.* the day ij.*s.* Itm to John Browne grome of the beddes for twoo dayes at x.*d.* the day xx.*d.* Itm to William Pole grome for twoo dayes xx.*d.* and to Edmond Calverd page for ij dayes at viij.*d.* the day xvj.*d.*" Thomas Woodnote and John Feld received 12*d.* for "wayteng upon the Quenes joelles" "from Richemount to Windesore for oon daye."

The following payments among others were made during the queen's stay at Windsor:

- "Itm to Thomas Barton foteman to the Quene for money by him geven in aulmous by the commaundement of the Quene in hir journeying fro Richemont to Winsore . . . . . iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
- Itm the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn to a servaunt of the Maire of London in reward for bringing a present of cherys to the Quene to Windesour . . . . . vj.*s.* viij.*d.*
- Itm the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn to the Quenes purse at Windesore by thandes of Maistres Weston . . . . . lvij.*s.* iiij.*d.*
- Itm the same day to my lady Bray for money by hir delivered to the ministres of the Kinges chapelle to drinke at a tavernne with a buk . . . . . xx.*s.*
- Itm the xix<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn to the Quenes purse by the handes of John Staunton thelder at Wynsore . . . . . xlvj.*s.* viij.*d.*"
- "Itm the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn to the gromes and pages of the halle for making boncfyres upon the evyns of Sainct John Baptist and Sainct Peter . . . . . v.*s.*"

On the 2d of July, Emond Calver, page of the queen's chamber, received, among other sums, two shillings "for riding from Winsore to London on divers errandes for the Quene by the space of iij dayes at viij.*d.* the day." The same day the sum of 5*s.* was paid "for the Quenes offring in the colleage of Windesore at high masse there." On the 3d of July, 26*s.* 8*d.* were "delivered to my Lady Bray for money by hure geven at the cristenyng of John Belles childe at Winsore by the Quenes commaundement," and also, on the same day, the further sum of 20*s.* "to the said

Lady Bray for money by hur geven to a Scottishe, man scole maister to the prince at his departing by the Quenes commaundement."

Two days later there is the following entry :

"It̃m the v<sup>th</sup> day of July to Robert Alyn for money by him delivered to the Quene for his offring at Windesore. Furst to the Holy Cross ij.s. vj.d. to Saint George ij.s. vj.d. and to King Henry ij.s. vj.d. and for thoffringes of the Quene of Scottes xij.d. . . . vijj.s. vj.d."

On the 6th of July, after a payment of 6s. 8d. "to the undre-keper of Swallowfeld for the bringing of iij bukkes from Swallowfeld to Windesore," these entries occur :

"It̃m the same day to a servant of William Bulstrode for bringing of a present of cakes apulles and cherys to the Quene at Windesore . . . . . xxd.  
 It̃m the same day to my Lady Verney for money by hire payed by the commaundement of the Quene. Furst in aulmous, iij.s. iiij.d. It̃m in reward geven to the Fery man at Datchet iij.s. iiij.d.<sup>1</sup> It̃m in aulmous to an old servaunt of King Edwardes vj.s. viij.d. It̃m to hir purs upon the evyn of Saint Petre xvij.s. . . . . xxx.s. iiij.d.  
 It̃m the same day to a servaunt of S<sup>r</sup> John Williams in reward for bringing of twoo bukkes to the Quene at Windesore . . . . . iij.s.  
 It̃m the viij<sup>th</sup> day of July to Thomas Acworth for thexpenses of the Quenes stable . . . . . lvj.li. iij.s. ob.  
 It̃m the ix<sup>th</sup> day of July to Anthony Cotton in reward by the commaundement of the Quene at Windesore . . . . . xij.s. iiij.d.  
 It̃m the same day to the underkeper of Berkehampsted for bringing of a buk to the Quene to Windesore . . . . . iij.s. iiij.d."

<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of November following, but referring doubtless to the period of the queen's visit to Windsor, there is also a like payment of 3s. 4d. "to Hamlet Clegge for money by him layed out by the Quenes commaundement to the keper of Datchet Ferrey in rewarde for conveyeng the Quenes Grace over Thamys there."

It'm the same day to a servaunt of William ap Howell for bringing of a popyngay to the Quene to Windesore . . . . .	xiiij.s. iiij.d.
It'm the x <sup>th</sup> day of July to Thomas Fisshe in reward for bringing of conserva cherys from London to Windesore sent from Maistres Lees ij.s. viij.d. and for an elne of lynnene cloth for a sampler for the Quene viij.d. . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d.
It'm the same day to Henry Smyth clerke of the Castell of Windesore for money by him payed to certain labourers to make an herbour in the litle parke of Windesore for a banket for the Quene . . . . .	iiij.s. viij.d.
It'm the same day to the Quenes purs at Windesore by thandes of my Lady Ann Percy . . . . .	xx.s.
It'm the xj <sup>th</sup> day of July to the dean of the Kinges chapell for thoffringes of the Quene upon the Feestes of the Nativitie of Saint Johne Baptist thappostelles Petre and Paul Saint Thomas the Marter and Relique Sondag . . . . .	xx.s.
It'm the same day to the Quenes Aulmoigner for thoffring of the Quene upon Sondag next after the Nativitie of Saint John Baptist at High Masse in the colleage of Windesore . . . . .	v.s.
It'm the same day to the said Aulmoigner for money by him geven to the children of the said colleage of Winsore . . . . .	xx.d."

Lady Verney was paid 3*s.* 4*d.* "for money by hur delivered by the commaundement of the Quene to Fyll the kinges payntour in reward," and 10*s.* "to John Reynold payntour for making of divers beestes and othere pleasures for the Quene at Windesore."

"William, Gentilman page of the Quenes chambre," received "for his costes caryeng twoo bukkes the xx<sup>th</sup> day of Juyn from Windesore to London to William Bulstrowde by the Quenes commaundement by the space of twoo dayes, at viij.d. the day, xvj.d. And for horshyre by the same space xij.d. It'm to the same William for caryeng of twoo bukkes from Windesore to London the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> day of the said moneth oon to the Duchesse of Suff. and the othere to John Vandelf and Lybart Goldsmythes by the space of ij dayes at viij.d. the daye xvj.d. and for hors hyre by the same space

xij.*d.* It'm to the said William for his costes going before from Grenewiche to Baynardes Castelle the xix<sup>th</sup> day of Novembre prepayring logging for the Quene by the space of a day viij.*d.*" Other payments of the like amount occur at other periods in respect of venison conveyed to William Bulstrode. Sixteen pence is there charged for four days' horse hire at 4*d.* the day.

Similar preparations were made for the queen's progress from Windsor to Woodstock as for her journey to Windsor. Six shillings were paid to Robert Alyn "for his costes prepayring logging for the Quene from Windesore to Woodstok by the space of vj dayes at xij.*d.* the day," and similar sums to "Edmond Levesey yeoman," "George Hamerton grome portere," "John Staunton grome," "John Bright, page," and "Henry Rooper, page." John Browne, groom of the beds, received twenty pence "for his costes riding afore from Windesore to Woodstok with the Quenes stuf by the space of twoo dayes." The queen's almoner was paid seven shillings "for money by him leyed out in aulmous from Windesore to Woodstok." The queen, on occasion of her departure, made her offerings, "Furst to the high aulter within the Kinges Collage ij.*s.* vj.*d.* It'm to Saint George ij.*s.* vj.*d.* It'm to King Henry ij.*s.* vj.*d.*"

On the 6th of August, the day the queen went from Woodstock to Langley, a payment of twenty shillings was made "to Maistres Bellknap for money by hir delivered by the commaundement of the Quene to the Quene of Scottes at Windesore."

The queen's "laundre," whose head-quarters seem to have been at Windsor, travelled about with her. On the 13th of September the sum of twenty shillings was paid to "Agnes Dean the Quenes laundre for hir hors mete betwene Windesore and Berkeley by the space of lx dayes at iiij.*d.* the day." She subsequently received 13*s.* 4*d.* "for hure horsmete from Berkeley Herous to Windesore by the space of xl dayes at iiij.*d.* the daye."

The queen appears to have been at Windsor for a day or two for the last time on her way from Easthampstead to Richmond in October; her "logging" on the road being prepared for her.

She died on the 11th of February, 1503, after giving birth to a daughter.

On the death of Isabella Queen of Castile, which crown she held in her own right, her husband Ferdinand surrendered the sceptre of Castile to his daughter Joana, the wife of Philip Archduke of Austria, but claimed the regency in virtue of the will of his late consort. The new king and queen in the beginning of 1506 left the Netherlands to take possession of the Castilian throne; but the weather was unfavorable, and after struggling with adverse winds for more than a fortnight, they sought shelter in the harbour of Falmouth.<sup>1</sup>

When Henry was informed of the circumstance he sent the Earl of Arundel "with many Lords and Knights" to attend upon Philip. The earl "received him with three hundred horses, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the strangers."

King Philip subsequently "took his journey toward Windsor Castle, where the king lay; and five miles from Windsor the Prince of Wales,<sup>2</sup> accompanied with five earls and divers lords and knights, and other to the number of five hundred persons georgiously apparelled, received him after the most honorable fashion."<sup>3</sup>

The following is a contemporary narrative, evidently by an eyewitness, of the king's reception and entertainment:<sup>4</sup>

"Memorandum that the xxxi of January w<sup>ch</sup> was one a Sattordaye in the yeare of our Lord 1505 and the 21 yeare of our Sovereigne Lord Kinge H. 7, his Highnes Receaved the kynge of Casteelle at his

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> Henry, afterwards Henry the Eighth.

<sup>3</sup> Hall; Holinshed; Grafton. In an inventory of jewels, 19 Hen. VII, delivered for the use of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry the Eighth) are the following:

"Item a colle of golde of the order of Tosaunde yeven by the king of Castell at Wyndesore poisaunt xviiij oz. qart̃.

"A<sup>o</sup> xxi<sup>o</sup> xiiij die Febr̃

"Item a litell cheyn of gold w<sup>ch</sup> ij litell Tosaunds gold to were yeven the same tyme by the sayde King of Castill iiii oz. di<sup>o</sup> qart̃." (Palgrave's 'Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer,' vol. iii, p. 397.)

<sup>4</sup> Cotton. MS., Vespasian C, XII. It is believed that this interesting narrative has never been printed entire. Two fragments of it (apparently from Stowe's MSS. Harl., No. 540, f. 63, and No. 543, f. 140) are given by Ashmole, in his 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 337 and 559; and so much of it as relates to the ceremony of the installation of Philip as a Knight of the Garter, is inserted by Anstis, vol. ii, p. 254, note. Sir H. Nicolas appears to have been under the impression that the whole document is given by Anstis. (See his 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i.)



Castell of Windesore in manore as folowethe; firste his grace Rode towards the s<sup>d</sup> kyng of Castele amylle or more out of Windesore, and theare in an Arrable feld mette with him, and when the Kings Company approched neere to the sayd Kinge of Casteelle, some stood one one parte and some one the other parte, and so made a lane, that the twoe Kyngs myghte meete to gether. and when the kinge of Casteelle perceayved the Kinge, he took of his Hatte, and in lyke maner the Kyng tooke of his, and with a Lovinge and glad countenance eiche saluted and embraced other, the kinge with many other good words welcomed him to his Realme, and the King of Casteelle with homble and Lovinge words smylingely thanked the King of the greате honores that he did him, and also for the greате pleasure and kyndnes that the King had shewed and done unto him, sithe his arrivall and at dyvers tymes before; and the s<sup>d</sup> Kyng took the kyng of Castyeelle of his Lyfte hande, and in good ordenaunce Rid towards the said Castle of Windesore, the Offyceres of Armes bearinge their coates of Armes, and the [Trumpetts blewe at the metyng<sup>1</sup> of the kings.] and so by the waye, &c the Earle of Darby bare the Swoard Righte before the Kings. It is to be noted, that thear was many Noble [men] verye well appointed, bothe with Clothe of Gold and goldsmithes worke, As my Lord Marques, the Earle of Kente, the Earle of Derby, the Lord Henry Stafforde, with many and diveres other Nobles and Gentelmen, and whene the Kings weare entered the firste gate of the Castelle, the Mynstreles and Sagbotes played, and when they approched to the place whear they allighted, the kinge of Castele tarryed and wold have alighted affore the Kinge, but the Kinge wold not suffere him but tooke him foarthe with him, and so lighted bothe at onne, the kinge of Castyeelle somewhat yet before the Kinge; and in lyke Ordere the Lords and other Noble mene went befoare the Kings thoroughe the Neder Gallery towards the Halle, and as the Kinge perceived that the Kinge of Casteles hatte was offe, he tooke of his hatt and wold not doe it one tylle the kinge of Castele was almoste Redye to doe one his, and so wente uppe the Staires, and so passed thoroughe the upper Gallery to the Kinges greате Chamber, whiche was Richely hanged with Clothe of Arras and a greате Riche bedd in the same Chamber wheare Remained the Knights and Esquires, and from thence to the second Chamber, which was also Richely Hanged, wheare Remained Barrones and Banerets, from thens to the third Chamber which was Hanged with a very Riche Arras in the which theare was a Clothe of Estate and as Riche a Bedde as I have seene, wheare Remayned the Bushopes

<sup>1</sup> Some words, omitted in the MS., are inserted from Stowe's MS., Harl. MS., No. 540, f. 64.

Earles and Officeres that Attended upon him, And from thence wold have conveyd the Kinge of Castele to the foarthe Chamber which was all hanged with Riche Clothe of gold the border above of Chrimsons velvet, and embrodered with the Kings Armes with other the Kynges devises, as Roses, porteculleses &c, but the Kinge of Casteell excused him and sayd that the Kinge shold not take the paynes to conveye him to his Lodgings. Then the kynge shewed him that all that he had passed thorough was and shold be his Lodginges and that the Kynge thoughte that place honored by his cominge and Called him sonne, and sayd that he was as welcome unto him, as thoughte he had byne his owne naturall Sonne, and that his coming was not only aggreable and Joyfull to him but to all his subjects and that that Rome and all his Servants shold be at the comaundmente of the said kynge of Castele, and that he should thinke that he weare Come to his owne fathers house; and so desyred him to goe at his pleasure to dinere or to shifte him,<sup>1</sup> but when the kinge of Castele perceaved, that that greate Lodginge was for him he thanked the kinge bare hedded, for he had takene of his Hatte a lytle befoare, and said that he was sory that the kynge had takene so muche Labore and paynes for him; and for any words or thinge that the kynge colde doe he wold conveye the Kinge to his Lodgings, and so he dide; and aftere the kynge had shewed hym his Chamber and wold he shold take no further paynes, the Kinge wold have somewhat Reconveyed him, but the Kinge of Castele wolde not suffere it, and so they enter saluted the one the other and departed; the kynge Remayned in his Chamber, and the kynge of Castele wente to his and so they bothe wente to dynner every eiche in his owne Chambrere for it was ffastynday and our Lady evene. The Kinge of Casteles officeres and servants served their owne Lorde. Memorandum that as soone as the Kinge Came into the third Chambrere he tooke the great Lorde of the Kinge of Castele by the hande, And imediatly after as the kinge had done, the kinge of Castele tooke of his Bonette and toke the moste of the greate lords by the handes, as the Lord Marques, with other which weare attendante uppon the kinge; and within a ij houres afterwarde came my Lady princes<sup>2</sup> with hir company to the saide Castell, and so wente to hir Lodginges. And after supper was done the kynge of Castele tooke with him but one Torche and v or vj gentlmen, and previly wente to vissyte the kynge, and whearas a gentlman Usher and other wold have warned the kynge, he held them backe

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, Change his clothes or dress for dinner.

<sup>2</sup> Catherine, widow of Arthur Prince of Wales, who died in 1502. As the daughter of Ferdinand, she was the sister-in-law of Philip. She subsequently, as it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, became the first wife of Henry the Eighth, when Prince of Wales.

[with] his owne hande, and sayd he wold warne the kynge of his Cominge firste himselfe and so came he to the kings Secrete Chamber dore unware of the kynge, and so communed together, which was greate signe of perfecte Love; and whearas the kynge wold have Reconveyed him, he wold in no wise the kinge shold take the paynes, and so departed for that nighte.

“And in the morow, beinge sondaye the firste day of February, the kynge beinge Lodged in the Queenes Lodginge, wente from his Chamber to the Chappelle, havinge so many noble men before him that it was Longe tyme or they myghte well passe; the Lord Henry Stafford bare the Sward, and in the Righte hand at the upper end of the quire of the s<sup>d</sup> Chappelle there was ordayned a very Large Travars of Clothe of gold, in the which the kynge sate and herd the masse which was songe by the Bushope of Cheechester in pontyfycalibus; and after masse the kynge wente to vissete the kynge of Castele which that daye herd Masse in the Clossete within his owne lodgings; and when the kynge of Castele understoode that the kynge came towards him he hastelye cam and mett the kynge at the ij<sup>d</sup> Chamber dore; for in the ij<sup>d</sup> Chamber stood the kynge garde all alonge, and at the meetynge the kynge of Castele Tooke of his Bonnete and made Lowe Curtesye and bade the kynge god morowe, and the kinge said to him that he could not have welle dined that day unlesse that he had seene him and bed him good morowe. The kinge of Castele thanked the kinge of his greate Curtesye and payne, and so with diveres other goode words they bothe proceeded together to the kynge of Casteles dinninge Chambere, and bothe stood by the fyere together.

“And aftere they had a while Communed together, the kynge desyred him to tary theare styll, but he excused him and sayd that he wold convaye ye kinge to his Lodgings, and so the kyng toke him one his Lyfte hand and wente to the ij<sup>d</sup> Chambere, and theare the kyng desyred him to tarry theare, but he wold not, and from thence they wente together to the iij<sup>d</sup> Chamber dore, when the kynge Stopped and sayd that he hade gevene him too muche payne to have gone so farre, and ther the kinge had muche a doe to make him Tarrye; And sayd that he wold Rather Reconveye him, then he shold goe any further. Then answered the Kyng of Castele and sayd, I see Righte welle that I muste neede doe your comaundements and to obey as Resone will. And theare was noe sword boarne within the king of Casteles Lodgings which after masse was borne; so for that tyme departed and the kynge Returned to his Chambere to dinner, and the kinge of Castele Retorned in lyke maner to his Chamber to dynnere; and after dynnere the kynge sente to the kynge of Castele to understand whether it wold please him to see the Ladies daunce for pastyme, in asmuch as it

was Holy daye, and myghte not hunte &c. which answered that gladly. And a lytle before by the kynges comaundemente my Lord Herbert voyded all the Kyngs Chamber excepte Lords and Offyceres and certene knights of greate Haveour whiche Remayned ther styll; and when the kinge understood that the Kinge of Castell was Comynge he wente to the dore of the greate Chamber and theare Receaved him and desyrede him to take him by the arme, or else the kinge of Casteelle wold not have takene so much uppon him but by the kings desire; and so bothe together wente throughe that Chamber, the kings dynynge Chambere, and from thense to an Innere Chambere wher was my Lady princes and my Lady Mary the kings daughter,<sup>1</sup> and diveres othere Ladyes; and aftire the king of Casteelle had kyssed them and Comuned a whille w<sup>th</sup> the kinge and the Ladyes all, they came into the kings dynynge Chambere wheare daunced my Lady princes and a Spanishe Ladye with hir in Spanishe arraye, and aftere she had daunced ij or three daunces she Leste, and then daunced my Ladye Mary and a Inglishe Lady with hir, and ever a mouge<sup>2</sup> the Lady princes desired the kinge of Casteell to daunce, which after that he had excused him once or twice, answered that he was a marryner and yet, sayd he, ye wold cause me to daunce. And so he daunced not but Comuned styll with the kyng and after that my Lady Mary had daunced ij or 3 daunces she wente and sate by my Lady princes uppon the end of the Carpete which was under the Clothe of Estate, and neare wher the kinge and the kinge of Casteelle stode. And then dauncede one of the Strange Lords and a Lady of Englande. That done my Lady Mary played one the Loute, and after uppon the Clregalles, who playd very well, and she was of all folks theare greatly prayded that of hir youthe in every thinge shee behaved hir selfe so very well. And then imedyatly aftere, came the Archebushope of Canterbury and the other Bushopes and the Deane of the Chappelle in their Amyses and shewed the kyng that it was Evensonge tyme, and theare taryed his pleasure: and within a while after bothe Kings, Arme in Arme, having their noblemene before theme wente bothe to the chappelle and so to the s<sup>d</sup> greate Traverse of Clothe of Golde and sate within it bothe together everyone havinge his Cushen, and at the Enteringe of the Traverse the Kinge preferred the kinge of Casteelle to the upper hand, but he Refused it, and so the kyng tooke it himselfe and so herd Evensonge together, and the bushope of Canterbury w<sup>ch</sup> dide the devine service, satte in the Deanes stall and the Deane nexte

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent wife of Louis the Twelfth of France. At this time Henry was anxious that she should marry Philip's son Charles, and, although Philip had previously refused, he was now induced to consent.

<sup>2</sup> Ever anon?

him. And after evensonge, the kinge had appoynted to Convey him to his Lodgings; and from the Chappelle dore to the kings Chamber stode the kings Garde all alonge; and when the kynge and the kinge of Casteelle were entered the Chamber, one of the kinge of Casteelles Lords, that was of the order of the Tosone, warned him that it was his Lodginge, and Incontinente he Aunswered and sayd that blame have I and I wishe it. And so wresteled w<sup>th</sup> the Kinge and sayd that the kinge shold not Conveye him to his Lodginge, but that he wold torne backe and Convey him to his; and w<sup>th</sup> divers other words the king Answered y<sup>t</sup> in any wise he wold see him in his Lodginge; and so they wente bothe together throughe that chamber and the second; and when the kinge came to the Doare of the Kinge of Casteelles Dynyng Chamber ther is an other dore that goethe into a Clossete and so to the Kings Chamber, and when they weare at the kinges Chamber dore the king of Casteelle wold no forther, tylle the dore was openede, and whearas the kinge wold have seene him in his Chamber and drue backe, he s<sup>d</sup> by his faythe that he wold Conveye the kynge to his Lodginge; and so the king of Casteelle wente sidlyng in to the Clossete and drewe the kinge in by the Arme. All the Lords and other noblemen excepte offyceres Remayned at the dore in the other Chambers and so Returned to the Kings Lodgings, and bothe kings departed in an Entery by the kings secrete Chamber wheare every eiche of them hade good worde the one to the other, and so wente to their owne Chamberes and so seperately for that nighte they suppede every eiche of them in their owne Lodgings. And this accompleshed for that daye. And in the morrowe, the second daye of february, that was Candelmas daye, bothe kyngs mette secretly together and so came to the kynges dynyng Chamber havinge their noble men before them, but there was so many that it was Longetyme or they myghte welle passe thorowe the Chamberes. The Earlle of Darby bare the kings Sworde, and when the kinges wer Entered the Chappelle they bothe together wente to the Traveres and there abroad tylle the Candles weare Hallowede, w<sup>ch</sup> weare hallowed by the Archebushope of Canterbury, w<sup>ch</sup> that daye sauge the Highe masse in pontyfficallybus, the Bushope of Cheechester gospeler, the Bushope of Norwiche Epistelere, The Bushope of Rochestere bare the Archebushope of Canterburys Crosse, all in pontyffyealybus, and after in good ordere bothe Kynges wente a processhone Rounde about the Halle; the kinges Tapere was borne by the Earle of Kente, and the Kinge of Casteelles Taper was borne by the Lo: Ville Knighte of the order of the Thoyson. The Kings Tapere had a Close Croune and the King of Casteelles an opene Croune Garter and Thoysoone deor havinge one theire Coate of Armes. Every eiche wente before his Owne Lorde and mastere, and the other offyceres of Armes wente before as

appertayneth. It was a Righte goodly sighte to see so many noble meene and so well appointed all other in Clothe of gold velvete and silke and w<sup>th</sup> so many goodly chaines of fyne gold and of greate weighte; and so Retorned to the Chappelle and Traverse agayne and theare herd masse; and after masse the Kyng Retorned by the kyng of Casteles Lodgings and wold have Conveyed the kyng of Castele to his Dynynge Rome but he wold not the kyng shold take the paynes, and so the kyng entered by the Closset dore to his chamber and theare the kyng of Castele departede to his, and every eiche of the kynges dyned in his owne Lodginge; and after dyner bothe kynges met together in the kings Secrete Chamber, and from thence both together wente to the Chappell, wher they herde a Sermon in ffrenche, and emedyatly as the sermone was done they wente to evensonge and after Evensonge bothe kyngs Retorned to their Lodgings in lyke manore as they did after masse; and every eiche of them supped severally in his owne Chamber. It is to be noted that bothe kynges offered at once, the kyng of Casteell somewhat after the kyng, and wear served: and thus Accomplished that daye.

“The Tusdaye the third daye of ffbruary bothe kings herd masse in their owne Clossets, and after dinere wente a hontynge in the Lytle parke, wheare Every eyche of the kyngs kylled certene deare, their owne hands, w<sup>th</sup> their Crosbowes.

“The wensdaye and Thursdaye the iiij<sup>th</sup> and v<sup>th</sup> daye of ffbruary bothe Kynges weare at Counselle, every eiche w<sup>th</sup> his owne Counselle, fore Every prince had his counselle by him selfe, bycause the wether was foule and Rained, or else they had had some other pastyme, but this Thursdaye in the mornynge the statutes w<sup>ch</sup> wer sealed w<sup>th</sup> the seall of the Gartere weare sente to ye kyng of Castele. Garter kyng of Armes bare them to his presence and theare delyvered them to the Lord Herberte w<sup>ch</sup> presented them to the kyng of Castele, to the intent he shold overse and vissyte them.

“One Frydaye the vj<sup>th</sup> daye of ffbruary bothe kynges Rode after dynnere to gether a hontynge to the parke.

“The Sattordaye the 7 of ffbruary the horse was bayted befor the kyng and the kyng of Castele w<sup>ch</sup> bothe stood in the kyngs newe Tower w<sup>ch</sup> at that tyme was appoynted for the kyng of Casteles Lodgings, and after the horse was Bayted Bothe kyngs wente to the Tennys playe and in the upper gallery theare was Layd ij Cushenes of Clothe of gold for the ij Kyngs and the Rome was honestlye hanged w<sup>th</sup> wheare played my Lord marques, the Lord Howard and two other knights together, and aftere the kyng of Castele had scene them play a whylle, he made partye w<sup>th</sup> the Lord Marques of Dorset the kyng Lookynge one them, but the kyng of Castele played w<sup>th</sup> the Rackete and gave the Lord marques xv. and after that he had

pled his pleasure and arayed him selfe agene it was almoste nighte, and so bothe kyngs Retorned agayne to their Lodginges.<sup>1</sup>

"The Sondaye the viij<sup>th</sup> daye of the sayd monthe, the kynge herd both masse and evensonge in his Chappelle, but the kynge of Castele Remayned in his Lodginge and Came not that daye abroad."

On Monday the King of Castile was elected a Knight of the Garter, the proceedings on which are given in great detail; but as they are somewhat tedious and have been already printed by Anstis,<sup>2</sup> they are omitted here. During the ceremony, "the very cross" was laid on a cushion of cloth of gold, with two tapers burning in honour of it. Articles of "Amity and Peace" between the two kings were signed in the chapel, and then "Doctore Routhalle the kings secretarye stood uppon a forme in the mydeste of the Quire and theare made a goodly proposition in a very Adorned Lattin. The effecte of the w<sup>ch</sup> was to expound the s<sup>d</sup> Amety openlye. And the propositione done bothe kings came forth of their Stalles and wente upe to the Hyghe Altere and theare Sware uppon the Holly Evaungelists Cannon of the Masse by them manually Touched and by the feast of the very Crosse to keepe and observe all the poynts and articles Contayned in the sayd Amety from poynte to poynte and so kyssed the Booke and aftere the Holly Crosse and every king Rede his oathe oppenlye his owne selfe."

The supposed piece of the true cross preserved at Windsor has been already noticed.<sup>3</sup> Both kings dined together that day in the King of Castile's lodgings.

"And after diner bothe kings Remayned a great while in comunycacone to gethere. And almoste as none Entered that secrete Chambers excepte knights of the Ordere and Certaine offyceres knights, w<sup>ch</sup> all that daye thoroughe ware their gounes Hoods and Collores of the Gartere, excepte my Lord Prince w<sup>ch</sup> that daye ware the goun hood and Collore of the Thoysons dor. And that daye the Courte was served lyke as it had byne a Righte greate feaste, and as honorably in all things as I have seene. And afterwards the kynge of Casteell

<sup>1</sup> See the Tennis-court marked in Norden's Bird's-eye View of the Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii, p. 254, note (g).

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 114. See also Anstis, vol. ii, p. 256, note.

Conveyed the Kynge towards his Lodgings, and so Amyably for that tyme departed. To write of the greate Riche copborde, w<sup>ch</sup> Continually stode in the greate Halle w<sup>th</sup> all gilte Plate, or of the greate and Riche Heddes of estate, hangings of Riche Clothe of Gold, or of the riche and Sumptuous clothes of Arras, w<sup>th</sup> diveres Clothes of estate bothe in the Kings Lodgings and in the Kinge of Casteelles Lodgings, so many Chambers, Haule, Chappell, Clossetts, Galleries with other Lodgings so richely and very well appoynted w<sup>th</sup> diveres other things, that I suffice nor cannot discerne, and as I suppos, fewe or non that wer theare that ever sawe Castell or othere Lodginge, in all things so well and Richely appoynted and the greate contynuall fare opene houshold, so many noblemen so well appoynted, and w<sup>th</sup> so shorte warninge hearetofore as I thinke hathe not byne scene.

“The Tusdaye the x<sup>th</sup> of the said monthe the queene of Casteelle Came to the sayd Castell of Windsore, accompanied besyde hir owne servants w<sup>th</sup> the Earle of Arundelle the Lord S<sup>c</sup>o Almonde, the Lorde Mountioye and diverse other gentlemene, w<sup>ch</sup> by the kings comaundemente had attended afore uppon hir by the space of And they entered by the Lytle Parke and so secretly came by the backesyde of the Castell unto the kinges Newe Towere, whcare at the Stayrefoote the kinge mett w<sup>th</sup> hir and kyssed and embracede hir; howbeit that the kinge of Casteelle that ther was theare presente w<sup>th</sup> the kynge, had duivers tymes before desired the kings highenes for to have Remained in his owne Lodginge, and not to have takene the paynes to have gone so farre. And after the kinge had welcomed hir, my Lady princes hir sistere and my Lady Mary the kyngs daughtere, havinge many Ladyes and gentlewomene attendinge uppon them, welcomed hir; and so all together wente uppe into the kinge of Casteelles Lodginge. And in the utter Chamber the kinge departed from hir. And the kynge of Casteelle Convoied the kinge to his Lodgings, and so at that tyme departed.

“The Wensdaye the xi<sup>th</sup> daye, bothe the kyngs dyned to gether in the kyngs secrete Chamber; the kinge of Casteelle of his owne mynd sd he wold goe dine w<sup>th</sup> the kinge his Father yf it weare his pleasure; the w<sup>ch</sup> lovely motyone the kinge gladly did accepte. And alytle before dynner was shewed the kyngs genelogy, howe nie kine the bothe kings weare together, and how the kinge is w<sup>th</sup> in degrec of maryage bothe unto the kinge of Romaines his father,<sup>1</sup> and to the queene of Casteelle his wyffe, and that the kinge of Casteelle was kine unto him, bothe of his fathers syde ande motheres syde. And that daye departed my ladye princes and my Lady Mary to Richemonde.

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian.



"The Thursday the xij<sup>th</sup> of february, the kynge nobly Accompanyed, after he had offered to S<sup>t</sup> George as accustomed, and to king henry, Rode to Richemonde to see the house prepared against the kinge of Castele, and the Queene his wiffe Remained styll at Winsore having Attendinge upon them bothe Lorde and Knights by the kings Comaundements. wher they Remayned styll to the Sattordaye then nexte followinge, whiche daye the kinge of Casteelle haukinge and hontynge by the waye as he Rode, came to Richemond, and the Queene of Casteelle his wyffe having the Late queenes<sup>1</sup> Riche Lytteres and Cheares, tooke hir waye towards the sea syde to hir shipes w<sup>ch</sup> then Leaye or Rode at Dartmothe and Plimoth, distante from thence by the space of myles; and that firste nighte she Laye at Redinge wheare I understand she was honorably Receaved by the Abbote and other after theyre Havoures, and diveres Lords and others weare appoynted to wayte upon hir to the sea side.

"I leave the Queenes Jurneye to them that sawe it, and Returne to the kinge. When the kinge perceaved that the kinge of Casteell was neare, he cam downe from his Chamhere and mete him at the staires foote by the water syde, and welcomed him to Richemond. Hobeit a little before the king mete w<sup>th</sup> him, the kinge of Castille Advised the House w<sup>th</sup>out, and greatly praysed the bewtyfull and sumptiuous edifice, sayenge to them that weare theare neare unto him, that yf it shold be his fortune to Retorne to Bruselles, that that *Beau Regard* shold be a patrone unto him, and so the kinge Convayed him to his Lodgings.

"The Sondaye followinge the Ambassador of fraunce cam to the kinge and bothe kinges herd masse togethere &<sup>c</sup>; and that morninge, unaxed, the kinge of Casteelle proffered the kinge to yeld Eds. Rebe'll &<sup>c</sup>.<sup>2</sup> One Tusdaye Justes, one wensdaye Horsbaytynge, one Thursdaye to Baynards Castell, and a Hawkyng by the waye, one fridaye to our Lady of Barkinge, and so to the Tower and gune shotte, one Saturdaye to Westemestere, and so Retorned to Richemonde, but fyrste dyned at

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, who died, as has been already stated, on the 11th of February, 1503. (See *ante*, p. 433.)

<sup>2</sup> Although somewhat obscure, it is evident this refers to the agreement to surrender Edmund de la Pole, the second and eldest surviving son of the late Duke of Suffolk, and the nephew of Edward the Fourth. He had been permitted by Philip to reside in his dominions. So far from being a voluntary surrender, Philip is generally stated to have only consented on Henry promising to spare the life of the fugitive nobleman. Henry kept him a prisoner during his reign, but left directions for his execution at his death. The assertion in the text looks suspicious, and was probably purposely inserted to place the conduct of the English king in a more favorable light than it was generally regarded.

Westemestere w<sup>th</sup> the Abbote and Priore; one mondaye wrestelynge betweene Englishe men and Spanyards. and baytynge betweene the horse and the beare. one Tusdaye S<sup>t</sup> Mathewes daye bothe kinges dyned together served w<sup>th</sup> iiij Courses, and Sattordaye towarde the seaye side to Windsore, all the Childrene of Eaton Standinge along the Barres of the Chorche Yead. Receaved in the Castell by the Chanones and offered to S<sup>t</sup> George as accostomed, and to their twee Lodginges w<sup>ch</sup> Remayned almost as before.

"One Sondaye, horsbaytynge and maskynes gevene. The Mondaye offered to S<sup>t</sup> George and the kinge Convayed him one his waye Amylle or more, and the kyng deffrayed all his servants of their charges and gave Rewards.

"Memorandum during all the season the kyng of Casteelle was in the kynges Courte every Hollyday and at every tyme that the kyng of Casteelle dined and Supped w<sup>th</sup> the kyng, the kyng was served by knights and Esquires weringe velvete or sylke, and all greate offyceres attendinge uppon the kyng during the Tyme that bothe kynges dyned or supped to gether, as my Lord Stuarde, my Lord Chamberlane &<sup>c</sup>,"<sup>1</sup>

This narrative is remarkable as differing in some respects from the chroniclers of the period, who represent Philip as being, during his stay in England, the captive, rather than the guest of Henry; and the nature of the treaties made between the two monarchs certainly leads to the inference that considerable pressure must have been exercised on the occasion. 1. A marriage was arranged between Henry and Philip's sister, Margaret of Savoy, whose marriage-portion was fixed at a large sum; 2. The consent of Philip to the marriage of his son Charles with the Princess Mary; 3. A treaty of commerce, more advantageous to the English than to the Flemish; 4. A loan to Philip; and 5. The delivery of Edmund de la Pole.<sup>2</sup>

To the upper ward of the castle, Henry the Seventh made but one addition, of no great extent, adjoining the main edifice near the entrance of the great court.<sup>3</sup> Ashmole describes it as "that

<sup>1</sup> Cotton. MS., Vespasian C, XII, f. 236—249.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 443, note. For further details see Lingard and the authorities cited by him.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter.

stately fabric adjoining to the king's lodgings, in the upper ward."<sup>1</sup> "Of two lofty oriels," says Mr. Poynter, "on the complicated plan in fashion at this period, which originally decorated the north front, one has disappeared, and the other has suffered great wrong. The interior front has also been materially altered by Sir Jeffry Wyatville, but with a judgment which has left its character unimpaired, and it yet stands pre-eminent for the graceful and picturesque style of its architecture. The same date may be affixed to the inclosure of the stairs to the keep. When they were covered originally does not appear."<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Seventh also "beggan a Frierie of Bricke-woorke at Wyndstore, which is nowe the Gardeine and Timbre Yarde; but as he changed his former purpose touching the Chappel, and performed it at Westminster, so (I suppose)," says Lambarde, "he spent this latter Devotion upon the Friers Howse, which he erected at Greenwich. But yet before he had withdrawn his Mynde from Wyndstore, he made the faire Cawsie<sup>3</sup> that yet is betwene that and London."<sup>4</sup>

The "Friary" alluded to by Lambarde was probably connected with St. Anthony's Monastery.<sup>5</sup>

From the following clause in the king's will, dated at Richmond

<sup>1</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' p. 130. See also Leland ('Commentarii in Cygneam Cantionem,' verb. Vindelesora), who describes it as a new and elegant building of stone adjoining the west side of the upper ward. "Stabat adhuc vetus templum ab Eadueardo tertio positum: sed quum Henricus Septimus rex sui seculi Phoenix unicus memoria mortis tactus, locum sepulture sue aptum quæreret, diruto Eadueardino templo veteri illo, novum à fundamentis loco eodem construxit, quod et hodie vacat. Mutaverat enim de sepulchro sententiam, ac alterum, miraculum orbis universi, bismonasterii incohavit. *Illud non est silentio prætereundum, quod idem adjunxerit occidentali parti aree superioris ubi maxime castrum nitet, innotum et elegans quadratissimorum saxorum opus.* Sed neque ejus filius Henricus Octavus flos regum, quotquot Britannia unquam vidit, minus de Vindelesora est commeritus. Primis etenim regni ~~sui~~ annis portam maximam, qua ingressus in primam castris aream, à fundamentis quadrato exstruxit saxo. Sed quo me rapuit oratio? Quam ægre divellor a Vindelesora aurea quidem illa." Lambarde says—"Henry VII builded a faire Lodging of hewed stone at the west ende of the Palaice."

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> Causeway.

<sup>4</sup> Lambarde's 'Topographical Dictionary.' See also Stow's 'Annals.'

<sup>5</sup> The following memorandum was made by Ashmole: "St. Anthony's Monastery stood where about the poore K<sup>th</sup> Houses stand; E relac<sup>o</sup>e Mr. Fishbone." (Ash. MSS., No. 1115, f. 86.)

on the last day of March, 1509, it seems clear that he had not completed the road at that time, even if he had begun it before :

“ Also we wolle, that our Executours bestowe and emploie with as goodly spede after our deceasse as conveniently may be doon, MM<sup>i</sup> upon the newe making and repairing where nede shall require, of such Highe waies and Brigges as hereafter folowe ; that is to saye, upon the newe making or repairing of the high wey and brigges betwixt oure Castell and Towne of Windesore, and our manour of Richemount and Saint Georges church beside Suthwark, the high wey or brigges betwixt the same Saint Georges church and our manour of Grenewich, and the high wey betwixt the same our manour of Grenewich and the Citie of Caunterbury: al which highwaies, we wol be substancially diche upon booth sides, where thei may be conveniently so doon, wel and nicely graveled, and reised upon a good hight, with such a brede and largenesse as two carts may passe the oon by the other, or booth togeders. And the said two thowsand pounds as farre as it wol goo and extende, to bee emploied upon the same, and upon noon other thing, in the moost sure and substancial maner that can be devised by our Executours, or such as thai shall depute and assigne to the same, if it be not doon by ourself in our life tyme.”

It may be observed here that the only other clause of the will relating to Windsor is the following :

“ Also we geve and bequethe to Almighty God, our Lady his blessed Moder, and Saint George, within oure College of Wyndesore, and to the Dean and Chanons of the same college that nowc be, and that hereafter shall be, for a perpetuel memorie there to remaigne while the worlde shall endure, and to be set upon the high Aulter of the said College, at the daies of solempne fests, and suche other tymes as the Deane and Chanons of our said College shall thinke convenient and honorable, a grete Ymage of Saint George, of gold, peysing ccxl unces, garnished with rubies, perles, saphires, diamonds and other stones, the which Ymage is nowe in our Juell house.”<sup>1</sup>

The ditch of Windsor Castle was in this reign the scene of a tragic incident. George Lumley, the son and heir of Thomas Lord Lumley (who, Dugdale tells us, was summoned to parliament

<sup>1</sup> Astle's Will of Henry the Seventh, 4to, London, 1775.

in consequence of having married an illegitimate daughter of Edward the Fourth), having, after his father's death, married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Roger Thornton, Esq., a very wealthy merchant of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and being possessed in her right of lands in the north of England, "great suits and sharp contests" arose between him and Giles Thornton, an illegitimate son of Roger Thornton, concerning the right to these lands, "in which quarrel this George killed the same Giles in the ditch of Windsor Castle."<sup>1</sup>

The dispute between the poor knights and the college was renewed or rather continued during this reign. As soon as Henry the Seventh came to the throne, the knights petitioned the king and parliament for the repeal of the act of the 22 Edw. IV, before mentioned,<sup>2</sup> affirming that it was obtained without their knowledge or sanction.<sup>3</sup> To this petition the dean and canons replied, and the poor knights rejoined, but they were unable to obtain a repeal of the statute; on the contrary, the dean and canons, in a subsequent period of this reign, obtained an exemplification of the act, dated the 4th of February, in the eighteenth year of Henry's reign.<sup>4</sup>

The yearly charges and expenditure on the revenue of the dean and chapter at this period were stated by the poor knights to be as follows :

	£	s.	d.
"To ye deane . . . . .	100	0	0
Item, xij chanons . . . . .	240	0	0
Item, xv vicars . . . . .	150	0	0
Item, a gospeller . . . . .	8	0	0
Item, ye apisteler <sup>5</sup> and organ player . . . . .	2	13	4
Item, xiiij queresters . . . . .	52	0	0

<sup>1</sup> See Leland's 'Itinerary,' vol. vi, fol. 62; Dugdale's 'Baronage,' vol. ii, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> As to the office of Gospeller and Epistoller of the Order of the Garter, see Sir Harris Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. ii, p. 467. In the Church of Farnham Royal, in Buckinghamshire, about three miles north of Windsor, there is a brass plate in memory of Eustace Mascall, who at the time of his death, in 1567, was "pistell" reader in Windsor Castle.

	£	s.	d.
Item, xiiij clerkes . . . . .	180	0	0
Item, ye sacristaries . . . . .	8	0	0
Item, ye bellringers . . . . .	6	13	4
Item, ij chauntry priests for king Edward . . . . .	26	13	4
Item, ij for Dutchess Exetur . . . . .	16	0	0
Item, j for Bishop of Sarum . . . . .	6	13	4
Item, Lords Ferrars and Hastings . . . . .	16	0	0
Item, a vergers . . . . .	10	0	0
Item, ye clerk of ye counts . . . . .	10	0	0
Brede, wine, wax, oyle . . . . .	20	0	0
Item, officers outward and inward . . . . .	20	0	0
For ryding officers, and other errands necessarie . . . . .	20	0	0
Fees to counsell lerned . . . . .	20	0	0,

amounting in the whole to £862 13s. 4d., or in round numbers, as they said, "the sum totall of all these ordinarie yerely charges extendeth not above the sum of 900*l*." The revenue was estimated at £2193 13s. 4d., "besyde the grete oblacions to oure Lady, the holli cross and the blessid Kyng Henry."<sup>1</sup>

Ashmole, speaking of the period between the act of Edward the Fourth, separating the poor knights from the college, and their re-establishment by Queen Elizabeth, gives the following account of persons placed on this foundation :

"We observe also, that in this interval several persons who had been of considerable quality and worth became alms-knights ; some of them were nevertheless great objects of charity, among whom was Sir Robert Champlayne, knight, a valient soldier, and one whose martial services abroad rendered him an honor to our nation.

"It seems he had taken part in the civil wars here with King Henry the Sixth against King Edward the Fourth, shortly after whose coming to the crown he left England, and travelled into Hungary (having with him an equipage of three servants and four horses), where, in the assistance of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, against the Turk, he behaved himself bravely, and like a valient knight ; but prosperous fortune not attending him at all

<sup>1</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4847, f. 185.

times, he received many wounds, and at length was taken prisoner, lost all, and forced to pay 1500 ducats for his ransom ; for the justification of all which he obtained several authentic testimonies, under the great seals of Matthias King of Hungary ; Jeronimus Archbishop of Crete, Legate de Latere in Hungary ; Frederick the Third, Emperor of Germany ; Renat King of Sicily (father to Queen Margaret, wife of our King Henry the Sixth) ; Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine ; Charles Duke of Burgundy ; and, lastly, a declaration thereof from our King Edward the Fourth, under his privy seal, dated the 3d of April, in the nineteenth year of his reign. And being reduced to a low condition, by his great losses and the charge of his ransom, he was, through the favour of King Henry the Seventh,<sup>1</sup> admitted an alms-knight here.

“ But some others made their retreat hither, and obtained admittance into this fraternity, probably out of devotion rather than cause of poverty, and among these were Thomas Hulme,<sup>2</sup> sometime Clarenceux King of Arms ; Lodowick Carly,<sup>3</sup> the king’s physician ; John Mewtes,<sup>4</sup> secretary of the French tongue ; and Bartholomew Westby,<sup>5</sup> made second Baron of the Exchequer<sup>6</sup> 2d June, anno 1 Hen. VIII.”<sup>7</sup>

The proceedings on a writ of right close in the Borough Court of Windsor, bearing date the 3d of September in the twelfth year of this reign, extracted from the corporation records, are preserved in the Ashmolean MSS. The property in dispute was a house and four acres of land in New Windsor.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anno 1 Hen. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 22 Edw. IV, p. i, m. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Anno 7 Hen. VII.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 18 Hen. VII, p. i.

<sup>5</sup> Anno 6 Hen. VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Pat., 1 Hen. VIII, p. ii, m. 31.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Order of the Garter,’ pp. 160, 161.

<sup>8</sup> The names mentioned are “ Thomas Wheteley, maior ; Richard Heyward and John Carre, bailiffs ; John Hether, sen., John Toller, Thomas Hunte, Thomas Bukerell, suitors of the court ; Sir Reginald Bray, John Shaw, gentleman, William Lowthe, Hugh Lyonell, demandants, by William Thompson, their attorney ; Alice Wygram, Henry Aleyn, John Todde, William Canon, Abraham Sibelies, Robert Aleyn, Robert Wedon, and John Weston, deforeiants, by John Salman, their attorney ; Andrew Bereman, John Willlys, William Pery, John Pery, Richard Thorpe, Robert Avelyn, Richard Gode, John Miles,

The corporation of Windsor had from a very early period possessed the privilege from the crown of keeping swans on the river Thames; but the birds having been, it seems, neglected and

Thomas Rowland, John Bekysfeld, John Lychefeld, and Thomas Punchon, jurors." (Ash. MSS., No. 1126, citing 'The Bounded Book of Inrolments,' which is no longer to be met with among the muniments of the corporation. Ashmole says—"See more concerning Breve de reele Claus. in the aforesaid Boarded booke of Inrolm<sup>ts</sup>, fo. 101, 102, 103, 47, 59.") In the 16 Hen. VII, Robert Avelyn and John Bekysfeld, or "Bekynnefeld," who were aldermen, were ejected from the corporation, for divers reasons moving the mayor, aldermen, and brethren of the guild. The following is a copy of the rental of the Trinity Brethren or Corporation of Windsor in the year 1500:

"It. Willo Canon p <sup>r</sup> dece <sup>r</sup> ac <sup>r</sup> . terr. arabil iac. ap <sup>d</sup> Pokets p <sup>r</sup> ann <sup>u</sup> .	10s. 8d.
It. Andrea Bereman . . . . .	2 0
It. Thoma Bucknell . . . . .	3 0
It. Thoa <sup>r</sup> Bramelton . . . . .	6 8
It. Rico <sup>r</sup> Goode . . . . .	3 4
It. Thoa <sup>r</sup> Ridar . . . . .	4 0
It. Joli <sup>e</sup> Hether Jun <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	1 8
It. Johne Toller . . . . .	0 11
It. John Todde . . . . .	10 0
It. Rob <sup>to</sup> Michelson . . . . .	6 8
It. Rico <sup>r</sup> Lamnasse . . . . .	13 4
It. p <sup>r</sup> uno tento vocat le three Nuns p <sup>r</sup> ann <sup>u</sup>	13 4
It. Rico <sup>r</sup> Cuthbert . . . . .	6 8
It. Willo Daw . . . . .	13 4
It. Ux. Willm <sup>s</sup> Avys . . . . .	6 8
It. Willo Greene . . . . .	6 8
It. Rob <sup>to</sup> Noke . . . . .	3 4
It. Ux. Willi Oldeale . . . . .	3 4
It. Thoa <sup>r</sup> West . . . . .	1 8
It. Tho <sup>r</sup> a Glo . . . . .	5 0
It. Nichol Wylkes . . . . .	3 4
It. Thoma Smith } . . . . .	13 4
It. Laur. Smith }	
It. Symone Spicer . . . . .	
It. Carolo Pochemaker . . . . .	6 8
It. Ten <sup>to</sup> in Dacht lane p <sup>r</sup> ann <sup>u</sup> . . . . .	3 4
It. Joli <sup>e</sup> Coop laborer p <sup>r</sup> ten <sup>r</sup> p <sup>r</sup> ann <sup>u</sup> . . . . .	3 4
It. Joli <sup>e</sup> Bartlelet de veter Wyndsor . . . . .	6 8
It. John Hether sen <sup>r</sup> veat le Whitehorse . . . . .	20s.
<hr/>	
8£:18s.	

"M<sup>d</sup> that the Masters of the Guild make up their yeares Accompt the Monday after All Soules day, ending at Mich<sup>as</sup> before and then New Masters were chosen for the yeare following." (Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 16 b, taken "out of a Booke of the Accounts of the Guild, the Chamberlaynes, &c.")



lost, the "game" (the term used to denote the flock of birds) was renewed in this reign.

The swan being a royal bird, it is said that no subject can have a property in them when at large in a public river, except by grant from the crown.

This privilege was by no means peculiar to Windsor, for in the reign of Elizabeth it was possessed by upwards of 900 corporations and individuals.<sup>1</sup> In creating it, the crown granted a swan-mark for a game of swans, the birds being marked upon the upper mandible with a knife or other sharp instrument. The king's swanherd, or master of the swans, or his deputy, proceeded annually up the river for the purpose of taking up and marking the birds. This expedition, formerly termed *swan-upping*, but subsequently corrupted into *swan-hopping*, is still made on the first Monday in August in every year, by the crown and by the Dyers' and Vintners' Companies, who are now the principal owners of swans in the Thames.<sup>2</sup>

The statement of these facts will render intelligible the following documents, as well as the occasional references to the swans and swan-upping in subsequent chapters.

<sup>1</sup> The privilege of having a swan-mark, or game of swans, is a freehold of inheritance, and may be granted over; but by 22 Edw. IV, c. 6, no person other than the king's sons shall have a swan-mark, or game of swans, unless he has freehold lands or tenements of the clear yearly value of five marks (£3 6s. 8d.), on pain of forfeiture of the swans, one moiety to the king and the other to any qualified person who makes the seizure. In the first year of Richard the Third the inhabitants of Crowland, in Lincolnshire, were exempted from the operation of this act, upon their petition, setting forth that their town stood "all in marsh and fen," and that they had great games of swans, "by which the greatest part of their relief and living had been sustained." (Rot. Parl., vi, 260, cited by Mr. Sergeant Manning, in the article "Swan" in the 'Penny Cyclopædia.' See further, as to swan-marks and swan-upping, Yarrell's 'British Birds,' vol. iii; and 'Archæologia,' vol. xvi, p. 153; vol. xxxii, p. 423.)

<sup>2</sup> The swan-mark of the Dyers' Company is a notch, called a "nick," on one side of the beak. The swans of the Vintners' Company, being notched or nicked on each side of the beak, are jocularly called "swans with two necks," a term which has been long used as a sign by one of the large inns in London. (Sergeant Manning, art. "Swan," 'Penny Cyclopædia.') It is said, however, that the king's swans were originally marked in this manner, and that a crown still always encircles the necks of the anomalous bird suspended over the inns of the present day. See 'A relation of the Island of England about the year 1500,' translated from the Italian by C. A. Sneyd, note 9, printed for the Camden Society.


## "THE GYLDE HAULE OF WYNDESORE.



"This is the merke whiche was of olde tyme geuyn to the Gylde hall of Wyndesore, and is of an olde aunciente belong<sup>s</sup> to o<sup>r</sup> Game in Tamysc which game is lost wasted and worne away But ne<sup>v</sup>thesse by diligent labour and serche made in the Kings Standyng Roll of the said game, Is founden the seid Merke. And at the labour of the Maior and Burgeises of the seid Borough w<sup>th</sup> the comanalte of the same The seid m<sup>ke</sup> is restored now ageyn to the fores<sup>d</sup> Gylde haule and is cntred in the swanherds Boke, the Saturday the 9<sup>h</sup> day of August in the 20<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of o<sup>r</sup> So<sup>v</sup>aigne Lord K<sup>t</sup> Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> In the tyme of John Scott alias Cony then being Meyer, Willm Pery, and Richard Passhe Baillifs." <sup>1</sup>



"This Merke was Mastir Scotts of Dorney w<sup>ch</sup> is Steward of the Towne and Borough of Wyndesor whiche of his gode mynde gaf unto the Gylde haule of Wyndesor on Cok of his game the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Januar in the 20<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of o<sup>r</sup> So<sup>v</sup>aigne Lord Kyng Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> at ye instance and request of the aforeseid Mayer and his Brethern w<sup>th</sup> al the comunalty of the same Towne. Whereuppon at Upping season next folowinge the seyde Meior and his Brethern w<sup>th</sup> the Comanaltie was admytted to the seid Cok by Harry Wyke m<sup>r</sup> deputie for y<sup>t</sup> time being of the hole game within Tamise aforeseide. Which gaf us an addicon to the same Cok yt is to wete this

Merke  called an Oylethole, the 9<sup>th</sup> day of August and the yere

<sup>1</sup> Ashmol. MS., No. 1126, f. 35 b, 36, extracted from the Register of the Guilde of New Windsor, "a large vellome Booke w<sup>th</sup> a wooden Cover: wherein are Inrollm<sup>ts</sup> of Wills, Fines, Deedes, &c.," f. 130 b.

abovesaid. At which tyme was paid by the hands of Andrew Bereman w<sup>ch</sup> was a singular benefactor in the seide Cause, thise pcells following.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
First paid to the owner of the henne for 2 Signets . . . .	4	8	It. to Harry Wyks for his reward . . . .	0	8
It. to Montagew for the growne bird . . . .	2	0	It. for Upping . . . .	0	2
It. for halfe a birde . . . .	0	10	It. for m <sup>k</sup> ing ye Cok and 6 Signets . . . .	0	1
It. for the tithe of 2 birds and a halfe <sup>1</sup> . . . .	0	5	It. to Montagew . . . .	0	1
Sum . . . .			It. spent at parissis house upon the Swanherde . . . .	0	6
			9s. 5d." <sup>2</sup>		

The following constituted "the Game of Swans belonging to the Towne Hall, upped by Raimond Redding, a<sup>o</sup> 6 Eliz. :"

		whit game
" Upon Coulney streame . . . .	2	one being a breeder
Putney . . . .	1	
Chiswyk . . . .	1	Cobb <sup>3</sup>
Kew . . . .	1	Cobb
Ditton . . . .	1	hen the broud destroyd
Upon the Sunbury . . . .	1	
Thames. Leyton (?) . . . .	1	
Chertsey . . . .	1	Hen the brood destroyed
Egham meade . . . .	2	one hen a breeder
Old WyndSOR . . . .	1	
Datchet ferry . . . .	2	one breeder, the Brood lost.
Sum of the Swans 14." <sup>4</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> Tithe was payable of swans. The half bird probably refers to the division of broods, where the male bird of one owner mated with a female belonging to another. It appears that where there was an odd cygnet it was generally allowed to the owner of the cob, but this practice did not prevail in Buckinghamshire. ('Penny Cyclopædia.') As the Thames at Windsor divides Buckinghamshire from Berkshire, there may have been a joint property in a bird.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmol. MS., No. 1126 (*ut supra*). See in No. 826 of Ash. MSS., f. 138-9 b, marks or tokens for swans belonging to the king and many of the nobles, bishops, abbots, priors, and commoners, "copied from a Roll in the custody of the Maior [and] Bailiffs of New WyndSOR." They are drawn with pencil, in columns (four on each page), and superscribed with names; they resemble merchants' marks, and are all parallelograms, with one end rounded. They seem to be of the age of Henry the Eighth. (See Black's 'Catalogue of Ash. MSS.,' f. 478; and Yarrell's 'Birds,' vol. iii, p. 122, &c.)

<sup>3</sup> The general name for the male bird. It has been suggested that the "Cobler," the name of the upper part of the island below Windsor Bridge, and dividing the engine stream from the main river, was so called from having been the lair of a cob bird.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of "the infinite number of swans

The earliest existing Windsor charity had its origin in this reign. By deed poll, bearing date the 8th of September, 17 Hen. VII (1501), Thomas Hunte, of Windsor, granted to John Thompson and William Hunterede, chaplains, and John Combes, four messuages or tenements and gardens, situate in Shere Street,<sup>1</sup> and built for eight poor persons to dwell in, according to the intention of William Paynall, clerk, deceased, and the said Thomas Hunt, to hold to the said John Thompson, William Hunterede, and John Combes, and their heirs.<sup>2</sup>

By a subsequent deed, dated the 4th of February, 18 Hen. VII (1503), the above-mentioned John Thompson and William Hunterede, chaplains, and John Combes, gentleman, conveyed these premises, described as four tenements, with a garden adjoining, situate in Shere Street, and lately erected by William Paynall, chaplain, to Thomas Ryder, mayor of New Windsor, and to the burgesses of the said borough, to hold the said premises to the said mayor and burgesses for ever in fee by the accustomed services and customs, upon condition and to the intent that the said mayor and burgesses should nominate and elect eight poor persons, as well men as women, that is to say, two men or two women in each house. On admission they were required to take an oath to pray for the soul of William Paynall, and for the souls of all their benefactors.<sup>3</sup>

daily to be seen upon this river, the two thousand wherries and small boats, whereby three thousand poor watermen are maintained through the carriage and recarriage of such persons as pass or repass from time to time upon the same : beside those huge tideboats, tiltboats, and barges, which either carry passengers, or bring necessary provision from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Essex, Surry and Kent unto the city of London." (Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' vol. i, p. 82, edit. 1807.)

<sup>1</sup> *Semble Shete Street.*

<sup>2</sup> *Fide* Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See a copy of this deed, in Latin, Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 63 b. The mayor and burgesses were to keep the premises in repair. The following "note expressing who gave the foure tenements in Sheete Streete in New Windsor, unto the Major, Bayliffes and Burgesses of New Windsor aforesaid for Almes howses, And what Poore are therein to bee placed and by whome," is taken from the extracts from 'Day's Book,' in the same manuscript volume, f. 119 b :

"In the Towne Chest remaining in a little Roome which adjoyneth unto the Towne hall There is a Poll Deede bearing date the 4th of February in the xviii year of King

In this reign we find numerous instances of bequests for the celebration of "obits" in the parish church of Windsor. The first is contained in the following will of William Evington :

" This is the last Wille of me William Evington made the 4<sup>th</sup> day of Marche the yer of oure Lord 1487 That William Home Meyre of London Feoffe of trust in myn house at new Wyndesor w<sup>ch</sup> I now dwelle in ymediately after my discese make estate of ye seyde house with the appurtenances to John Todd Abraham Sibelies Rob<sup>t</sup> Bucksted Nich: Larewood and John Baker To have to them and to their heires for ev<sup>e</sup> to thys intent That thei shalle stonde feoffed theryn to the use and behoff of the vicar of new Wyndesor aforesyd for the tyme being, so yt the seyd vicar yerely keepe, or do to be kept for the sowles of me my wyves my friendes and all Christen sowles in the p<sup>ish</sup> Church there w<sup>th</sup> 5: prests and other mynysters to the valo<sup>e</sup> of 6s. 8d. an obit for ever; And yf it happen the seyd vicar yt now ys or hereafter shal be to be negligent in keeping of the seid obit or in reparation

Henry the vij which expresseth as followeth; That John Tomson, and W<sup>m</sup> Huntred, Chaplens, and John Combe gent: having demised unto Thomas Rider, Major of the Burrow of New Windsor, and to the Burgesses foure Tenements with gardens adjoining with the apurtenances, in Sheere Streete lately built by one W<sup>m</sup> Paynell Chaplen now deceased and Thomas Hunt now living for Poore People to dwell therein for ever in p<sup>er</sup>petuall almes, which they had of the aforesaid Thomas Hunt to hold to the Major Bailiffes and Burgesses for ever, Upon this condition, That the Major and Burgesses and their Successors for ever, shall name eight Poore, as well men as women to dwell in the Tenements for ever, That is the men by them-selves, and ye women by themselves, in two Bedds severally, except it happen any Poore man and his wife to be named to any Tenement or Tenements aforesaid; In which case none other shall bee appointed to that house while they both live together, provided that if the man aforesaid die leaving the woman; then to assigne another Poore woman with the late wife of him deceased; And so if the man die then to appoint a man, and so if they depart out of any house, then to place within one moneth. And if the Major and Burgesses be negligent to nominate next after the first moneth Then the Churchwardens to name any Poore. The Poore admitted to take an oath to pray for the Soule of W<sup>m</sup> Paynell deceased: and for the Soules of all their Benefactors."

Three years later, Thomas Bramelton, of New Windsor, tailor, and Isabella his wife, formerly wife of "Richard (?) Loe Wode," by deed poll bearing date the 1st of December, 21 Hen. VII, released to William Canon, Mayor of Windsor, and the burgesses of the same borough, all right and title of and in four tenements and their appurtenances called Almes Houses, situate in Shere Street. (Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 65.) In the first year of Henry the Eighth's reign, Thomas Hunt, who is described as "Thomas Brotherton, otherwise Hunt," gave some property in the parish of Warfield to this charity. (See Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 64b; and see the 32d Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring concerning Charities, p. 92.) Other bequests were made in subsequent reigns.

of the seid howsing, that then he upon y<sup>t</sup> defawte aftyr a moneth warnng. gebyn to hym by the foreseid feoffees or eny of them shall forfeyt unto the repacon of the seid howsyng 6s. 8d.: and so to continew yerely for e<sup>v</sup> for such defawtes as a fore is rehersed. Also I wyll that Master David Hopton Tho: Cancellar and Abraham Sibilies my feoffes of trust in all my Mede in Wyndesor lying in Datchet mede ymediately aft<sup>r</sup> my decease, make a state of 2: acres p<sup>c</sup>cell of the seid mede lying at Peyntors Hutche ther to the proctors of the Broderhed of the Trinite ther To have to them and to their successors for e<sup>v</sup> upon Condicon followyng That ys to say the seyd proctors and ther successors shall yerly at evyre obit kept by the vicar ther beyng for the tyme, set their lights of the Trinite upon myn herse. And also either of them to offer at the seyd masse. j.d.”<sup>1</sup>

The testator's house was, by a deed dated the 4th of January, in the sixteenth year of the king's reign, formally conveyed by the trustees named in the will, to Thomas Bucknell and Thomas Brammilton, the guardians or masters of the Guild or Brotherhood of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, established in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, in New Windsor, and to the brothers and sisters of the said guild or brotherhood; and by a deed of gift dated the 7th of January, Thomas Bucknell and Thomas Brammilton conveyed the same property to William Thurlow, the vicar of Windsor, and his successors for ever. In these deeds the property is described as “a tenement with a garden adjoining, late the property of William Evington of New Windsor aforesaid, Esquire, deceased, situate and being in New Windsor aforesaid, between a tenement of the Reverend Feather in Christ, Oliver King, by divine Permission Bishop of Bath and Wells on the north side, and a tenement of John Tollers on the south part and one front abutting on the highway and the other on a field called ‘Le Warde.’”<sup>2</sup>

Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, above mentioned, was educated at Eton, and resided in Windsor. He was a canon of Windsor, Registrar of the Garter, and successively chief secretary to Henry the Sixth, Prince Edward his son, Edward the Fourth, and Henry the Seventh. In 1492 he was made Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., f. 51. In the margin of the transcript of the deed of the 4th of January there is written, “Concerning the vicarage house.”

Exeter, and in 1495 Bishop of Bath and Wells; and, dying on the 24th of January, 1503, was buried in St. George's Chapel, in a little chapel still bearing his name.<sup>1</sup>

William Hether, by will made the 18th of September, in the fourth year of this reign, gave all his lands, &c., in the parish of Windsor to his son John, "upon condition he finde a lawfull priest praying for his and his wife's his friends and all xtian Soules in St. John the Baptist's Church by the space of one whole yeare. And also to fynd an obit yearly for ev<sup>n</sup> to be done in the s<sup>d</sup> Church as afores<sup>d</sup> to the value of 5*s.* yearly, and in case of failer then that the Viccar and Churchwardens shall take possession of the s<sup>d</sup> lands for keeping the s<sup>d</sup> obit of 5*s.* yearly."

Alice Hether, widow, wife of John Hether, deceased, by will dated the 10th of January, 1503, desired to be buried in St. John the Baptist's Church before the image of the Blessed Mary of Pity, and near John Hether. She bequeathed to the altar "of our Lady of pite" "a Chales of Silver and parcell gilt weyng 10 oz: a printed Masse booke, a vestment of greene Sarcenet complete, a peyer of cruettis of pewter, 3 awter clothes, 2 curtens of yellow silk there to do God service at the s<sup>d</sup> awter so long as they will last or endure." She also bequeathed to Sir Robert Lancaster, priest, to sing or say his mass at the said altar of our Lady of Pity for the souls of the said John Hether, and Alice his wife, Hugh Byge, and William his son, with all their friends' souls, and all Christian souls, for a term of four years, to begin at Midsummer next, if she died before, forty marks, that is to say, ten marks yearly, to be paid quarterly by the hands of John Todd. She appointed her confessors (?) in trust to deliver a sufficient estate in law to the wardens of the Trinity of the tenement where she dwelt, called the Whitehorse, and four acres and a half of mead, called "Whaddemys Meade,"

<sup>1</sup> Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 29. The following inscription appears to have been placed by the bishop before his translation to Bath and Wells: "Orate pro Duo Olivero Kyng, Juris . . . Professore, ac illustris Edwardi primogeniti Regis Henrici sexti, et Serenissimorum Regum Edwardi quarti, Edwardi quinti, Henrici septimi, Principali Secretario, dignissimi Ordinis Garterii Registro, et hujus sacri Collegii Canonico, an. Dni. 1489. Et postea per dictum Illustrissimum Regem Henr. septim. Anno Dni 1492. ad sedem Exoniensem commendato." (Ibid., pp. 66, 67.)

lying in New Windsor, on condition they and their successors "performe such coste and charges accord<sup>d</sup> as in a Scripture of Brass stonding in a wall in the said Chirch on the South side of St. Clements awter appears." She also gave to the Brothers of the Trinity her best brass pot to do service on Trinity Sunday and other necessary times; and "unto the making of the Arch at o<sup>r</sup> Lady of piteis awter my husbands best furred gowne, and my best gowne furrd of Crimson in graine also 2 other best girdles gilt and best feath<sup>r</sup>bed and 40s. to make y<sup>t</sup> Arch." She gave her quit rent of Whaddom's Mead, after the death of Maude Furlong her servant, to the four almshouses in Shere Street, to pray for the souls of John Hether, her own, and all their good friends' souls. And out of his close at Spetell, an obit by note in the parish church of Windsor, to the value of 5s. yearly for ever, the morrow after Michaelmas day. She gave also to Ric. Robinson and Margaret his wife, her close in the "Wrethe"<sup>1</sup> by Pokatt's Gate, to give 1d. every Friday, for a year after her death, to poor people; and if they should die without issue of the said Margaret, then the close to go to the four almshouses in Shere Street. Also she gave to Payne Bosse of Old Windsor, Isabel his wife, and John their son, and their heirs, "all our se<sup>v</sup>all Close &c. in old Windsor on condicon that they find an obit in the parish Church of old Windsor for ever on St. Peters day next after Midsomer of the vallue of 3s. 4d. yearly and a Taper of 2<sup>t</sup> of wax before the Image of St. Sithe (P) in the s<sup>d</sup> Church for ever."<sup>2</sup>

"Richard Waleis," of "New Wyndesor," by will dated the 20th

<sup>1</sup> *Semble* "The Worth," or "Le Worth," lands east of Peascod Street, and including Pitt's Field, now called the Bachelor's Acre.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 33. "The Wardens or Masters of the fraternity of the blessed Trinity there ben bound yerely to fynd an obit by note wthin the pi<sup>sh</sup> Church of St. John Baptist of Wyndesor afores<sup>d</sup> for the sowles of John Hether sen<sup>r</sup> and Alice his wyfe, Hugh Bygge and all cristen sowles, That is to say the Thursday in Whitson weeke, dirige and on the friday, mass of Requiem wth this expence following on the thursday at dirige.

a dozen of Bread, price	.	.	.	.	1s. 0d.
Itm. in Chese	.	.	.	.	0 8
It. a dozen of Ale	.	.	.	.	1 6

And on the morrow when Requiem masse is done. to the Viccar there . . . (?) It. to 4 oth<sup>r</sup> preists there being at the s<sup>d</sup> Dirige and Requiem mass 1s. 4d." (Ash. MSS., No. 1126.)



of April, 1490, gave out of his tenement in Windsor two shillings per annum for his obit to be found yearly in the Church of St. John the Baptist, "for his soule the soule of Agnes his wife their parents and all the faithfull departed."

William Pratt, of "New Wyndsor," by his will dated the 15th of September, 1493, gave 3*s.* 4*d.* yearly for his anniversary in St. John the Baptist's Church, payable out of his mansion house and garden, situate in Windsor, and if Thomas Stafford, the son of his sister Katherine, should die without issue, he directed the same to be sold and disposed of for the health of his soul and the souls of Joan and Ellen, his two wives, at the discretion of his executors; and the rest of his goods he also directed to be disposed of by them for the health of his soul.<sup>1</sup>

John Bullok, of New Windsor, by will dated the 26th of August, 1496, gave his tenement, called "Tawneys," to Alice his wife, during life, on condition that she should provide an "obit" in the parish church during her life, for his soul, the souls of his parents, and of all the faithful departed, to the amount of 6*s.* 8*d.* After the death of Alice, he directed the said tenement to be sold by his executors, who should continue the said obits for himself and Alice his wife, his parents, and all the faithful departed, and the occupier of the said house for the time being. He also directed all his pasture land in "Underowrefeld," held in fee of the Abbey of Reading, to be sold by his executors, and the proceeds to be applied for the good of his soul at the discretion of his executors.

Joan Bullock, by will dated the 16th of August, 1498, desired to be buried in St. John the Baptist's Church, before the image of the Blessed Mary of Pity, and gave to her daughter Isabel, the wife of Thomas Ryder, and her heirs, a tenement called "Deryngs," upon condition that she yearly found an obit in the same church to the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*, for the health of her soul, of all her friends, and faithful deceased. In the event of her daughter dying without issue, she gave the property to the Brethren or Guild of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in New Windsor, for ever, on the same condition.

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 31 b.

Thomas Todd and John Pury, by their wills, dated respectively in 1499 and 1502, established anniversaries in the church. The latter was accompanied by a bequest of bread to the poor.<sup>1</sup>

The foundation of chantries and obits in St. George's Chapel, mentioned in a former chapter,<sup>2</sup> were carried on in this reign.

"The Chantry of Thomas Passche (one of the canons of this chapel) was founded for a priest to pray daily for his soul, and the soul of William Hermer (another of the canons there), as also for the good estate of Master John Arundel and Master John Seymer, canons, and of Master Thomas Brotherton, and their souls after they should depart this life.

"There was another Chantry Priest assigned to pray for the souls of the said Passche and Hermer, and of John Plumer, verger of the chapel, and Agatha his wife; which devotion was appointed to be perform'd at the altar on the north side of the new church, and the settlement thereof bears date the 18. of March, anno 9. Hen. 7.

"The first of March, anno 12. H. 7, Margaret Countess of Richmond obtained license from the King, that she or her executors might found a Chantry of four chaplains, to pray for her soul, the souls of her Parents and ancestors, and all faithful souls departed. This celebration was to be performed in a place near the east part of the new work of the Chapel. And the 18. of July, anno 13 H. 7. the Dean and Canons granted that the Countess or her Executors should erect such a Chantry in the Chapel, as is before mentioned.

"The Chantry of William Lord Hastings, founded of one Priest to pray for his soul, the souls of the Lady Catherine his widow, and of Edward Lord Hastings his son, and Mary his wife after their death: The Chapel wherein this service was celebrated, is that on the north side of the Choir, about the middle thereof, where the body of this Lord lies interred. The ordination is dated the 21. of February, anno 18. H. 7. On the north side of St. George's Chapel stands a little house, built for the habitation of

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 398.

this Chantry Priest, having over the Door (cut in stone) the Lord Hastings's Arms, surrounded with a Garter.

"Charles Somerset Lord Herbert (created afterwards Earl of Worcester) was buried in the South Chapel (dedicated to the Virgin Mary) at the west end of the Church, where he ordained a secular Priest to say mass every day, and to pray for the souls of him and his first wife, Elizabeth, the Daughter and Heir of William Herbert Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Herbert of Gower, who also lies there interred. Adjoining to the house built for the Lord Hastings's Chantry Priest, is another like building, erected for this Chantry Priest, and over the Door thereof, now to be seen, is the Founder's Arms within a Garter, cut also upon stone. The foundation of this Chantry is dated the 30. of July, anno 21. H. 7."<sup>1</sup>

An obit was also founded for King Henry himself in St. George's Chapel, as appears from an indenture dated the 17th of December, in the twentieth year of his reign, made between the king, the Abbot of Westminster, the College of Windsor, and the City of London, by which the college covenanted to perform certain services, for which the Abbey was to make a yearly payment.<sup>2</sup>

The College of Eton came in for a share of these bequests, and licences were granted in 1504 empowering the college to receive lands, tenements, &c., notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.<sup>3</sup>

John Bonner, M.A., fellow of the college, by his will dated in 1443, and proved in 1466, bequeathed a sum of money to the college for the celebration of a yearly obit.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 149, 150.

<sup>2</sup> See Ash. MS., No. 1123, f. 63—8.

<sup>3</sup> Sloane MSS., No. 4840, f. 145, and No. 4843, f. 7. "Upon the Union of the houses of Lancaster and York in the Persons of King Henry the Seventh and Elizabeth his Queen, the face of things began to look towards this long neglected College with a favourable aspect. For by act of Parliament that king confirmed this Foundation in its Charters and Privileges. He restored some Estates which had been taken from it, and granted licence to divers persons to enable them to leave their estates &c. to the College, notwithstanding the Act of Mortmain." (*Ibid.*, f. 92.)

The college buildings were continued during this reign, and also during the early years of the reign of Henry the Eighth. The accounts of this last period are preserved, and show a small increase in the rate of wages over the sums paid sixty years before. (Creasy's 'Memoirs of Eminent Etonians, with Notices of the Early History of Eton College,' 1850.)

— Lewin, of Cippenham, in Buckinghamshire, about this time left his mansion house, with lands, tenements, &c., in Cippenham, to the provost and college, on condition that they should yearly keep an obit with dirige and mass of requiem for his soul, the soul of Agnes his wife, and her father and mother, in the church of Burnham; and to expend ten shillings yearly to priests, clerks, and poor people, in alms and ringing of bells, and six shillings and eightpence in alms on Good Friday, and three and fourpence yearly to the churchwardens “to have masse before the image of Jesus there.” Upon failure of these particulars, the whole estate was forfeited to the Company of Ironmongers for ever, then recently established.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4843, f. 97. Mr. Huggett says—“The custom now is for the vice-provost to preach a sermon every Good Friday, in the morning, at Burnham, and to take of the bursar, on the college account, 20*s.*; 16*s.* 8*d.* of which he gives to be distributed to the poor there, and 3*s.* 4*d.* he has for his sermon. But this likewise is usually given with the rest.”



Burnham Church.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. ——. LORD DAUBENY.

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DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. ——. THOMAS HOBBS, D.D.

A.D. 1519. JOHN CLERK, D.D.

A.D. 1510. NICHOLAS WEST.

A.D. 1523. RICHARD SAMPSON, LL.D.

A.D. 1515. JOHN VOYSEY, *alias* HARMAN, LL.D.

A.D. 1536. WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

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MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1510. JOHN WELLIS AND WILLIAM PURY.

A.D. 1514. THOMAS RIDAR AND JOHN WELLIS.

A.D. 1541. RICHARD WARD AND WILLIAM SYMONDS.

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PROVOSTS OF ETON.

A.D. ——. ROGER LUFTON, LL.D.

A.D. 1535. ROBERT ALDRICH, D.D.

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Corporation Accounts—Account of "Our Lady's Light"—Erection of the Great Gateway—Amusements of the King—Payments by the Corporation—Confirmation of the Charter—The Gallows—Works at St. George's Chapel—Feasts of the Order of the Garter—Dr. Denton, Canon of Windsor—The "New Commons"—Corporation Accounts—The "Degradation" of the Duke of Buckingham—The Princess Mary—Corporation Accounts—Entertainment of Charles the Fifth of Spain—Visitors to the King at Windsor—Present from Clement the Seventh—The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Surrey—Surrey's Poems—Corporation Accounts—Alteration of the Standard Value of Gold—Ordinances of the Household—Entertainment of French Ambassadors—Corporation Accounts—Completion of St. George's Chapel—Timber—Payments out of the Privy Purse—Enlargement of the Little Park—Anne Boleyn created Marchioness of Pembroke—Corporation Accounts—Execution of a Priest and a Butcher—Payments by the Princess Mary—Burial of Jane Seymour—Corporation Accounts—Entertainment of Frederick Duke of Bavaria—Proceedings against a Priest of Windsor—The Plague at Windsor—Proceedings of the Privy Council—Singular Investigation at Eton College—Nicolas Udall—Parliamentary Rolls—Members for Windsor—Corporation Accounts.

In the reign of Henry the Eighth we are supplied with additional means of illustrating the history of Windsor. The

existing accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the borough commence with the fifth year of this reign, and their contents afford materials of considerable local interest.

From references contained in these accounts it is evident that at one time there was an earlier volume preceding this date, but which has been, it is to be feared, irretrievably lost. The volume containing the accounts of Henry the Eighth's reign is imperfect, the first five leaves being torn out, comprising, in all probability, the period between the first and the fifth years of this king's reign.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a copy of the first complete year's account, which will show the general character of the entries, and render the subsequent extracts more intelligible to the reader :

" Compt tent̃ ib̃m die veneris in crastno Sci Edwardi, &c., Anno Regni Regis henrici octam quinto coram Hugone Starkey tuc̃. maior et aliis ib̃m burgens

In p̃mis Rest of John Todde then beyng ut sup for Willm Thorppe Shopp vj.s.

Rec. of the same John of olde Dett vj.s. viij.d. for Rob Wheler house

Rec. of the same John for iij q<sup>rs</sup>. Rent ended at mjchelmasse last past v.s.

Rec. of Jamys Price for the Gilde Aule x.s.

Rec. of Willm Thorpp brigeman for the yere w<sup>t</sup> the xx.s. payd before. Gave unto John Scott then being meyer for his fee vij.lb. xj.s. vij.d. and so Rest vj.li. xj.s. vij.d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> to be Rec<sup>d</sup>. viij.li. iij.d.

" Wherof payd to the same John Tod for mak yng of the ij constabulles Staffes . . . . .	xx.d.
It <sup>r</sup> for mend yng of trappe dore w <sup>h</sup> an hoke and a ham tie . . . . .	x.d.
It. payd to Jamys jones for his costs Rydyng to Mr. Belyngham . . . . .	vijj.d.
It. payd to Willm Thorpp for keyping of the brige . . .	vj.s. vijj.d.
It. payd to John Pury bi the handes of John Tod for the clerke of the m <sup>k</sup> et exp <sup>n</sup> ess vj.s. vijj.d. and for the quenys fote men iij.s. iijj.d.	

<sup>1</sup> The volume is a folio on parchment, indorsed " Lib. com<sup>p</sup>. Gild aule Nova Wydsor;" and below is also written, " A Register Book of more Accounts taken by ye Mayor in the reign of H. 8."

It. payd to Thom's bramelton ffor expenss necessary ut  
 pat p<sup>r</sup> bill . . . . . viij.s. vij.d.  
 It. payd for the costs of the Swaringe . . . . . vij.s. x.d.  
 It. payd to Willm Pury for wrytyng . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
 It. payd to John Wellis for expenses by a bill . . . . . ij.s. viij.d.  
 It. payd the same day at the taverne among the bretheren . . . . . xvj.d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> to<sup>li</sup> of the payments xlvj.s. xj.d.

" And so Remayneth to the Co'mon chest . . . . . v.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> to<sup>li</sup> Remaynyng in the Comon chest . . . . . xxx.li. vj.s. viij.d.  
 Anor<sup>u</sup> bagg Sealed . . . . . xxv.li.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> to<sup>li</sup> lv.li. vj.s. viij.d.

" Ric. Robynson and Ric Baker wardens of owre lady lyght compted to Resseve as it appereth more pleyndly bi a bill Sm<sup>a</sup> xvj.s. vj.d.

Whereof they hathe payd for wex and other necessities as it appereth bi another bill ix.s. x.d. ob. all thyngs compted Rest to owre lady lyght vj.s. vij.d. ob. in the kepyng of the said wardens

All thyngs compted for the Almes housis Rest in the box lying in the Co'mon chest Sm<sup>a</sup> xlvij.s. x.d.

M<sup>d</sup> that Henre Bocher oweth to the co'mon chest at the said ac<sup>p</sup>t for his Shopp in the bochery vij.s.

M<sup>d</sup> that the xiiij day of January anno henrici octam quinto the said vij.s. of henre bocher was payd to John Tod and then in the Gilde Aule the said vij.s. was payd to Hug Starkey then beyng meyer and also vj.s. viij.d. wiche henry Grenefeld payd for his ffyn to be made a brother of the Aule the same day the said money was payd to the said meyer for expenses of the Kyngs fotemen and yenchemen<sup>1</sup>

It. the same day Thom's Ridar and John Wellis burges of the plement Rece owt of the co'mon chest for there expenses xl.s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> Rest liij.li. vj.s. viij.d.

" At the co'mpt the next yere after there was delyverd to Xrofer Star<sup>u</sup> of the said Sm<sup>a</sup> to chainge the money of the Subsidy xl.s.  
 And so Resteth of the olde Stok Sm<sup>a</sup> lj.li. vj.s. viij.d."

Of the sums mentioned as received in the above account, the bridge-money, or the amount collected by William Thorpe, bridge-man, or keeper of the bridge, is the only one requiring notice.

<sup>1</sup> The henchmen.

Tolls appear to have been received by the corporation from a very early period. The numerous grants of pontage, which included tolls for passing under as well as over the bridge, have been already frequently mentioned. Subsequent accounts show the large sums occasionally spent in the repair of the bridge. The keeper of the bridge received a yearly salary of six shillings and eightpence.

The mayor of the town received an annual fee of twenty shillings. The sums charged in the disbursements for the king's and queen's footmen and the henchmen, were probably yearly fees, paid to them by the corporation in acknowledgment of their services upon the occasion of audiences and interviews with the sovereign by the corporate authorities.

The payment "for the costs of the Swaringe" alludes to the swearing-in of the mayor and other officers of the corporation. The sum expended at the taverns is an item which appears in the accounts of all periods. It becomes more prominent in subsequent reigns.

The account of the wardens of "owre lady lyght" is of considerable interest. Similar entries respecting this account occur in subsequent years.

"Anno 7 H. 8.—"Item at the said accompt Ric. Robynson and Ric Baker kep's of our lady lyght all thyngs com̄pted and Rese Rest to owre lady lyght vij.s.

"Whiche vij.s. was delyv'd to Xrofer Stap and Ric baker then chosen to be kep's of ye said lyght.

"Sm<sup>a</sup> of our lady lyght vij.s."

"An. 8 H. 8.—"At the same accompt the kep's of our lady lyght co<sup>l</sup> not yn And aftward on All Seynts even Ric Baker co yn and comtyd and nothyng was left."

"An. 11 H. 8.—"It'm at the said accompt Ric. pashe and John Mten kep's of owre lady lyght all thyngs com̄pted and payd remaineth to owre lady lyght v.s. wherof iij.s. iiij.d. was paid by Th. long whan he was new amytted to be a brother and the wiche v.s. was delyvd unto the same Thom's long and John Pury new chosen kep's of the said lady lyght"

<sup>1</sup> Came.



An. 12 Hen. 8.—"It. at the said accompt Thomas long and John Pury kep's of owre lady lyght all thyngs co<sup>m</sup>pted and payd remayneth to owre lady lyght iiij.s. v.d. It. Ric. Aspley oweth a pounde of wex Nich<sup>l</sup> Goode a pounde of wex Ric. ruse (?) Whiche iiij.s. v.d. was delyv<sup>d</sup> to the scyd Ric. Aspley and Nich<sup>l</sup> Goode new chosen to be keepers of o<sup>r</sup> lady lyght"

An. 18 Hen. 8.—"The accompt of owre lady lyght

"At the said accompt Thomas Avelyn kep thereof all thyngs compted and allowed he hathe xij.d. and a Ryng of Silv<sup>r</sup> of gyft of M<sup>g</sup>arete Stap<sup>r</sup> decesed whiche money and Ryng was delyed to Rob Glyn and Nicholas goode new chosen to be kep's of the said lyght

"Sm<sup>a</sup> xij.d."

An. 19 Hen. 8.—"The accompt of owre lady lyght.

"Nicholas Good and Rob Glyn comptith all thyngs Rekenyd and paid ther<sup>e</sup> remayneth but a Ryng of Silv<sup>r</sup> whiche was delyv<sup>d</sup> to Will Hall whose was chosen to be kep therof"

The following observation is written in the margin. "Note y<sup>t</sup> the keps of or Lady light had at this tyme but a silver ring in their box"

An. 25 Hen. 8.—"Thacompt of o<sup>r</sup> Lady lyght

"Rob<sup>t</sup> Sadok and Ric<sup>r</sup> Archerd browglt yn<sup>e</sup> money viij.s. iiij.d. and a Ryng of Silv<sup>r</sup> and a lose Stone delyv<sup>d</sup> to Nich Goode and Rob Sadok new chosen to be lyght keps of or lady

"Sm<sup>r</sup> viij.s. iiij.d."

This, which is the last entry of the account, elucidates the matter, by changing the expression, "*keepers of our lady lyght*," to "*lyght keepers of our Lady*."

For a few subsequent years an entry is inserted that no account was rendered by the keepers of "our Lady light," and then all reference to it, directly or indirectly, disappears.

Besides "our Lady's Light," there were several other "lights" in the parish church, some of which have been mentioned. They comprised the Light of the Holy Trinity, St. Thomas's Light, St. Stephen's Light, the Rood Light, St. Clement's Light, St. Catherine's Light, St. Anthony's Light, St. James's Light, St. George's Light, St. Cornelius's Light, Our Lady of Pity's Light. The last, however, was probably identical with "our Lady's Light." Each of these lights

had two keepers, chosen annually, who also made up their accounts yearly.<sup>1</sup>

It does not exactly appear at what time these "Lights" were discontinued or abolished, but although partially interfered with, it is probable they existed until the reign of Edward the Sixth. The work of destruction, however, began in the church at an earlier period.

It appears that in the twenty-second year of this reign, Thomas Avelyn, Richard Orcharde, and Robert Sadok, being churchwardens, bought, about Candlemas in that year, "a paire of new organs, and they cost £18 and the old organs, and for payment of the same there was sold two Chalices, a Pax of Silver and gilt, two cruets of Silver and a bell of Silver, in all 54 unces and a half, at 3*s.* 9*d.* the ounce." The residue is stated to have been "paid by the wardens out of the church box." At the same time there was sold a pair of coral beads, for 13*s.* 4*d.*, the gift of Edward Wakefield's wife. On the other hand, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, an altar-cloth, the gift of Joan Dey, widow, was received. Four years later we find the churchwardens bringing in an account of £13 16*s.*, "for broken silver of the Rode and of the Image of St. John the Baptist." And at this time, apparently, there was delivered "to the Parish Clarke 5 Cottys of the Rodye,<sup>2</sup> 2 of Cloth of Gold, 1 of black velvet, one of blew wyght satyn, and 1 of white satyn of Brygys."<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the keepers of St. Anthony's Altar possessed "five altar cloths and two towels;" and the keepers of St. Katherine's Altar had "in keeping 6 altar cloths, 2 front cloths, and 2 silken curtains." The keepers "of our Lady Assumptions Altar hath in money, 9*s.* 1*d.*, and a ring of silver and gilt, whereof 6*s.* 8*d.* and the ring were of the gift of Nicholas Goode."<sup>4</sup>

Returning to the accounts for the fifth year of this reign, the next entry calling for notice respects the sum of 47*s.* and 10*d.*, remaining in the box for the "Almes housis." This refers to the

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1115, f. 40 *b*, and No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Fine coats or coverings of the rood.

<sup>3</sup> Bruges.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts "out of the Churchwardens Account Booke of New Wyndesor." (Ash. MS., No. 1126.)

charity in Sheet Street, already mentioned as founded in the reign of Henry the Seventh,<sup>1</sup> and also noticed in a subsequent part of the present chapter.

In the name of "Henre Bocher," we have an example of the mode in which surnames were acquired from particular trades. Having a shop in the butchery, he was doubtless a butcher, and probably was called "Henry the butcher," or "Henry le Bocher," the article being gradually dropped until he acquired the name of "Henry Butcher."

The "butchery" was situated at the rear of the present Town Hall, and retained its name until a comparatively recent period.

The payment of forty shillings to the two members of parliament for Windsor, as their "expenses," is a singular feature in this and succeeding accounts, and presents a striking contrast to the electioneering annals of the borough in the eighteenth century.

Independently of this proof of the payment of the members, the entries are valuable as giving the names of the representatives for Windsor at a period when the parliamentary rolls are defective; the latter, as already stated, being deficient in this respect from 1476 to 1541.

The custom of paying the representatives was by no means peculiar to Windsor, but appears to have been general throughout the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> As we shall find the sum varying in different years, the amount paid was probably that actually expended.

The last entry, respecting "the money of the Subsidy," occurs in subsequent years. It is scarcely necessary to say that it relates

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> The wages of the members of parliament is a payment of regular occurrence in the account-books of the corporation of Southampton. In the year 1432, the date of the earliest register of that corporation, there is an entry of this payment to the mayor, who represented the town in that parliament:

"Item, payd the iij day of Aprill to my master the meyre in party of payment of hys parliament wages, xl.s."

In the account-rolls of the city of Winchester for the eighth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, W. Fromond receives £4 in January and £4 15s. in April, and Thomas Dunster receives in the last-mentioned month £4 13s., for their wages as members of parliament, which were estimated at so much a day. ('Report on the Municipal Records of Winchester and Southampton,' by Thomas Wright; *vide* 'Transactions of the British Archaeological Association.')

to the parliamentary assessment or grant made to the sovereign. Subsidies and fifteenths were originally assessed upon each individual, but subsequently to the eighth of Edward the Third, when a taxation was made upon all the towns, cities, and boroughs, by commissioners, the fifteenth became a sum certain, being the fifteenth part of their then existing value. After the fifteenth was granted by parliament, the inhabitants rated themselves.<sup>1</sup> The "Commissioners," therefore, mentioned in subsequent accounts, were the persons who assessed the amount to be paid by the borough of Windsor.

We must now return to a narration of the events of this reign, in connexion with Windsor, as nearly as may be in chronological order.

In the first year of his reign, Henry the Eighth built the great gateway to the lower ward of the castle<sup>2</sup> in its present form, and still bearing his name. His arms and devices, the rose, the portcullis, the fleur de lis, and the bearings of his queen, decorate the front.<sup>3</sup> "This," says Mr. Poynter, "was the most important work executed in the castle during his reign, except at St. George's Chapel."

In 1510, the first year of the king's reign, the whole court removed from Greenwich to Windsor; Henry, as we are informed, "then begining his progress, and exercising himself daily in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, playing at the *recorders*, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads; he did set two full masses, every of them five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterwards in divers other places. And when he came to Oking, there were kept both jousts and tourney: the rest of this progress was spent in hunting, hawking, and shooting."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Penny Cyclopædia,' art. "Subsidy."

<sup>2</sup> Leland, 'Commentarii in Cygneam, Cantionem,' verb. "Windlesora." (See the extract given *ante*, p. 445, note.) "King Henry the 8 made the outer Gate-house which is called the Exchequer of the honour, where hath bin and yet continueth a moneth Court, kept by the Clarke of the Honor and Castle, for the pleas of the forest and honors." (Stow's 'Annals.')

<sup>3</sup> Poynter.

<sup>4</sup> Hall; Holinshed.

Among the payments on the part of the corporation in the accounts taken in the sixth year of this reign are the following items :

" Payd to Hug <sup>r</sup> Starkey for the office of meyralte	xx.s.
It. payd to John Bykford for ij dynnes <sup>1</sup> for the comssions <sup>2</sup> whan they Satte for the Kings Subsidy	xxiiij.s. vj.d.
It. payd to Thom <sup>s</sup> Rydar and John Wellis for the costs of ye comssion . . . .	x.s.
It. payd to Rob. Carpent <sup>r</sup> for his labo <sup>r</sup> at the brige . . . .	xij.d.
It. payd for planks . . . .	vij.d.
It. payd for vi loades of g <sup>r</sup> vell . . . .	xij.d.
It. payd to Andrew Bereman for uppyng of Swannys	v.s. iiij.d."

Swans and swan-upping have been already noticed in the last chapter.<sup>3</sup>

The care of the swans forms a frequent item in the accounts of this period, as will be seen by extracts in subsequent years.

" It. payd to John Wellis for the acte <sup>4</sup> of the subsidy .	vij.d.
It. payd to Jamys Price for a m <sup>th</sup> <sup>3</sup> of Tyle to the Repacon of the Gilde Aule wiche m <sup>th</sup> resteth in the keypyng of the said Jamys . . . .	iiij.s. vj.d.
It. payd to Thom <sup>s</sup> Benet for keypyng the brige . . . .	vj.s. vij.d.
It. payd to Will <sup>m</sup> Pury for his ffee wrytyng all the yere . . . .	vj.s. vij.d.
It. payd to Jamys Prynce for a Rewarde goyng ab <sup>t</sup> in Erands . . . .	xij.d.
It. payde for makyng of the cokkyng stole as it apereth bi a bill . . . .	vij.s. vij.d."

The cucking stool was the place of punishment for the scolds of the town. In the registers of the town of Southampton it is termed the scolding stool.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dinners (?).

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> One thousand (?).

<sup>4</sup> See particulars of "Costes doon in makyng of the scooldyngstoole." ('Report on the Municipal Records of Winchester and Southampton,' by Thomas Wright; 'Transactions of the British Archæological Association.')

"It. payd to Hyggs for a Rewarde bryngyng the buk<sup>1</sup> . . . xx.d.  
 It. spent at the wyne at the sayd com<sup>pt</sup> . . . . . xiiij.d.

"Sm<sup>r</sup> Solut' iijj.li. xij.s. vj.d. and so Resteth  
 iijj.li. xvij.s. iijj.d.<sup>2</sup>

"Whereof iijj.li. xij.s. iijj.d. was delyv<sup>d</sup> to Thomas Benet at the same accom<sup>p</sup> to by tymb' for the bryge of Wyndesor at ye best advauntage and the iijj.s. Resedeue resteth and was put in the Co<sup>m</sup>on chest and so Resteth as over bysyde the said iijj.li. xij.s. iijj.d. Sm<sup>r</sup> lj.li. x.s. viij.d."<sup>3</sup>

"And afterward that is to say the xij day of Novemb' A<sup>o</sup> (?) Henrici octam septo Andrew Bereman and Xrofer Sta<sup>r</sup>. Sayeth that of the xl.s. wiche they kept for the subsidy they payd thereof x.s. and vj.d. and the xxix.s. vj.d. was delyvrd to John Todde then beyng meyer to keep untill the comon chest were open

"It. the said John Todde hathe payd to Thomas Ridar and John Wellis burges of plemet of the said money xxix.s. vj.d.—x.s. iijj.d. the first day of Feb<sup>r</sup> A<sup>o</sup> ut sup.

"It. delyv<sup>d</sup> the same tyme to the said Thomas and John iij.s. iijj.d. wiche was of the fyne of Will<sup>m</sup> Smyth S<sup>m</sup> Rec. xijj.s. iijj.d. rest xvij.s. x.d.

"It. dely<sup>d</sup> to Will<sup>m</sup> Pury to pay to the said Th. and John Wellis xijj.s. iijj.d."

By letters patent, dated at Westminster the 10th day of March, in the sixth year of his reign, Henry confirmed the charter of the fifteenth of Henry the Seventh, in the same manner as the latter confirmed the charter and letters patent of Edward the Fourth.<sup>4</sup>

The following items in the accounts of this year refer to the above grant :

"It. payed out of the co<sup>m</sup>on chest uppon a Rekenyung  
 for the confirmacon of the Gret Charter for the towne viij.li.

"Of the whiche viij.li. there was payd by the said Will<sup>m</sup> Pury for the wrytyng of the charter xxijj.s. iijj.d. It. for the seale therof xx.s. iijj.d. It. payde for the fyne iij.li. vj.s. viij.d. Item for the Iurrollyng xx.s. It. for the pclamacon thereof iijj.s. Itm for the lace of whyte and grene xx.d. It. to the chauffer of the wax xij.d. It. for costs thereof by iijj dayes ij.s. viij.d."

<sup>1</sup> Buck.

<sup>2</sup> The receipts this year were £9 9s. 10d.

<sup>3</sup> £51 10s. 8d.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr. Snowden's (of Windsor) MS. vol. of Charters.

The remaining items of the year's account are as follow :

"It. for a quart of malsey<sup>1</sup> for ye assem<sup>b</sup>. iiij.d. It. payd for a wrytt of n<sup>o</sup> molestando to be directed to ye Couret of the Exchequer iiij.s. iiij.d. It. in expenses thereof by ij dayes xvj.d. It. payd for the acte of a subsidy in the same yere xij.d. Item payd for other expens don at Westm<sup>e</sup> as it appereth by a bill x.s. Sm<sup>a</sup> to<sup>li</sup>s vij.li. xv.s. viij.d. and so resteth in the Comon Chest iiij.s. iiij.d. whiche was payd at the next acompt."

In the following year (6 and 7 Hen. VIII) the receipts amounted to £11 10s. : "Wherof was payd to Will'm Thorppe for tymb' and workmanship of the Galous as he layed hit owt of his purse for Tymbe and to the Carpenter xj.s. Itm payed to John 'Todde for tymb' and other expenses as it appereth by ij billes xl.s. vij.d."

There is no reason to suppose that there was any precise spot assigned for the execution of criminals. The most frightful of all the executions recorded to have taken place at Windsor was the burning of Testwood and others, at a later period of this reign, and described in the next chapter. The spot where these acts of cruelty occurred was the low ground between the castle and the river, and near the site of 'Travers' College. The priest and the butcher executed in 1536 were hung; the former on a tree at the foot of Windsor Bridge, and the latter on a new gallows at the end of the drawbridge over the castle-ditch, and in front of the "castle gate."<sup>2</sup> "Gallows Lane," on the ancient line of road between Old and New Windsor, very probably took its name from the place usually assigned for executions.<sup>3</sup>

"It. payd to the same John Todde for the office of the mayralte for a year last past xx.s. It. payd to Thomas Rydar for Uppying of Swannys v.s. It. payd to the same Thom's in full payment of xl.s. for the burges of plement xij.s. iiij.d. It. payd to the same Thom's for the comysion of the subsidy for the town of Wyndesor<sup>e</sup> vj.s. viij.d. It. payd to Thom's benet for kepyng of the bryge a yere vj.s. viij.s.

<sup>1</sup> Malmsey.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 506.

<sup>3</sup> The last trace of this hollow road has been nearly obliterated by the formation of the new road from Datchet to Old Windsor and the queen's private way from the Home Park to the Royal Gardens at Frogmore. Several human bones were found at that time.

It. payd to Thom's bramelton for a carpent<sup>1</sup> xvj.d. It. payd to Jamys prynce for Repacons don<sup>2</sup> uppon the Gilde Aule as it apperyth by a bill vj.s. x.d."

Among the payments in the accounts taken in the eighth year of the king's reign are the following items :

" Itm payd to Thomas Ridar for Uppying of Swannys and other expens as it appereth by his bill . . .	ix.s. i.d.
It. payd for Repacons of the Gilde Aule ut pat. p. bill	xvij.s. i.d.
It. payd to Ric. Robynson and Th. tod for mendyng the cukkyngstol the stokks and the pounde . . .	ij.s. iiij.d."
" It. payd to Thomas Ridar and John Wellis in a ffull payment for burges of plement . . .	xiiij.d.
It. payd to Thomas Benet than beyng meyer for the fee keyng the brige . . .	vj.s. viij.d.
It. payd to Rob. Wakeffeld for expenss of the com- missionar <sup>1</sup> . . .	xx.d."

After deducting the payments, there remained £3 0s. 9d., " wher<sup>1</sup> of iij.li. was delyv<sup>d</sup> to the comon chest and the ix.d. was drenken at taverne and so Resteth in the comon chest of Old and New xl.li. xs."

"And at the same compt John Todde brought yn for Rent of lond belongyng to the Almes howsis xiiij.s. iiij.d. wherof vj.s. viij.d. was delyv<sup>d</sup> to the same John Todde to by them Colys<sup>1</sup> in Wynter and so Resteth in the Almes box of New and Olde iiij.li. iiij.s. viij.d."

The land "belongyng to the Alms houses" in Shere Street, or Sheet Street, was situated at Warfield. It was granted to them by Thomas Brotherton, *alias* Hunt, by deed bearing date the 25th of August, 1510 (1 Hen. VIII).<sup>2</sup>

The payment of 6s. 8d. towards fuel for the poor people was a customary gift, as it is of frequent occurrence in the accounts of this period.

In the account of the eighth and ninth of Henry the Eighth are the following entries :

<sup>1</sup> To buy them coals.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 454.



“It. payd to Willm pury for his costs Rydyng to london  
 dyvse tymes to M<sup>r</sup> Wyndesor for ye Subsidie v.s. viij.d.  
 It. payd to the same Willm for his fee . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.”

“M<sup>d</sup> delyv’d to Andrew Bereman owt of the comon  
 chest for makyng of the brige new on Seynt  
 Swythnnys day in the x<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reign  
 of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> . . . . . xij.li. vj.s. viij.d.  
 It. delyv’d to the seid Andrew owt of the co<sup>m</sup>on chest  
 for the seid brige the elecon day next folowyng iij.li.”

In the following year—

“Andrew Bereman was alowed for Repacons don Uppon the brige  
 as in pylyng Joistying plankyng Rayleing and other Workmanshipp as  
 it apperyth by his boke S<sup>m</sup> xxxij.li. v.d.”

The works of St. George’s Chapel, still in progress, were brought to a completion during this reign.

In the eighth year of Henry the Eighth, at the festival of the Order of the Garter, a subscription was opened for the purpose of promoting the works, to which all future knights were to contribute according to the dignity of their rank. The more immediate objects in view at this time were the erection of a pulpit, or rood loft, and a glazed lantern; the latter of which was certainly never carried into effect, nor probably the former. In the following year the subscription was warmly pressed, and £260 was raised at the annual feast; the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Arundel giving £40 each, Lord Surrey £30, and several other nobles £20 each. The Earl of Shrewsbury also gave £30 over and above £10 already subscribed, and in addition to former contributions toward the building of the chapel.<sup>1</sup>

The feasts of the Order of the Garter were held with great pomp at this period.

Ashmole, in his ‘Order of the Garter,’ describes a magnificent cavalcade on the eve of the Feast of St. George, in the eleventh year of the king’s reign.

“On the 27. day of May being Friday, the King removed from Richemont towards his Castle of Windesor, and appointed them about

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

one a Clock at Afternoon the same Friday, that all Noblemen, and oder which should wayte upon his Grace, should be ready between Richemont and Honslowe to attend upon him, and in consideration of a scarcyte and straitnes of Lodgings, as well as in avoyding and eschewing of the corrupt air, every Nobleman was taxed and rated to a certain number of Horse, that is to say, every Duke at 60 Horses, a Marques at 50 Horses, every Earl at 40 Horses, every Baron at 30 Horses, every Knight of the Garter Batchellor at 20 Horses, and no odre Knight or Nobleman to have above 16 Horses, with their Carriages and all. And the King, thus right nobly companyed, rode to Colebroke, and at the sign of the Katherines Wheel the King took his Courser, and his Henchmen richly appparelled followed, and also the Kings Horse of State led, Gartier King of Arms wore his Coat of Arms, the Lord Richard Fox Byshop of Winchester and Prelate of the Order, with many odre great Estates, gave their attendance upon his Higtness. The Queen and the Ladies, and their Compaignies stood in the feild at the Towns end, besides the high way towards Windesor, to see the Kings noble Compagnie pass by, and then the Queen rode to the Fery<sup>1</sup> next way to the Castle. The King rode by Slow, and so to Eton Colledge, where all they of the Colledge stood along, in manner of Procession, receiving his Grace after their custom.

“The King entred Windesor with his great Horses, that is to say nine Coursers with nine Children of Honor upon them, and the Master of the Kings Horses upon another great Coursers back, following them, having and leading the Kings Horse of Estate in his hand, that is to say, a rich Courser with a rich Saddle, and trapped and garnished following the King, and so entred the Castle.

“At the Castle Gate, the Ministers of the Colledge received the King with procession, and the King and Knights of the Ordre, at the Church dore, took their Mantles, and entred the Quere, and stood before their Stalls, till the Sovereign had offred and returned to his Stall; then every Knight offered according to his, as by the Statute is ordained, and entred their Stallys, which was a long ceremony or ever they had all offered, because of the great number of Knights that then was present, which were 19 in number besides the Sovereign.”<sup>2</sup>

Hall, describing the feast on the same occasion, says: “The bishop of Winchester prelate of the order sat at the boards end

<sup>1</sup> Datchet Ferry.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 560. See also the bill of fare for the Saturday supper and Sunday dinner of the king, queen, and knights, on the 25th and 29th days of May. (Ibid., p. 603.)

alone. The king was solemnly served and the surnap *cast* like the feast of a coronation. All things were plentiful to strangers that resorted thither. At the masse of Requiem were offered the banner and other habiliments of honour belonging to Maximilian the emperor late deceased."<sup>1</sup>

After the feast was ended, the king proceeded to Richmond, and thence to Greenwich.

In 1519, Dr. James Denton, a canon of Windsor and Dean of Lichfield, erected a building on the north side of the chapel and opposite the north door, "for the lodging and dieting such of the Chantry Priests, Choristers, and stipendiary Priests, who had no certain place within the College where to hold commons in, but were constrained daily to eat their meals in sundry houses of the Town: this house he furnished with proper utensils for such a use, the whole charge amounting to £489 7s. 1d.; and for all which the Choristers were desired by him (in the Statutes he ordained for their Rule and Government) to say certain Prayers, when they entered into the Chapel, and after his death, to pray for his, and

<sup>1</sup> Hall; and see Holinshed. Stow mentions this feast, but places it in 1519. "This yeere K. Henry helde his feast of St. George at Windsor with as great solemnity as it had bene the feast of a coronation, where were present all the Knights of the Order then within the Realme." ('Annals,' p. 507, edit. 1631.) At this feast an attempt was made to reform the Statutes of the Order. The king had given orders, in a chapter held at Greenwich on St. George's day, in the ninth year of his reign, "that all the Knights Companions should be carefully summoned to assemble together in the year then next following, whilst the solemnity of the Feast lasted, to consult and conclude upon the abrogation of such things as tended to the dishonor of the Order (if any such were), and for the advancement of other things that might augment and promote the honor thereof." It seems that nothing was then done in pursuance of this direction; but afterwards the king, on the 28th of May in the eleventh year of his reign, accompanied by nineteen Knights Companions of the Order, proceeded on horseback to the Chapter-house at Windsor, "where being entered, and consideration had of the Old Statutes, the Knights Companions, with all due reverence, entreated the sovereign to reform and explain them as he should think convenient; who thereupon determining so to do, the whole company gave their advice and consent. That done, all present besought the sovereign kneeling, that where any of them had offended in breaking any ordinance concerning the Order, he would please to remit it, and give them a general pardon, which most benignly he granted, and the next day, in Chapter, ratified it to them." Three more years elapsed before the object was effected. On the 23d of April, in the fourteenth year of his reign, Henry, with the advice, counsel, and consent of the Knights Companions, made "Interpretation and Declaration of the obscurities, doubts, and ambiguities of the former Statutes and Ordinances." (Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter.')

the souls of all the faithful departed.”<sup>1</sup> Among Ashmole's MSS. there is a detailed account of the furniture of this building, which is very curious. The whole expense of furnishing was £22 10s. The hall cost £2 14s.; the pantry, £2 5s. 5d.; the kitchen, £6 11s. 7½d.; the cook's chamber, 11s. 4½d.; the storehouse, £7 6s. 8d.; sundries, £2.<sup>2</sup>

This structure was subsequently called *the New Commons*, and has long been incorporated with the prebendal houses. The doorway may still be seen, surmounted by a niche, and bearing the following inscription: “Edes pro Sacellænorum et Choristarum Conviviis extructæ A.D. 1519.” It is richly ornamented, but the disproportion of the members marks the decline of the Gothic style. The king's arms, flanked by those of St. George and St. Edward, remain on the adjoining wall.<sup>3</sup> Rooms have, however, been added over the entrance, which destroy its original character.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Denton also built “the large back stairs at Windsor,” “and did, with Dr. John Clerke, dean of Windsor, receive by Indenture from the Lord Hastings, the sheets (as a relique) wherein King Henry the Sixth, founder of King's College in Cambridge, lay, when he was murdered in the Tower.”<sup>5</sup>

The “large back stairs” was probably the flight of steps leading from the cloisters down to the dean's orchard, and represented in

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's ‘Order of the Garter,’ p. 150, “ex libro vocat Denton, f. 261, 262.”

<sup>2</sup> Poynter. See Ash. MSS., No. 1123, f. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Poynter.

<sup>4</sup> “This house, called the ‘New Commons,’ has for many years been converted into one of the canons' houses; and during the time that Lord Francis Seymour was possessed of it, in his right as canon, he caused to be removed several figures in old stained glass, which were in an east window, in a long inner room at the top of the house, intended most probably for a library for the chantry priests and choristers: the figures were half-lengths of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, as the inscription under them showed. The faces were very fine, and in high preservation, but the drapery was broken and very much damaged.

“In the window of the buttery, looking into the hall, were the remains of two round panes of stained glass, which exhibited a barrel or tun, *or*; charged with a scallop-shell, *argent*; having these letters, DEN, in the middle of it, which, according to the fashion of those times, is clearly a rebus for Denton, the name of the founder.

“He assisted in the erection of a similar building at Lichfield.” (MS. note in a copy of Pote's ‘History of Windsor,’ in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, cited in Stoughton's ‘Windsor in the Olden Time,’ p. 107.)

<sup>5</sup> Wood's ‘Fasti,’ ed. Bliss, p. 16.

Norden's Bird's-eye View of the Castle. The steps known as "the Hundred Steps" appear to have been formed subsequent to the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The following payments occur in the accounts of the tenth and eleventh of Henry the Eighth:

- "It. payd for a lok for the brige . . . . . iiij*d*.  
 It. payd to Will<sup>m</sup> Pury for Repacons that was don  
 uppon the m<sup>k</sup>et place and upon the buttes and  
 the "p" close in the churche at our lady of  
 pyte allter as hit apperyth by a bill . . . iiij*li*. xvij*s*. v*d*."  
 "It<sup>m</sup> payd to Thomas long for Repacons don uppon  
 the comon well agenst ye bell<sup>1</sup> as it apperyth by  
 his bill . . . . . xx*d*."

Three shillings and elevenpence-halfpenny were "delyv<sup>d</sup> to Mr. Meyer to spend at the wyne."

The account of the subsequent year (11 and 12 Hen. VIII) is headed thus:

"Nova Wyndesor

"The compt holden ther<sup>e</sup> the xxij day of Octob in the xij yere of the Reign of Kyng henry the viij<sup>th</sup> whiche acompt was deferred from the morow aft<sup>r</sup> Scynt Edwardes day kyng and confessour<sup>e</sup> for certēn causes at the Kyngs removyng whiche a compt was byfore Thomas benet than beyng meyer w<sup>t</sup> other burgeuss of the same town for a yere ended at Michelmas last past byfor this p<sup>r</sup>sent date."

The following entries occur in it:

- "It. Rec. of Will<sup>m</sup> ffreman for a mersement by cause  
 he was warned to wayte uppon M<sup>r</sup> Meyer<sup>e</sup> when  
 he went down to ye barges on feyer day . . . . . iiij*d*.  
 It. Rec. of Xrofer Staper for ye same by cause he is  
 alderman . . . . . viij*d*."

The occasion of the mayor going down to the bargemen, or "barges," was probably some brawl by the latter, who at this period tracked or towed the barges, as horses are now employed.

<sup>1</sup> The common or public well against or contiguous to the market bell, then under a pent-house in that locality.

- “ It. paid to John bykford in money payd out of his  
 purse for the Clerk of the mket . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
 It. paid to the seid John for money payd to the  
 Kyngs fotemen . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
 It. paid to the seid John for the quenys fotemen . . . . . iij.s. iij.d.  
 It. paid to ye seid John for costes of the brethern  
 Rydyng to Warfelde to se the lond there<sup>1</sup> . . . . . iij.s. x.d.”
- “ It. paid to Andrew bereman for costes of the Charter . . . . . iij.s. iij.d.  
 It. paid to the said Andrew for money layd out for a  
 new howse for the trynite Gilde<sup>2</sup> . . . . . xx.s.”

“ Detts M<sup>d</sup> at the said acompt Ric. ffytzwat<sup>r</sup> and John Pury wardens  
 or masters of the tri—te oweth for money leyd out of the comon chest  
 in p<sup>t</sup> of payment for a new howse for ye try—te, xl.s. At the next  
 comp of the trinite holden there the v<sup>th</sup> day of Novemb the said xl.s.  
 was payd to Mr. Meyer and his brethern by the said Ric ffytzwat<sup>r</sup> and  
 John Pury and delyvd to Mr. Meyer Willm Pury and John Bykforde  
 and the Sunday the ix<sup>th</sup> day of January next followyng it was payd  
 for ye tr—te unto John Godfrey carpent<sup>r</sup> for makyng of the tr—te  
 house”

“ ffurthermore it is agreed by Mr. Meyer and all his bretherne at  
 the said day of acompt that ev<sup>y</sup> meyer hereafter for the tyme beyng  
 shalbe alowed byside his xx.s. thes parselles folowyng yf he pay it in  
 his yere beyng—

- “ ffirst the expense of the clerk of the m<sup>r</sup>ket . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
 It. for the kyngs fotemen and in the yere . . . . . vj.s. iij.s.  
 It. to the quenys fotemen . . . . . iij.s. iij.d.

“ It. all other costes yf he ley owt any for the profet of the town  
 and by the consent of the brethern to be alowed thereof

- “ Itm hit is agreed that who that wrygteth for Mr. Meyer  
 in the Gilde Aule when nede requyreth shall  
 have for his labor by the yere . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.”

“ Itm it is agreed the same day and a statute made yf it fortune  
 hereaft<sup>r</sup> any brother of the Aule to be owlawed then his ffyn shalbe

<sup>1</sup> The land belonging to the Sheet Street alms-houses, already mentioned. (See *ante*, p. 454 and p. 474.)

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Secker, the clerk of the peace, thus writes to the editor: “I am unable to obtain the smallest information as to the house of the Trinity Guild, in which it seems, from subsequent entries, the corporation were in the habit of eating their fat bucks at court and other times. The only mention of court holding I ever heard of apart from the Town Hall was the Underour Court, which was said to have been held at a house lately pulled down, belonging to the corporation, at the foot of the Hundred Steps.”

vj.s. viij.d. half therof to the baylyff for the tyme beyng and the other half to the comon chest and evry yere after till he have his pardon to the baylyff a quarte of wyn or els a cople of chykons and at this tyme this statute was executed uppon Willm Billesden one of the brethern."

"Itm it is agreed the same day by all them aforeseid that Mr. Will Bonde clerk of the pece of berk shall have yerely a ffee of xij.s. iiij.d. to be goode to the inh'tannes of the town and specially to the brethern of the gilde hawle for the comon profett of the same."

"M<sup>d</sup> payd out of the comon chest by Mr. Meyere and other to John lavendo carpent<sup>r</sup> for makyng of thre tentres (?) by the castell dyche the ffirst day of ffeb in ye xij<sup>th</sup> yere of kyng henre the viij<sup>th</sup> . . . . . iiij.li.

It. payd to the said John lavendo<sup>r</sup> by his brother the Satday byfore mydlent . . . . . iiij.li.

It. payd to John Pury on of wardens of the trite owt of the comon chest for the new house of the tr—the monday ye viij day of Aprell . . . . . iiij.li.

"And so the tr—the wardens oweth to ye comon chest vj.li."

In the next year (13 Hen. VIII) the following noticeable entries appear:

"In p<sup>r</sup>ms Thomas Benet kep of the brige for y<sup>t</sup> yere compted to have Recevyd the Sm<sup>a</sup> . . . . . vj.li. vij.s. iiij.d.

It. Rec of the said Thomas for a ffyn made by Edward Martyn to have the water of thamyse for certen yeres by indenture paying yerely xxxiiij.s. iiij.d.<sup>1</sup> . . . . . xl.s.

It. Rec of the seid Thomas for a ffyn made by Ric herethorne for ij acres lond to set up a wynd mill . . . . . xxvj.s. viij.d."

The note in the margin, "a fine for ye ij acres in Warfield," shows that the last item refers to the charity land at Warfield, already noticed.

"Whereof was payd by Thomas Benet then beyng meyer to the clerk of m<sup>k</sup>et and to his man as it appereth by his Bill . . . . . vij.s. viij.d.

<sup>1</sup> The sum of 3s. 4d. occurs in subsequent years as received from "William Cokke for the water," and it is sometimes described as "the overplus for the water."

It. paid to the kyngs fotemen . . . . .	vj.s. viij.d.
It. paid to the quenys fotemen . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d.
It. paid for a dyn <sup>1</sup> at Warfelde at the Sealyng of the possession yr . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d."
"It. paid for anre dyn <sup>2</sup> at the trynnye courte . . . . .	vij.s.
It. payd for expenss upon Mr. Weston . . . . .	vij.d."

In the accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth of Henry the Eighth there is a similar entry. "Payd for costs and charges don uppon Master Weston ix.s. vj.d."

"Master Weston" was probably the same person who was about the court during the reign of Anne Boleyn, and who ultimately became a victim of Henry's jealousy of that queen. At this period he seems to have been feasted by the corporation, perhaps as the channel through which some favour was sought for at court.

"It. payd to the preyst yt Mrs. Hely spake for . . . . .	xij.d.
It. payd in expenss for owre charter whan the Justice of ecchequer sate here . . . . .	xx.s.
It. paid to lavend <sup>3</sup> the carpenter whan the brether <sup>n</sup> were there to se the frame . . . . .	iiij.d."

This evidently refers to the erection of the three shops adjoining the castle ditch, mentioned below, and the inspection of the frame, or wood-work, by the corporation.

"It. payd to Mr. Meyere for a drynkyng among his brether <sup>n</sup> at the compt day . . . . .	ij.s. ij.d."
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"Thes ben the charges and costs of the thre Shoppes new bylded by the castell diche—

"first payd to John lavend <sup>3</sup> carpenter for the frame takyng by Taske or a grete <sup>3</sup> Sm <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	xviij.li.
It. payd to Ric ffuller foryren <sup>4</sup> and workmanshipp there of for the seid new howsyng Sm <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	xlj.s. vj.d. ob
It. payd to Xrofer Star for nayles . . . . .	xxvj.s. xj.d. ob
'not compted but p <sup>d</sup> next yere folowyng'	

<sup>1</sup> Dinner.

<sup>2</sup> Another dinner.

<sup>3</sup> i. e., Taken or calculated by task work, or as agreed.

<sup>4</sup> Iron.



It. payd to Thomas benet for latthes as it apperyth by  
 his bill . . . . . xviiij.s.  
 Ifm payd to Thomas long for tyles and other neces-  
 saries as it appereth by his boke S<sup>m</sup> . . . ix.li. xvj.s. v.d.”  
 “It. payd to John lavendo<sup>1</sup> carpent owt of the comon  
 chest for a rewarde . . . . . xx.s.”

The three shops above mentioned, erected in the castle ditch, probably formed the first or nearly the first commencement of the west side of Thames Street (now in the course of removal), the houses on that side of the street having been gradually erected in the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries.

In the twelfth year of Henry's reign, Edward Duke of Buckingham was accused, says Hall, “to the king of high treason; wherefore the king's grace, by the advice of his counsel, sent and directed his letters to the said duke, being at his manor of Thornbury, in the county of Gloucester, that incontinent he should come to his presence, all excuses laid aside. Also the king gave commandment to Sir William Cumption, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kyngston, knights, for the king's body, to take with them secret power, and also servants at arms; and that they should wisely take heed that when the duke had received the king's letters, he should not convey himself; which they wisely accomplished.

“The said duke, upon the sight of the king's letters, removed and so journed till he came to Wyndsore, and there offered at St. George; and always not far from him, awaiting his demeanor, were the same knights lying. The duke lodged in Wyndsore for that night; and as it was well proved, he marvellously feared, inso-much that he called unto him a servant of the kings, named Thomas Ward—the same Thomas Ward was gentleman herbenger<sup>1</sup> for the king,—and demanded of him what he made there; who answered, saying that there lay his office; then the duke perceived that he could not escape. And so much was he in spirit troubled, that as he was at breakfast his meat would not down; yet he made good countenance, and shortly took his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminster, where he took his barge.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Herbenger.” (Grafton.)

<sup>2</sup> Hall.

The duke was then "attached" in the king's name, conveyed to the Tower, and beheaded on the 17th of May, 1521.

The ceremony of his degradation as a Knight of the Garter took place in St. George's Chapel, on the 8th of June following.

Stow gives an account of this proceeding. "And now followeth the publication of the disgrading of the saide Edward late Duke of Buckingham Knight and companion of the most noble order of S. George, named the Garter, which was read and published by Garter king at Armes, at the feast of Saint George, in the quire of Windsore Colledge, standing on the high pase at the dere, all the other officers of Armes about him, there being also present the Lord Marques Dorset knight of the same order, then being the kings deputy for the feast, the Earle of Essex, the Earle of Wiltshire, the Earle of Kent, Sir Thomas Lovel, and the Lord le Ware, knights of the said order, with other great audience assembled there on the eight of June, the thirteene yeere of Henry the eight, the yéere of Christ, 1521.

"Bee it knowne unto all men, that whereas Edward late Duke of Buckingham Knight, and companion of the noble order of S. George, named the Garter, hath lately done and committed high treason against the king our soveraigne Lord, and soveraigne of the saide order of the Garter, in compassing and imagining the destruction of the most noble person of our said soveraigne Lord the king, contrary to his oath and due allegiance, and for the which high treason the said Edward hath bin indicted, arraigned, convicted, and attainted, for the which detestable offence and high treason, the saide Edward hath deserved to bee disgraded of the said noble order, and expelled out of the saide company, and not worthy that his Armes, ensignes, and hachments should remaine among other noble ensignes of the other noble vertuous and approved knights of the said noble order; wherefore our said soveraigne Lord the King, soveraigne of the said noble order of S. George, named the Garter, by the advise of the other knights of the said noble order, for his saide offences, and committing of the said high treason, willeth and commandeth that the said Edward Duke of Buckingham be disgraded of the said noble order, and his Armes, ensignes, and hachments cleerely expelled, and put from among the

Armes, ensignes, and hachments of the other noble knights of the saide order, to the intent, that all other noble men thereby may take ensample hereafter, not to committe any such haynous and detestable treason and offences, as God forbid they should.

“ ‘ God save the King.’ ”

“ It is to be remembered, that Sommerset Herault was in the roode loft behind the hachments of the saide Duke Edward: and when Garter spake these words, *expelled and put from the armes*, then the saide Somersset violently cast downe into the quire, his creast, his banner, and sword. And when the publication was all done, the officers of armes, spurned the saide hachment with their feete out of the quire into the body of the Church, first the sword, and then the banner, and then was the creast spurned out of the said quire through the Church out at the west doore, and so to the Bridge, where it was spurned over into the ditch. And thus was the said Edward late Duke of Buckingham fully disgraded of the order of S. George named the Garter.”<sup>1</sup>

The Princess Mary (afterwards Queen Mary) was, in her early years, a frequent visitor at Windsor Castle. She had a separate establishment within a year after her birth; and Ditton Park, near Datchet, on the Buckinghamshire side of the river Thames, was where a great part of her time was spent. The following entry occurs in the household accounts of Henry the Eighth, at Christmas, 1517-18:

“ Item paid for the passage oũ to Datchet fer’ w<sup>t</sup> my lady Pinces and hir s̃unte at ij tymes iij.s. iiij.d.”

Datchet Ferry was used on the occasion of Mary’s removal from Windsor to Ditton, which was probably selected on account of its vicinity to the former place, where the king then was.<sup>2</sup>

We find the princess visiting Windsor from Ditton in October, 1520, being then in her fifth year; and removing from Windsor in the same month to Hanworth.

On Christmas day, 1521, the clergy of Windsor College attended at Ditton Park to celebrate the festival, and sang various ballads

<sup>1</sup> ‘Annals,’ p. 513, edit. 1631.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Sir F. Madden’s Introductory Memoir to the ‘Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary,’ p. xxii.

and other songs before the princess, for which they were rewarded with the sum of 10*s*.<sup>1</sup>

Mummings followed to assist in the preparation, for which painters and decorators were brought from Windsor, where the princess soon after removed, proceeding from thence to Hanworth, Richmond, and Greenwich.<sup>2</sup>

She was at Windsor again in June, 1522, and in July a reward was given to certain of the queen's footmen for accompanying her from Windsor to Chertsey.<sup>3</sup>

The account of the thirteenth and fourteenth year of Henry the Eighth has the following heading :

“ Nova Wyndesore

“ The com̃pt holden there the tuesday the morrow aft Seynt Edward day Kyng and confessor and also the tuesday the xxi day of Octob bycause John Fenne kep of the brige was not at home the morow aft Seynt Edward day in the xiiij yere of the Reign of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> byfore Willm pury Meyere w<sup>th</sup> other burgenss of the same town for a yere ended at the fest of Seynt Michell the Archangell last past.”

The following items occur in this account:

Itm Rec of Ric Nasshe for his Shopp new bilded	. xxij.s.	iiij.d.
Itm Rec of Xrofer Star for a nother Shopp next	. xxij.s.	iiij.d.
It. of Edward Skelton for a lytell Shopp in the drapery Row	. . . . .	iiij.s.”

The drapers, like the butchers, appear to have had a particular locality for carrying on their trade. “Drapery Row” occupied the site of the present Town Hall, facing towards the market place.

“ It. Rec of Willm Sexton Smyth Thomas Avelyn Rob howse and Thomas Stacy for there fyn to be made brethern of the halle eche of them	vj.s.	
viiij.d. Sm <sup>a</sup>	. . . . .	xxvj.s. viiiij.d.”
“ Itm payd for the kyngs fotemen	. . . . .	vj.s. viiiij.d.

<sup>1</sup> “Johanni Seutone et aliis Clerici Collegij de Wyndesore, cantantibus coram Principissam divers *le Bailettes*, et alia, in festo Natalis Domini, x.s.”

<sup>2</sup> Sir F. Madden's ‘Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary,’ Introd., pp. 27—29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

It. paid to the quenys fotemen . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d.
It. paid to the henchemen . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d." <sup>1</sup>

These payments occur in subsequent years, but as they have been noticed more than once in the extracts already made, it would be a tiresome repetition to refer to them again.

" It. paid for a bushell di <sup>1</sup> bushell and a pek . . . . .	xij.d.
Itm payde to John Fenne for cariage of xxx <sup>ii</sup> lode of marle for the temys brige evy lode ij.d. Sma . . . . .	v.s.
It. paid for xxx <sup>ii</sup> lode of gravell at ii.d. Sma . . . . .	v.s."
" Itm delyv <sup>d</sup> to Mr. Meyer to pay for the brekfast at Xrofer Star howse vj.s. viij.d. whereof was paid to ys wyff iiij.s. and to Thomas Dixson the subbaylyff for mete bowght . . . . .	xxij.d.
It. paid to Thomas Dixson for fedyng of the Swaunys and for yron work for the mesure of ye hall . . . . .	vj.s."
" It. paid for a laborer iiij dayes spredying ye g <sup>v</sup> ell at ye brige . . . . .	xvj.d."

In the next year (14 and 15 Hen. VIII) the following items occur :

" It. Rec of Willm Webbe bargeman for a fyn brekyng ye leg of ye brige . . . . .	xx.d."
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The charge for repairing this fracture occurs in the payments.

" It. paid for an yron for the leg of the brige . . . . .	iiij.d.
It. paid to take away olde trees abowght ye brige . . . . .	iiij.d.
It. paid to a laborer to sprede the gvell on ye brige . . . . .	iiij.d."
" Itm paid for the costs of the parlement for ye comysion . . . . .	iiij.d.
It. paide to Thomas long and Mich goode for mendyng of Wodbrige . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d."
" It. paide to the Shreffs man for fechyng ye indenture of plement . . . . .	xij.d.
It. paid to the kyngs messeng <sup>r</sup> bryngyng a writ of plement . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d.
It. paid to ye kyngs messen <sup>r</sup> bryngyng ye comysion for ye subsidy . . . . .	xx.d."

<sup>1</sup> One of Henry the Eighth's henchmen was Richard Lord Grey of Wilton, who lies buried in the chapel of Eton College.

“ ——— paid to Ric passhe and Jamys Gales Wardens  
 of the tr—te for thei had no money to pay  
 ye prest . . . . . iiij.li.  
 It. lent to John Bikford uppon a pleg . . . . . xxx.s.  
 Item take owt of the comon chest for ye crosse . v.li. vj.s. viij.d.  
 Item anoth' tyme paid to ye meyr for ye crosse . . . . . xxxiiij.s.”

In the fifteenth and sixteenth year of Henry the Eighth we have—

“ It. for mendyng of the mace . . . . . x.s.  
 It. for makyng of the cage . . . . . x.s.  
 It. geyne to the carpent' in rewarde . . . . . xx.d.”  
 “ It. for mendyng the glasse wyndors in ye hawle . . . . . iiij.sh.  
 It. for apperance opon a pvi seale for freuche  
 mennys goods . . . . . v.s.  
 It. to the ov'scers the game of Swannys . . . . . ij.s.  
 It. for mendyng the cubberd in ye hawle . . . . . vj.d.”  
 “ It. for peynttyng of one pane on the rode lofft  
 also p<sup>ie</sup> of payment for the seyde howse . . . . . xx.s.”  
 “ It. lent on the xi<sup>th</sup> day of Januarye to Ric Nashe and  
 Jamys Gales trinite Wardens owt of the comon  
 chest to pay the moromasse pst . . . . . xxvj.s. viij.d.”  
 “ It. take owt of the bagge the iiij day of Aprell in the  
 xvj yere of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> the beyng  
 p'sent Mr. Meyer Andrew bereman John Bek-  
 forde and Willm Pury for the repaco'ns of the  
 Steple . . . . . xl.s.”

The Emperor Charles the Fifth of Spain being in England in June, 1522, was entertained by Henry at Windsor among other places.

“ On Monday [the 9th of June] they dined in Southwark with the Duke of Suffolk, and hunted there in the Park, and rode to the Manor of Richmond to their lodging, and the next day to Hampton Court, where they had great cheer, and from thence on Thursday to Wyndsore, where he hunted Friday and Saturday; and on Sunday at night in the great hall was a disguising or play, the effect of it was that there was a proud horse which would not

be tamed nor bridled, but amity sent prudence and pollicy which tamed him, and force and puissance bridled him. This horse was ment by the French king, and amity by the King of England and the Emperor, and the other prisoners were their counsel and power. After this play ended was a sumptuous mask of twelve men and twelve women; the men had in garments of clothes of gold and silver loose laid on crimson sattin, knit with points of gold, bonnets, hoods, buskins, were all of gold. The ladies were of the same suit, which was very rich to behold, and when they had danced, then came in a costly basket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodging.

"Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the princes and their counsel sat most part in counsel, and on Corpus Christi day, they with great triumph rode to the college of Wyndsore, where the Emperor wore his Mantle of the Garter and sat in his own Stall and gave to the Heralds Two hundred crowns. That day both the princes received the Sacrament, and after mass both sware to keep the promises and league each to other, for the which amity great joy was made on both parties, and after that mass was ended they went to dinner, where was great feasting.

"On Friday they departed out of Wyndsore, and by easy journeys came to Winchester the 22d day of June; and in the way thither, the Emperor hunted the Hart."<sup>1</sup>

"In the list of "Wyns layd yn dyvers places for the King and the Emperor bytwene Dovyr and London, plentye" of "Gascon wyne" and "Renyssh wyne" is mentioned as having been deposited at Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

"The king kept his Christmas of this year [14 Hen. VIII] solemnly at his Castle of Wyndsore, and thither came to him, the third day of January, the Earl Pountiver of the royal blood of Britain and pretending to be Duke of the same, which was near

<sup>1</sup> Hall. While at Windsor, the emperor, it appears, "covenanted amongst other things to take to wife the Lady Mary, daughter to the King of England, but afterwards (A.D. 1526) upon considerations his mind changed, for the which the Englishmen sore murmured against him." (Hall; Holinshed.) The treaty between Henry and Charles on this occasion is called the "Treaty of Windsor." (*Vide* Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary,' Introductory Memoir, p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rutland Papers,' edited by Jerden (Camden Society), pp. 81, 82.

cousin to the Duke of Bourbon, and banished France. This Earl came hastily from the Duke of Bourbon, and was well entertained and feasted of the king; and after answer made to him by the king, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton Court, and so with great speed returned to the said Duke into the Country of Province.

"In the same season was brought to the court a Gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Steward, taken on the sea with divers letters by one Water Iago, a yeoman of the kings, with divers letters from the Duke of Albany to the French king, by reason whereof the king knew much of their counsel. This gentleman paid ransom, and was very soon redeemed."<sup>1</sup>

In this year also we are informed "the Lord Sandes" came to the king at Windsor to inform him of the sad state of the English army in France.<sup>2</sup>

On the 1st day of September, 1524 (16 Hen. VIII), Doctor Thomas Hanibal, Master of the Rolls, arrived in London, "with earls and bishops, and divers other nobles and gentlemen," as ambassador from Clement the Seventh, the newly elected pope, bringing with him "a rose of gold, for a token to the king." "The people as he passed, thought to have seen the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the king to Wynyore, on the day of the Nativity of our Lady; on which day, after a solemn mass sang by the Cardinal of York, the said present was delivered to the king, which was a tree forged of fine gold, and wrought with branches, leaves and flowers, resembling Roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had three feet of antique fashion: the pot was of measure half a pint; in the uppermost Rose was a fair Saphire '*Coupe perced*,' the bigness of an acorn; the tree was of height half an English yard, and in breadth it was a foot. The said Ambassador in delivering the same rose, made an oration, declaring the good mind, love, and favour, that the Bishop of Rome bare to the king, in token whereof he sent him that present; which the king thankfully received, and delivered it to him again; and so he bare it open before the king,

<sup>1</sup> Grafton.

<sup>2</sup> See Hall, p. 671, edit. 1509.



from the College to the great chamber, and there delivered it to the Master of the Jewel house, and so there ended his Legation."<sup>1</sup>

In 1525 the king created his illegitimate son Henry, by Lady Elizabeth Tailboys (afterwards married to Edward Lord Clinton), a Knight of the Garter, and called him Lord Henry Fitzroy. On the 18th of June, in the same year, he was created Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond and Somerset. At this period he was little more than six years old, having been born in 1519. For want of male issue in the earlier and middle part of his reign, the affections of Henry the Eighth were strongly fixed upon this boy.<sup>2</sup> If not brought up at Windsor, he spent a good deal of time there; and the accomplished Earl of Surrey became his early and close friend.<sup>3</sup>

Surrey held the office of cupbearer to the king, and, in 1532, the Duke of Richmond and he attended Henry at his meeting with Francis the First at Boulogne. The Duke of Richmond subsequently married Surrey's sister, but died in 1536, when he was only seventeen years of age. The love of the Earl of Surrey for the "Fair Geraldine" has long been a popular notion, founded, however, as it seems on a very slender foundation. The lady is supposed to have been Elizabeth, the daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. She was living with the Princess Mary at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, formerly one of the seats of Surrey's grandfather, the Duke of Norfolk. He himself says he first saw his Geraldine there.

<sup>1</sup> Hall. In the same month of September, "Sir Anthony Fitz-Herbert, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, a man of excellent learning in the law, as appereth by his works; Sir Raufe Egerton, Knight; Doctor Denton, Dean of Lichfield," who had been sent as commissioners into Ireland, and had "reformed many injuries done in the country and brought divers of the wild Irish by fair means to a submission, and made by the king's authority the Earl of Kildare deputy of the Land," came to the king at Windsor, who "gave them his hearty thanks for their good doings." (Hall.) In this year (1529) also "the Lord Archibald Douglas, husband of the Queen of Scots, who had been detained in France, escaped into England, and made a declaration at Windsor as to the intentions of France." (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Ellis' 'Letters,' 1st series, vol. i, p. 269; and see MS. Harl., No. 589, f. 192.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Nott's 'Memoirs of the Earl of Surrey.'

“ Honsdon did first present her to mine eyen ;  
 Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.  
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,  
 And Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.”

It is scarcely necessary to explain that the poet means that he first saw her at Hunsdon ; that he fell in love with her at Hampton Court ; and that he was separated from her by his residence at Windsor.<sup>1</sup> It is a matter of doubt, however, whether Surrey was ever in love with any such person ; for at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that is to say, early in 1532, when Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was only four years of age, he was contracted in marriage to the Lady Frances Vere, daughter of John Earl of Oxford, although the marriage did not actually take place till some time in 1535 ; and at his death, in 1547, Lady Elizabeth was only fifteen.

The following poem, at one time supposed to have been written, in 1543, when the Earl of Surrey was imprisoned for eating flesh in Lent, is with greater probability attributed to the year 1546, when he was committed to prison at Windsor in consequence of a quarrel and charges brought by him against Lord Hertford, the king's lieutenant-general in France :

“ So cruel prison, how could betide, alas,  
 As proud Windsor, where I, in lust and joy,  
 With a kinges son my childish years did pass,  
 In greater feast than Priam's sons of Troy.<sup>2</sup>  
 Where each sweet place returns a taste full sour.  
 The large green courts, where we were wont to hove<sup>3</sup>  
 With eyes cast up into the maiden's tower,<sup>4</sup>  
 And easy sighs such as folk draw in love.

<sup>1</sup> See the Memoir prefixed to Bell's edition of 'Surrey's Poetical Works,' 1854.

<sup>2</sup> “These lines furnish the authority for the commonly received opinion that Surrey and the Duke of Richmond were educated together at Windsor. Dr. Nott, drawing his inferences from the jousts alluded to in the remainder of the poem, and interpreting the word ‘childish’ in the sense of ‘childe,’ as used to designate young persons of noble birth who had embraced the profession of arms, thinks that their intercourse at Windsor took place at a later period of their lives—a conjecture which the recollections called up in the poem fully justify. The longing eyes cast up to the Maiden's Tower, the easy sighs, and the favours tied on the helm in the tournament, are not amongst the memories of ‘childish years’ in the modern acceptation of the word.” (Bell.)

<sup>3</sup> To linger, or hover, or draw near. The term is commonly applied to ships. There was an old dance called the *hore*-dance. (Bell.)

<sup>4</sup> Not the donjon, as Dr. Nott observes, but that part of the castle where the ladies

The stately seats, the ladies bright of hue,  
 The dances short, long tales of great delight ;  
 With words and looks, that tigers could but rue :<sup>1</sup>  
 Where each of us did plead the other's right.  
 The palme-play,<sup>2</sup> where, despoiled for the game,<sup>3</sup>  
 With dazed<sup>4</sup> eyes oft we by gleams of love  
 Have missed the ball, and got sight of our dame,  
 To bait her eyes,<sup>5</sup> which kept the leads above.<sup>6</sup>  
 The gravelled ground with sleeves tied on the helm,<sup>7</sup>  
 On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts ;  
 With chere, as though one should another whelm,  
 Where we have fought and chased oft with darts.  
 With silver drops the mead yet spread for ruth,  
 In active games of nimbleness and strength,  
 Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,  
 Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.  
 The secret groves, which oft we made resound  
 Of pleasant plaint, and of our ladies' praise ;  
 Recording oft what grace each one had found,  
 What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.  
 The wild forest, the clothed holts with green ;<sup>8</sup>  
 With reins availed,<sup>9</sup> and swift y-breathed horse,  
 With cry of hounds, and merry blasts between,  
 Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.<sup>10</sup>

had their apartments. Surrey's expression makes the distinction sufficiently plain. Maiden's tower is not to be confounded with maiden-tower. Warton has fallen into an error about the latter, which, he says, means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence, tracing it to the old French *magne* or *mayne*, great. The term "maiden" is applied to a tower or fortress that has never been taken, and is still used in that sense in military language. (See Nares' 'Glossary.') The mere fact of being the principal tower, or a tower of great strength, does not necessarily constitute a maiden tower. (Bell.)

<sup>1</sup> Pity.

<sup>2</sup> Jeu de paume, or tennis. (Nott.)

<sup>3</sup> Stripped for the game.

<sup>4</sup> Dazzled.

<sup>5</sup> To allure, attract.

<sup>6</sup> The ladies were ranged on the leads or battlements of the castle, to see the play. (Warton.) See the account of the entertainment of Philip of Castile, *ante*, pp. 434—444.

<sup>7</sup> The area for the tilting was strewn with gravel. The sleeves on the helm were the favours of the knight's mistress. (Warton ; Bell.)

<sup>8</sup> The holts or green woods.

<sup>9</sup> Reins slackened or lowered. The word is used indifferently by the early English poets, as *vale* or *availe* ; hence the phrase to *vale the bonnet*. (Bell ; Warton.)

<sup>10</sup> The term here employed distinguishes the chase when the game was run down (although the previous particulars rendered it scarcely necessary) from the sport in which

The void walls<sup>1</sup> eke, that harboured us each night :  
 Wherewith, alas ! reviveth in my breast  
 The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight ;  
 The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest ;  
 The secret thoughts, imparted with such trust ;  
 The wanton<sup>2</sup> talk, the divers change of play ;  
 The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,  
 Wherewith we past the winter night away.  
 And with this thought the blood forsakes the face ;  
 The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue :  
 The which, as soon as sobbing sighs, alas !  
 Up-supped have, thus I my plaint renew :  
 ' O place of bliss ! renewer of my woes !  
 Give me account, where is my noble fere ?<sup>3</sup>  
 Whom in thy walls thou dost each night enclose ;  
 To other lief ;<sup>4</sup> but unto me most dear.'  
 Echo, alas ! that doth my sorrow rue,  
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint.  
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew,  
 In prison pine, with bondage and restraint :  
 And with remembrance of the greater grief,  
 To banish the less, I find my chief relief."

The noble poet did not remain long in his imprisonment, for in the month of August, in the same year, he was in attendance on the king at Hampton Court. On the 12th of December, however, he was again arrested on a charge of high treason, tried, convicted, and beheaded on the 21st of January, 1547, only a few days before the death of the king.

the game was shot. The former was called *chasser à forcer*. Drayton has availed himself of this description of the woods, and the mutual confidences of the young knights, to represent Surrey wandering amongst romantic groves and hanging rocks, carving the name of Geraldine on the trees. (Bell.)

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the Harrington MS., and so printed in Bell's edition. Empty walls or rooms. Older editions read "wide vales ;" but, as the passage evidently refers to the chambers where Surrey and his companions used to sleep, the MS. version may be safely preferred. (Bell.)

<sup>2</sup> "Wanton" was not originally used in the sense in which it is now employed. The substantive meant a pet, an idler, a playfellow ; the adjective simply playful, idle. (Bell.)

<sup>3</sup> Companion.

<sup>4</sup> Dear. This seems to be an allusion to some person who was a prisoner in Windsor at the same time. (See the notes to Bell's edition, and Warton's 'History of Poetry,' vol. iii, pp. 32, 33, edit. 1840.)

Windsor is also alluded to in the following lines :

“ When Windsor walls sustained my wearied arm ;  
 My hand my chin, to ease my restless head ;  
 The pleasant plot revested green with warm ;  
 The blossomed boughs, with lusty Ver y-spread ;<sup>1</sup>  
 The flowered meads, the wedded birds so late  
 Mine eyes discover ; and to my mind resort  
 The jolly woes, the hateless, short debate,  
 The rakehell<sup>2</sup> life, that longs to love’s disport.  
 Wherewith, alas ! the heavy charge of care  
 Heaped in my breast breaks forth, against my will  
 In smoky sighs, that overcast the air.  
 My vapoured eyes such dreary tears distil,  
 The tender spring which quicken where they fall ;  
 And I half bend to throw me down withal.”

Returning, after this digression, to the borough accounts, we find, in the sixteenth and seventeenth of Henry the Eighth, sums of money were delivered out of the common chest of the corporation, at different times, for the “ hyways.”

In the next year (17 and 18 Hen. VIII) are these entries :

“ It. paid to Rob Sadeler Rydyng to Redyng w <sup>t</sup> a c̄tificat to ye Kyng . . . . .	xij.d.
It. paid for a supplicacon made to ye Kyng for the man yt was hanged at Rob Sadeler . . . . .	ij.s.
It. paid to Thomas Dixton to Remeve the dong in Oldhawys wher Mr. Deane is stable is <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	iiij.s. vj.d.
It. payd to the said Thomas for payntyng of ye Seynt Johū hed . . . . .	ij.s. ij.d.
It. payd for the cokkyng stole to Sheperde ye Carpent <sup>r</sup>	vj.s. viij.d.”

“ The chargs for uppyng of Swannys this yere

“ Imprimis for uppyng nestyng and tythe of thre copell the townys p <sup>t</sup> fyve birdes . . . . .	ij.s. iiij.d.
Itm for alowaunce of owre marke on bothe sydes the bill by the agrement of the hole copanye of the Swanne herdes . . . . .	iiij.s. iiij.d.

<sup>1</sup> Spring.

<sup>2</sup> More properly “*rakel*”—rash, careless, reckless. “*Rakehell*” was used to designate a dissolute, profligate fellow.

<sup>3</sup> The Dean of Windsor’s stable was then as it still is in St. Alban’s Street.

It. for Renewyng of the marke uppon on of the Swannys . . . . .	xij.d.
It. paid to Will <sup>m</sup> Symonds for his comens . . . . .	xij.d.
It. paid for his pte of a bote . . . . .	vij.d.
It. payd to Dixson for mete and kepyng ye Swannys . . . . .	ij.s.
It. paid to Will <sup>m</sup> Symonds for mete and kepyng ye Swannys while they were w <sup>th</sup> hym . . . . .	ij.s. iiij.d.
Sm̄ xij.s. viij.d."	

The following entry occurs this year :

"It. the remayneth of the xvij.li. xvj.s. x.d. is but viij.li. x.s. ij.d. to Reken the golde aft the old valuacon but to Reken after the new valuacon the old stoke is ix.li. vj.d."

This evidently refers to one of the several proclamations issued by Henry during his reign for raising the value of the ounce of gold and the pound of silver, a measure adopted by the king for the purpose of raising money. "Henry adulterated the purity of the coin, a plan by which," says Dr. Lingard, "while he defrauded the public, he created numberless embarrassments in the way of trade, and involved his successors in almost inextricable difficulties. At his accession, the ounce of gold and the pound of silver were each worth forty shillings: having raised them by successive proclamations to forty-four, forty-five, and forty-eight shillings, he issued a new coinage with a considerable quantity of alloy; and contrived at the same time to obtain possession of the old money, by offering a premium to those who would bring it to the mint. Satisfied with the result of this experiment, he rapidly advanced in the same career. Before the end of the war (1546), his coins contained equal quantities of silver and of alloy; the year after, the alloy exceeded the silver in the proportion of two to one. The consequence was, that his successors found themselves compelled to lower the nominal value of his shillings, first from twelvecpence to ninepence, and then to sixpence, and finally to withdraw them from circulation altogether."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'History of England,' citing Sanders, 204; Stow, 587; Herbert, 191, 572; Folkes, 27; Fleetwood, 53.

In the ordinances for the household, made at Eltham, seventeenth of Henry the Eighth (A.D. 1526), the following order occurs :

"For keeping of the Hall and ordering of the Chapel. Cap. 77. And considering, that by reason of the seldome keeping of the King's hall, not onely the officers and mynisters of his household, be greatly disused from doing service, whereof ensueth lack of good knowledge, experience, and learning, how young men should order themselves in the execution of their offices ; but also the household servants put to board wages, give themselves many times to idleness, evil rule and conversation ; the King's pleasure therefore is, that at all times when his Highnesse shall lye in his castle of Windsor, his mannors of Bewlye, Richmond and Hampton-Court, Greenwich, Eltham, or Woodstock, his hall shall be ordinarily kept and contynued ; unlesse than for any reasonable cause by his Grace to be approved, it shall be thought otherwise expedient, and at all such tymes of keeping the said hall, the King's noble chappell to be kept in the same place, for the administration of divine service, as apperteyneth."<sup>1</sup>

In 1528, "certaine ambassadors out of France, about 80 in number, of the most noble and worthy gentlemen in all France," came to England to settle the terms of peace between England and France, and to bestow the Order of France on Henry the Eighth ; and, after being entertained by Cardinal Wolsey, at Hampton Court, they went, by desire of the king, to hunt at Windsor, "which place, with the order thereof they much commended."<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Eighth does not seem to have been at Windsor at the time, but at Greenwich, where he subsequently received the Frenchmen.

In the account of the eighteenth and nineteenth of Henry the Eighth this entry occurs :<sup>3</sup>

"Of the xx.li. and ij.s. that remayneth to the comon chest in the yere byfore there was taken owt therof at two tymes and delyvd to Mr.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household,' 4to, 1790, p. 160. The king was at Windsor in June 1526, and also in the same month of the following year.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, 'Annals,' pp. 536, 537, edit. 1631.

<sup>3</sup> The yearly accounts from which these extracts are taken are at this period styled the "Accompt of the common chest." They are subsequently styled "Accounts of the Gilde Hall."

Meyer for besynes of this town don at Westm<sup>̄</sup> Sm<sup>a</sup> vj.li. x.s. as it appereth by ye boke."

In the accounts for the next year (19 and 20 Hen. VIII), there is a payment "to John Pury and Ric. Cruse wardens of the Trinite for a qrt. wages for the prest xxxvj.s. viij.d." In the margin is written "a note touchinge the Trynytyc."

In the twenty-first and twenty-second of Henry the Eighth:

"Rec. of Willm harman, Smyth for a ffyne for his forge at Dachett lane ende in Und'oure . . . ij.s. viij.d."

"It. paid to Mr. Willm Symonds for his fee of the Meyralte ij.li., and this is the first tyme yt the seid ij.li. was paid."

"Itm payde to the said Mr. Symonds for dyvrse p<sup>̄</sup>es llis of charges at Westm<sup>̄</sup> abought besynes of the hall as it apperith bi a bill . . . v.li. iiij.s. j.d."

Itm paid to Jamys Prynce for Ridyng to London a bowght besynes of the hall . . . xij.d.

Paid to henry Howden for the same . . . xij.d.

Paid to Ric Archer for the same . . . xij.d.

Paid to Willm hall Rydyng to Walyngford . . . ij.s."

Payments follow to six other persons "for the same."

A complete rental of the borough in the twentieth year of this reign exists among the corporation records.

It would seem that from the eighth and ninth years of the king's reign, the subscriptions for the completion of the chapel were left to accumulate until the seventeenth year, "when," says Mr. Poynter, "it was determined in Chapter, that all the Knights Companions who had bound themselves in certain sums for building the lantern and pulpit, should pay in a third part thereof, and in the year following, in a chapter held at Greenwich, from which the Bishop of Winchester was absent without leave, it was ordered that letters should be written admonishing him to pay instantly the £100 he had promised toward the works."<sup>1</sup> These measures were probably connected with the erection of the exquisite fan groining of the roof at the intersection of the cross of the chapel, which bears the date of

<sup>1</sup> Anstis.



1528, the twentieth of Henry the Eighth, which it will scarcely be doubted occupies the place of the lantern as originally designed. The lantern was not, however, abandoned, since it is mentioned in the register of the order three years later as still in contemplation, but it must have been then intended as an exterior ornament only, since every part of the roof to which it can be conceived applicable was closed up. The fan vaultings of the side aisles to the choir, which differ materially in their details from those of the nave, although the general design is preserved, seem not to have been executed till some years later. The occurrence of the royal arms bearing a label will place their completion after the birth of Edward the Sixth, in 1537. This assumption corresponds with the fact, that at an installation of the Garter in that year, it was ordained, "as it had been before, *though lightly*, that the King should be seriously consulted how the rest of the sum to be paid for finishing the fabric of the church should be paid in without further delay."<sup>1</sup>

From the following letter from Andrew Wyndesore, afterwards the first baron of that name, to Cardinal Wolsey,<sup>2</sup> it appears that timber was sought for to a considerable distance for building purposes in the reign of Henry the Eighth :

"Please yt yo<sup>r</sup> Grace to vnderstond that there is iij of the Kyngs servaunts that make labor for a Woodde that was the Duke of Buckinghams in Agmondesham,<sup>3</sup> in the Countie of Buckingham, callyd Dreyndford Woodde, whiche of trouthe is the fayrest Woodde of tymber within twentie myles of Wyndesore ony wey, yff grete nede shal be for beyldyng there, and is worthe two hundrethe marks to be sold, or better. And besyds that there hathe bene this twentie or thirtie yeres an Ayerye of goose hawks<sup>4</sup> contynually there bredyng, whiche be verrey good as ony feece. And by mysorder they were put ffrome bredyng there. This yere they breede but a littil thens. Yt is noo dowt but they wyll come thithir agayne if the Woodde may stonde. The seid iij persons make theym sure of yt, if your Grace steye yt nott, as I am informed. Yff the Kyngs grace wold geve twies as moche money for so moche fayre

<sup>1</sup> Anstis; Poynter's 'Essay'; Sir J. Wyattville's 'Illustrations of Windsor Castle.'

<sup>2</sup> State Paper Office, Wolsey's Correspondence, xiii, 116; Ellis' 'Original Letters,' 3d series, vol. i, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Amersham.

<sup>4</sup> Goshawks.

tymber for beylding, of a suertie his Grace can not have yt noo where there abowte. As knowithe God who euer preserue yo<sup>r</sup> Grace. ffrome London this Wednesday in Witson Weke.

Your humble seruante,

ANDREW WYNDESORE."

"To my Lorde Cardynall' Grace be thys delyuered."

This Lord WyndSOR, by the description of Lord Andrew Wyndesore, of Stanwell, in the county of Middlesex, was, early in this reign, appointed seneschal, or high steward, of the borough of Windsor, and appears to have held this office until the thirty-fourth year of the king's reign, when Anthony Brown succeeded him.<sup>1</sup>

Quantities of timber out of the forest were, at this period, taken to a wharf adjoining Maidenhead Bridge.

Leland (writing in the reign of Henry the Eighth), speaking of this bridge, says—"There is great Warfeage of Timbre and fire wood on the west ende of the Bridge, and this Wood cummith out of Barkshir, and the great Woddis of the Forest of Windelesore, and the greate Frithe."<sup>2</sup>

Henry the Eighth was at Windsor at the end of March 1530,<sup>3</sup> and again towards the end of April in the same year. In his privy-purse expenses there is an item on the 30th of April of 20s. paid to the ferryman at Datchet, and, on the same day, 6s. 8d. "to choristers of the College of Wyndesore in reward for the kings spurres."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126. The following reference to the services of the high steward occurs in the same MS.:—"Be it remembred yt at the pliant holden at Westm<sup>r</sup> the 21 day of Jan: a<sup>o</sup> 1 H. 8. by the labour of S<sup>r</sup> Andrew Wyndesore Knight and hye Styward of the towne of New Wyndesore, Jo: Wellis and W<sup>m</sup> Pury then being Burgenses in the seid pliant for the seid Towne there was a priso had in the Act of the Kings howshold, for that the m of Shaw should pay to the Kings fee ferme of New Wyndesore aforesaid eyth shelynges and a penny w<sup>th</sup> of right the King owthe not to have w<sup>th</sup>out it were allowed unto the seide Towne of New Wyndesore in manner and forme as fo<sup>th</sup> Provided alwey that this Act be not peiudicall to the Baileffs of the Towne of Wyndesore for any manner quitt rent pteyning to the seyd Bailiffs as peell of the Kings fee ferme of and for the mannor of Shaw lying next the s<sup>d</sup> Towne of New Wyndesore by the yere 8s. 1d."

<sup>2</sup> 'Itinerary,' vol. ii, f. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See a letter from the king to Lord Dacre, dated at Windsor, 28th of March, 1530, Ellis' 'Letters,' 1st series, 2d edit., vol. ii, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> See, as to this entry, *ante*, p. 426.

Among other payments made by the king at Windsor in April 1530, was forty shillings on the 28th of that month "to him that kepith the Armerie in Wyndesor;" and on the 30th, of twenty shillings "to the owner of the medow where the kings gueldings ranne, in rewarde."<sup>1</sup>

Anne Boleyn appears to have been at Windsor at this period. She was then one of the maids of honour of Queen Catherine, and although a considerable period before Henry's divorce from Catherine, Anne Boleyn had been long a favorite of his.<sup>2</sup> On the 29th of April, 1530, there is this entry in the Privy-purse Expenses:

"To Taylor serv<sup>t</sup> of Lady Anne in reward for finding  
a hare . . . . . iij.s. iiij.d."

This Taylor received considerable sums from time to time, Henry evincing his regard for the lady by presents and rewards to her servant.

In the work quoted above, may be found several curious entries of payments to and for "Lady Anne," but as none of them have any connexion with Windsor, it would be irrelevant to introduce them here.

The king was not a constant resident at Windsor. His visit at the end of April 1530 was only for a few days. On the 29th of July we again find him at Windsor, but before the middle of August he was at Hampton Court,<sup>3</sup> and does not appear to have revisited Windsor during the remainder of that year, nor until Whitsuntide 1531. His principal places of residence were Hampton Court, York Place, and Greenwich.

Henry the Eighth enlarged the Little Park. We find an entry on the 26th of May, 1530, of payment—

"to one Thom<sup>s</sup> Avelande for ij acres of medowe taken in  
for to enlarge the little parke of Wyndeso<sup>r</sup> . . . . . iiij.li."

<sup>1</sup> 'Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth.'

<sup>2</sup> The king's love for Anne Boleyn must have commenced at least as early as 1526. (*Fide* Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary,' Introductory Memoir, p. xlix, note.)

<sup>3</sup> Among the payments made at Hampton Court in August the following occur: "I<sup>t</sup>m the xvij day paid to Thomas Norden for shoting at Wyndso<sup>r</sup> on Whitson-Mondaye xxij.s. vj.d." And on the 18th, "to Roger for bringing a glasse of Relieke water from Wyndeso<sup>r</sup> to Hampton courte xij.d."

And, again, on the 18th of June in the same year :

“ Paid to Good of Wyndeso<sup>r</sup> for certeyne grounde the  
whiche was taken oute of the kinge ferme and yuved  
for to enlarge the litle park of Wyndeso<sup>r</sup> . . . . . iiij.li.”<sup>1</sup>

Among the payments of the corporation (22 and 23 Hen. VIII)  
are the following :

“ Itm to Wil<sup>m</sup> Thorpe and Mathew Gwynne for the quo  
warranto paid to Mr. Symonds . . . . . xx.s.  
M<sup>d</sup> paid to Will<sup>m</sup> Symonds for his costs at the plement  
the xxix day of Aprell in the xxiiij yere of the  
Reign of Kyng henry the viij<sup>th</sup> . . . . . xl.s.”

In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Henry the Eighth :

“ Rec<sup>d</sup> of Henry burtelet for the shopp for sellyng of ffees . . . . . viij.d.”

“ M<sup>d</sup> that this yere were bowght for the almes howsis in Shete-  
strete iiij mattres iiij cō<sup>v</sup> letts and e<sup>v</sup>y man and woman ther had a short  
and a Smok.”

In the next year (24 and 25 Hen. VIII), after the customary  
payments for the king's and queen's footmen, this entry occurs :

“ Itm paid to the foteman bryngkyng the p<sup>n</sup>ces writyng . . . . . v.s.”

Henry and his queen, Catherine, arrived at Windsor, after  
Whitsuntide, in 1531, and remained there for several weeks.

According to Hall, their final separation took place at Windsor,  
in July 1531. He tells us, that on the 14th of July “ the kyng  
removed to Woodstocke, and left hire at Wyndsore, where she  
laye a whyle, and after removed to the More, and afterwards to  
Esthamstide : and after this day, the kyng and she never saw to-  
gether.” From the ‘Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth’ it  
may, however, be inferred, as remarked by Sir Harris Nicolas, the  
editor, that the king was not at Woodstock as early as the 14th,

<sup>1</sup> The following entry also occurs in the ‘Privy-purse Expenses,’ under the date of  
June 23d, 1530 : “ It<sup>m</sup> the same daye paid to Westcote keper of the litle parke at  
Wyndso<sup>r</sup> for div<sup>s</sup> necessities done in the same parke. xv.s. j.d.” It may be mentioned  
that the name of Westcote, as an inhabitant of Windsor, occurs in the parochial accounts  
between the years 1725 and 1755.

but remained at Windsor or Hampton Court until the end of the month.<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of July the following entry occurs in the king's privy-purse expenses.

"It'm the same day paied to Thomas Warde for making of a payer of new butts Roundes and prycke l*j.s.* ij*d.*"

And a similar payment occurs on the 22d of the same month, and also in September 1532. It is evident that archery was one of the amusements of the age. Thomas Warde seems to have been the same person who in the twelfth year of this reign is described as gentleman herbenger to the king.<sup>2</sup>

On Sunday, the 1st of September, 1532, Anne Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke, at Windsor,<sup>3</sup> where Henry arrived the day before.

The ceremony used on this occasion is thus narrated :

"The king himselfe attended upon with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, the Marquesses, Earles, Barons, and other the great estates of the kingdome, together with the French Ambassador, and many of the privy council went into the chamber of Salutation (which they commonly call the Presence), and there sat him down in his chaire of Estate. Unto the which place the aforesaid Anne was conducted with a great traine of noble courtiers, both men and women. The Heralds went formost, Garter king of Heralds first, carrying the kings charter. After whom the noble lady Mary, daughter to Thomas duke of Norfolk, upon her left arme carryed a robe of Estate, of crimson velvet, furred with Ermins, and in her right hand a Coronet of gold. Her the aforesaide Anne followed, with her hair loose and hanging downe upon her shoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a Surcot), of crimson velvet, lined with Ermins also, with strait sleeves ; going in the midst betwixt Elizabeth countess of Rutland on her right hand, and Dorothy countess of Sussex on her left : whom many noble Ladies and gentlewomen followed. But she being brought

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas' 'Privy-purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth, from November 1529 to December 1532, with Introductory Remarks and Illustrative Notes,' 8vo, London, 1827, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 453.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, p. 790.

towards the kings royall seate thrice made her obesiance, and coming unto the king fell downe upon her knees. The king gave the charter before delivered unto him unto the Bishop of Winchester his secretary to bee read, which as hee was reading aloud, at these words *mantelle inductionem* (in the charter), the king put upon Anne the Marchionesse the Roab of Estate, delivered him by the Lady Mary, and at the wordes *circuli aurei*, put also uppon her head a Coronet of Gold. At length the charter being read the king gave unto her two charters, viz., the one of the creating of her to bee a Marchionesse, and to the heirs male issuing out of her body for ever, and another for the receiving of a thousand pound revenue yearly, for the maintaining of that her Dignity. All which things at length performed, she gave the king most humble thanks, and so having on her Roab of Estate and a Coronet upon her head, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, departed.”<sup>1</sup>

The ceremony finished, the king rode to the college, where, after the service there was “ended, a new league was concluded and sworn between Henry and the French king, the French ambassador being present.”<sup>2</sup>

Henry remained at Windsor until the 17th of September, when he proceeded to Chertsey and Hampton Court.<sup>3</sup>

In the account of 25 and 26 Hen. VIII, the following entry occurs :

“Md. that were certen London’s browght to the ffeyer at Seynt Edwards tyde in barges cten bay Salt to Sell out a xxvij.s. p’ octant,<sup>4</sup> than Rob<sup>t</sup> benet beyng Meyere made p’clamacon in the kyngs name that they shuld sell for ix.d. the busshell.”

In the next year (26 and 27 Hen. VIII) :

“Itm the old stok in the aule Sm<sup>a</sup> xxviiij.li. xv.s. j.d. and so remayneth of new and olde Sm<sup>a</sup> xxxvj.li. xix.s. whereof was taken to have a lovyng drynkyng among the brether’n v.s. viij.d.”

<sup>1</sup> Mills’ ‘Catalogue of Honour,’ p. 42. See an account of a clock at Windsor given by Henry the Eighth on his marriage with Anne Boleyn, ‘Archæologia,’ vol. xxxiv, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas’ ‘Privy-purse Expenses,’ p. 254; Hall, p. 789. The following entry occurs in the privy-purse expenses for September : “Itm the vij day paid to Thomas Warde for the charges of the making of the butts at Wynsor. xxxj.s.” (See *ante*, p. 503.)

<sup>4</sup> Eighty pounds.

In the accounts of 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, there are several entries of interest :

- “ At this accompt<sup>1</sup> John Kene was allowed the Rent of his Shopp for to have horse and man in a Redynes whan it pleaseth the Kyng or his counsell to call for them . . . . . xxij.s. iiij.d.”
- “ Itm paid for a boke of the statuts . . . . . ij.s. iiij.d.”
- “ Itm p<sup>d</sup> the xiiij day of May for taking away of bowes from the bridge . . . . . xx.d.”

Various items for the repairs of the bridge follow.

- “ It. p<sup>d</sup> for xvj quarellis of glasse in the hall Wyndow and for new setting of the fote of glasse there . . . . . ij.s. j.d.”
- “ It. p<sup>d</sup> for takyng down the olde shopp on the castell diche and mending the other . . . . . x.d.”
- “ It. for making clene the lane in pescod strete . . . . . ij.s. iiij.d.  
It. p<sup>d</sup> to a prest y<sup>t</sup> labored to be morow masse prest . . . . . v.s.”
- “ It. p<sup>d</sup> for wyne for veneson at Mr. Snowball that Mr. Warde sent . . . . . xx.d.”
- “ It. p<sup>d</sup> to Mr. thorp for gvelyng the Gutf in pescod strete . . . . . ij.s. iiij.d.”
- “ Itm paid more for the gild hall at the try—te compt the iiij<sup>th</sup> day of decemb<sup>r</sup> next after :
- ffirst paid for nayles for the galowes in the town . . . . . ij.d.
- It. for watchyng them y<sup>t</sup> were hanged ij nyghts . . . . . xij.d.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to henry holden for hay iiij nyghts for hall horse . . . . . viij.d.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to ffawcet to go to London w<sup>t</sup> a lett<sup>r</sup> to the master of the ordynans . . . . . xx.d.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to George Armeston for Rydyng the post . . . . . ij.s. iiij.d.
- It. for a halter . . . . . j.d.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to Willm Johnson Peryman for Rydyng post to London . . . . . viij.d.
- Sm<sup>a</sup> vj.s. vij.d.”

“ Md. that Thomas Dixson owith this yere for Rent lvij.s. And he desyred Mr. Meyer and all his brether<sup>n</sup> to be good masters to hym and uppon that the seid sum was pdon<sup>t</sup> to hym uppon this condisiōn that the seyd Thomas shuld truly pay evy yere aft x.s. and never more after to be behynd of his Rent.”

<sup>1</sup> The date of the auditing of the account is the 28th of November, 28 Hen. VIII.

There can be little doubt that the payments "for nails for the gallows in the town," and "for watching them that were hanged," refer to the execution of a priest and a butcher, who were hanged at Windsor, on the 9th of October, 1536, for the crime of treason, after a summary trial by court martial.<sup>1</sup>

"In this time of insurrection," says Hall, "and in the rage of horley borley, even when the king's army and the rebels were ready to join, the king's banner being displayed, and the king's majesty then lying at Winsore, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of Winsore which caused a priest to preach that all such as took part with the Yorkshiremen whom he named God's people, did fight and defend God's quarrel, and farther the said butcher in selling of his meat, one did bid him a less price of a sheep than he made of it, he answered nay by God's soul, I had rather the good fellows of the North had it among them, and a score more of the best I have:<sup>2</sup> this priest and butcher were accused to the king's majesty's counsel, of the treasons above said on the Monday in the morning, and the same day were both sent for, which confessed their treason, and so according to the law martial they were adjudged to die: and so the said Monday, they were both examined, condemned, and hanged, the butcher was hanged on a new pair of gallows set at the bridge and before the castle gate; and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foot of Winsore bridge."<sup>3</sup>

The "rebels" were a body of persons who, to the amount of nearly twenty thousand, rose in Lincolnshire "at an assize for the king's subsidy," and took "certain Lords and Gentlemen of the county prisoners, causing them to be sworne to them upon certain articles, which they had devised, and such as refused to sweare, they kept prisoners, and beheaded a priest, who was the Bishop of Lincoln's Chancellor. Against these the King did send the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Earl of Rutland with a strong power, whereof when the Rebels heard, they desired

<sup>1</sup> See Stow's 'Annals.'

<sup>2</sup> "The priest standing by likewise wished them to have it, for he said they had need of it." (Stow's 'Annals.')

<sup>3</sup> Hall.



pardon, brake up their Armie, and departed home, but their Captaines were apprehended and executed."<sup>1</sup>

From 1527 until 1537 the Princess Mary was a stranger at Windsor, owing, doubtless, to the separation and subsequent divorce of Henry and Catherine. In this interval her mother had died, Ann Boleyn was executed, Jane Seymour on the throne, and the king reconciled to his daughter. In August 1537 we find the princess at Windsor, where she distributed alms to poor persons and "housholders," and rewarded with her bounty the donors of apples, nuts, peaches, cakes, partridges, venison, and similar presents, which appear to have been almost daily brought to "my lady's grace."<sup>2</sup>

During this visit she stood godmother to a child of Mr. Stafferton,<sup>3</sup> who appears to have been one of the rangers of Windsor Forest.<sup>4</sup> The princess gave her godchild "lxvij.s. vj.d." on this occasion. Mary seems to have been very kind in conferring the honour of standing godmother to several children, as well of dependants as of persons of rank.

Before leaving Windsor the princess made her offering, the payment for which is thus recorded on the 31st of August:

"Item payed for my lade grace offring at windeso' the		
last day of this mounth . . . . .		iiij.d.
Itm geven in Almes then the same Daye . . . . .		xij.d."

Mary left Windsor after this day, to return again in November, on the occasion of the interment of her stepmother, Jane Seymour.

Evidence of the disorder (amenorrhœa) from which Mary suffered from an early age to her death is to be met with in the numerous visits of her medical attendants. Dr. Michael Delasco, who was her physician, with a salary of one hundred marks (£16 13s. 4d.) per annum, appears to have been twice sent for to

<sup>1</sup> Stow's 'Annals.'

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary,' pp. 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Nicolas' 'Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth,' p. 253. The office of ranger seems to have continued in this family for two or three generations. From Norden's Map of Windsor Forest, made in the reign of James the First, we find a Mr. Stafordton ranger of "New Lodge Walke" at that period.

attend her at Windsor during this visit in August this year.<sup>1</sup> The remedies adopted consisted chiefly in frequent bleeding. Riding on horseback, of which the princess was fond, afforded her temporary relief.<sup>2</sup>

Coursing was her favorite diversion in the open air—music and dancing in the castle; and, in conformity to the custom of the age, card-playing was frequently resorted to, and a sum was generally allotted every month as pocket-money for this recreation.<sup>3</sup>

Queen Jane Seymour died at Hampton Court, on the 24th of October, 1537. The king immediately “retired to a solitary place, not to be spoken with, leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial.”<sup>4</sup> The body was conveyed from Hampton Court to Windsor on Monday, the 12th of November, “with all the pomp and majesty that could be.”

“The corpse was put in the chair covered with a rich pall: and thereupon the representation of the Queen in her robes of estate, with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all in her hair loose, a

<sup>1</sup> Madden’s ‘Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary,’ pp. 36, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Introductory Memoir, pp. lxxiii, clxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. cxli. Taylor the Water Poet, writing early in the seventeenth century, says—

“Mary here the sceptre swayed;  
And, though she were a queen of mighty power,  
Her memory will never be decayed,  
Which by her works are likewise in the Tower,  
In Windsor Castle, and in Hampton Court:  
In that most pompous room called Paradise,  
Whoever pleaseth thither to resort  
May see some works of hers of wondrous price.  
Her greatness held it no disreputation  
To hold the needle in her royal hand;  
Which was a good example to our nation,  
To banish idleness throughout her land.  
And thus this queen in wisdom thought it fit;  
The needle’s work pleased her, and she graced it.”

“It is possible,” observes Miss Strickland, after citing the above passage, “that some remains of Mary’s needlework may exist at Windsor Castle. It is known, from her privy-purse expenses, that she worked an enormous arm-chair, as a new-year’s gift for her father, Henry the Eighth; and there is reason to suppose it is the specimen of Mary’s needlework Taylor alludes to, as well known at Windsor.” (‘Lives of the Queens.’)

<sup>4</sup> See Strype’s ‘Ecclesiastical Memorials,’ vol. ii, part i, p. 11.

sceptre of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue; her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments. The said chair drawn with six chariot horses trapped with black velvet: upon every horse four escutcheons of the King's arms and Queen's, beaten in fine gold upon double sarcenet; and upon every horse's forehead a shaffron of the said arms. The Lady Mary, the king's daughter, was chief mourner: assisted on either hand by the Lord Clifford and the Lord Montague: her horse was trapped with black velvet. These great ladies following, (their horses being trapped in black cloth,) the Lady Frances, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk; the Countesses of Oxford, Rutland, Sussex, Bath, Southampton, and the Lady Margaret Howard; every of their footmen in demi-gowns, bareheaded. Then followed four other chairs with ladies and gentlewomen sitting in them, and other ladies and gentlewomen riding in order after each. On the 13th day she was interred, and the solemnities were finished."<sup>1</sup>

The deceased queen was buried in the middle of the choir in St. George's Chapel."<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Godwin states that the following epitaph was inscribed on her tomb:

"Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice; dolendum,  
Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas."<sup>3</sup>

During this visit to Windsor the Princess Mary offered up thirteen masses, at Windsor and Hampton Court, for the soul of the late queen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strype.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> 'Annals of England.' The bishop's son (Morgan Godwin) thus translates these lines:

"Here a Phœnix lieth, whose death  
To another Phœnix gave breath:  
It is to be lamented much,  
The world at once ne'r knew two such."

The allusion is of course to the death of the queen, consequent on the birth of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward the Sixth.

<sup>4</sup> Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary.' Sir F. Madden appears to be mistaken in thinking the masses were offered for Anne Boleyn. (See Introductory Memoir, p. lxxx.)

An entry of a singular character occurs in Mary's payments at Windsor in December :

" Ifm geven to one Hogmard kep of Jane the fole hir horse ij.s."

This is believed to be the only instance on record of a female fool maintained on the same footing as the court-jesters are well known to have been. In all probability, this very person is intended to be represented in the interesting painting by Holbein of Henry the Eighth and his family, which formerly ornamented the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House, and which is now at Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

Jane the Fool is the subject of several other entries in the princess's privy-purse expenditure. The sum of 4*d.* to the "Barbo' for shaving of Janys hed" is an item of frequent occurrence.

At Christmas the princess removed to Richmond Palace.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence of her visiting Windsor from this period (December 1537) until August 1543, although it is probable she occasionally resided there in that interval. In the latter month she appears to have been there for a short time, for we find her rewarding "one of the keps of Windeso' forest for bringing a stagge," and also "the kep of the lyttle pke of Windeso' for bringing a buck."<sup>3</sup> She soon removed to Hanworth; and there is no evidence of her being at Windsor at any future period during the time over which her privy-purse expenses extend, viz., to December 1544.

In the borough accounts of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of Henry the Eighth we find the following :

" It. payd to Jemeys prynce for ye costs of etyng of a  
Bocke whych whas geven by the Erlle of hamton      vj.s. iij.d."

And in the next year (30 and 31 Hen. VIII) :

" It. Master Meyer Reseyd at this accouent to pay for  
hou' Breckfast      .      .      .      vij.s. iij.d."

" It. payd for the ij new shoppes at ye Castell Bryge  
to franklynge the Carpenter      .      .      .      xij.li."

<sup>1</sup> Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary,' p. 241, note.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> 'Privy-purse Expenses.'

"It. payd for all manor stoffe and workmanshipp goyng  
to the forsayd shoppes as it apperet in ye  
cownt booke . . . . . xxj.li. xvij.s. x.d. ob."

"It. payd for etyng a bocke at the trinity howis of the  
geste of the Erle of hamton . . . . . viij.s. v.d.  
It. payd to the kyngs players . . . . . vij.s.  
It. payd to the kyngs fotemen . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.  
It. payd to the Clerke of the Merkat . . . . . vj.s. viij.d."

"— Alle thyngs payd and aloyd Remaynythe in ye  
com'e chest . . . . . xxxij.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d.

"And thes forsayd s'm whas payd to Master Warde in part of pay-  
mēt for the lordeshep of underhower."



Henry the Eighth's Gateway, from St. Alban's Street.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

(Continued.)

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Effects of the Reformation—Monastic Possessions in the neighbourhood of Windsor—Windsor Church: numerous Obits there—Lands of the Guild—Obits in St. George's Chapel—Losses of the College at the Reformation—Eton College Bequests—Exemption from First Fruits and Tenths—Narrative of the "Windsor Martyrs," Testwood, Filmer, Peerson, and Marbeck—The Six Acts—The "Vicar of Bray"—Notices of John Merbecke—Robert Bennet—Corporation Accounts—The King's Will, Death, and Burial—His Tomb—The King's Amusements—The Garden at Windsor—Presents to the Royal Table—Modes of Conveyance and State of Postal Communication.

THE changes effected by the Reformation are of too striking and important a character to be overlooked in the annals of a place which was at once the residence of the sovereign with whom those changes are associated, and the seat of an ecclesiastical body of considerable wealth and extensive possessions, and whose pompous and gorgeous ceremonials must have exercised considerable influence in the town of Windsor—at one time stimulating individual zeal for the church, and at another period creating a disgust for practices which appeared inconsistent with the simplicity of Christian worship.

And although it was not until a subsequent period that the effects of the events of the present reign were fully felt, this seems the most fitting time for calling attention to the facts and circumstances, of a local nature, attending the great change of feeling, manners, and customs, which was taking place, and as introductory to the narrative of one of those shocking religious persecutions of which Windsor was the scene towards the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth.

The growing power of the collegiate church of St. George, whose magnificent fabric, as it now stands, was at this time approaching completion, may be gathered from the various allusions to its revenues and endowments in the preceding chapters; composed not only of the tithes of various benefices and territorial possessions in various parts of England, but of the offerings of pilgrims and devotees to the relics at the numerous shrines established within the walls of its churches.

The college, described as of secular canons, having acknowledged the royal supremacy in 1534,<sup>1</sup> continued to enjoy its large revenues without molestation.

There were other favoured institutions in the vicinity of Windsor. Looking down from the towers of Windsor Castle, the newly founded College of Eton, with its lofty chapel, might be seen beneath, its revenues continually enriched by donations and bequests, which were encouraged by royal grants, exempting them from the operation of the statutes passed from time to time to prevent the acquisition of land by ecclesiastical corporations. Its college of secular priests acknowledged the royal supremacy on the 14th of July, 1534, the instrument bearing the signature of Roger Lupton, the provost, and several others. Further to the west lay Burnham Abbey, while in the horizon the eye approached the Abbey of Reading, one of the richest monasteries in the kingdom, and holding the manor of Windsor Underoure, close to the walls of Windsor Castle.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, descending the river, the Priory of Ankerwyke lay on its left bank; and further on, the ancient mitred Abbey of Chertsey; while in the forest of Windsor, on the south, lay the less wealthy and recently abandoned Priory of Broomhall, a small convent of Benedictine nuns, whose support from the royal bounty has been mentioned in an early part of this history.<sup>3</sup>

The church of Windsor remained in the hands of Waltham

<sup>1</sup> See the Inventory of the original acknowledgments of the Royal Supremacy made by Religious Houses, temp. Hen. VIII, Seventh Report of the Deputy-keeper of Public Records, Appendix, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 89. In 1522 it was abandoned by the nuns (who were then only two in number), and became the property of St. John's College, Cambridge (See Lysons 'Magna Brit.' vol. i, p. 382.)

Abbey<sup>1</sup> until the dissolution of the monasteries, which took place in 1535.<sup>2</sup>

Mention has been already made of numerous obits founded in the parish church. The following obits were founded in the reign of Henry the Eighth. A deed of the second year of his reign declares the trust of a house and garden in "Pescod Street" to be for Agnes Wallflete, of New Windsor, widow, for life; and after her decease for Humfrey Aldens, shoemaker, of Eton, and Joan his wife, the daughter of Agnes Wallflete, and the heirs of her body; and in the event of her dying without issue, then for the keepers or masters of the brethren of the guild of the Holy Trinity of New Windsor, on condition that they established yearly, for ever, on the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, an obit, to the value of five shillings, for the souls of John Wallflete and Agnes his wife, and all the faithful departed; and in default, then to the dean and canons of St. George, on the same condition.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Hawtrell, of New Windsor, "kervor," by his will, dated 19th July, 1518, gave to Isabell his wife, his tenement in Pescod Street, on condition that she kept an obit or anniversary yearly, in the parish church, the day of his death, to the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*, "for the health of his Soule his father and mother's soules and all

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> In the 'Comput Ministrorum Domini Regis,' temp. Hen. VIII, the revenue derived from this part of the property of the abbey was—

"Firma maner' et rector' . . . . .	£17	0	0
Perquis' cur' . . . . .	0	13	5."

(Abstract of Roll, 32 Hen. VIII, Dugdale's 'Monasticon.')

The following entry is taken from the 'Liber Valorum' (see the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus,' vol. ii, p. 154):

	£	s.	d.
"New Windsoure vicar' p <sup>r</sup> ann' . . . . .	xv	iiij	iiij
x <sup>ma</sup> inde . . . . .	—	xxx	iiij."
	£	s.	d.
"Olde Windesoure vicar' p <sup>r</sup> ann' . . . . .	viiij	vj	viiij
x <sup>ma</sup> inde . . . . .	—	xvj	viiij."
	£	s.	d.
"Cluer Fceoria p <sup>r</sup> ann' clare valet . . . . .	xiiij	—	xj ob'
x <sup>ma</sup> inde . . . . .	—	xxviiij	j q'."

"vj.li. xiiij.s."

<sup>3</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 6*s.*



christen soules." After her death, the house was to go to his son, John Hawtrell, and his heirs, they keeping the obit yearly.

Andrew Symonds, *alias* Bereman, who was one of the chief burgesses of the town,<sup>1</sup> and, probably, from his second surname, a brewer, conveyed, in the sixteenth of Henry the Eighth, four houses and gardens, situate in Pescod Street, to Richard Passhe and James Galis, on behalf of the corporation.<sup>2</sup> The object of this conveyance is explained by the following deed made in the next year :

"This Ind're made the first day of Septemb' in the 17<sup>th</sup> yeare of Kg. Hen: the 8: Betweene Tho: Ryder Maior of new Wyndsor, Rich: Passhe and James Galis Masters or Wardens of the fraternity or B'hood of the blessyd trinite w<sup>th</sup> thone [the one] assent and agreement of all the Brethren and sisters of the same fraternity of the one p'tye and Andrew Symonds al' Bereman of new Wyndesor afores<sup>d</sup> yeoman of the other p'tye. Wittnesseth That where in tyme past wthin the p'ish chirch of new Wyndesor hath ben kept yerely on Trinite Sunday an obitt w<sup>th</sup> mass of requiem on the moro next follow<sup>e</sup> for the Sowles of all the Brethren and sisters of the Trinite brotherhood there, w<sup>ch</sup> tyme out of mynde hath bene usyd, the said Andrew for th' enlarging of the s<sup>d</sup> anniv'sary or obiit for more merytte to all the seyd sowls and for the well of all his good friends sowls hath gyven to the wardens of the s<sup>d</sup> fraternite or Brotherhood to the brothern and systers of the same frat'nite and to their successors for ev<sup>r</sup> a certeine tenem't in new Wyndsor next the Black Egyll ther to thyntent expessed in Brass sett on the wawl wthin the seid p'ish chirch one the left side of ye high aut there where the seid Andrew intendythe to bee buryed except<sup>s</sup> thereof the taper within the same specified whereof he cleerely dischargeth the seid Trinite Wardens and their successors ev<sup>r</sup> and the same tap p'petually to be found before th' image of th' assumpon of o' Lady there as more planely ensuing shal be declared. The seid Andrew hath also buildyd Tenem'teyes in Pescod strete and a well in the Kings heigh way ther to this entent ensuing That ys to wytt yt is agreed betweene the seid p'ties and the seid Maior Wardens and Brethren and Systers agree for them and their successors That the seid Wardens hereafter for tyme being shall cawse to be browght to the Trinite chapell wekely for ev<sup>r</sup> five hawlpenny lovys to be dealyd by the morrow mass prest there to 5 poore peopyll of the almise howsys

<sup>1</sup> Ash, MS., No. 1115, f. 40 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 1126, f. 66 b.

evy fryday for the seyd sowlys and for the sowlys of the seyd Andrew and Johan his wife Symond and Christian fadre and modre to the seyde Andrew The seyde Wardens to have for their labour evy of them yearly 4d. To the Vicar of Wyndesore or his deputye preying for the seyd sowlys in his Bedrowle yerely 4d: To the Chawntrey prest of Cluer and to an other honest prest whom the wardens for tyme being wyll assigne being at the seide obitt and mass evy of them 4d. The seyde Wardens to appoynte as many other p̄ests at the Trinite charge as they shall thinke most expedient The seyde Andrew agreeth also by these p̄sents that whosoev̄ shall in tyme to come enjoy his Inn called the Saracens hed shall keepe a Taper weigh<sup>6</sup> at lest 2<sup>l</sup> to bren yerely on festivall daies before the Image of o<sup>r</sup> Lady wher he lyeth buried in manner and forme as ye Trinite Wardens shuld do (?) expresse in the Brass above specified and they thereof to be cleerly discharged for ev̄more. The seyd Andrew granteth and agreeth by thes p̄sents yt whosoev̄ shall in tyme to cum enjoy his Brewhouse shall brynge yerely and truly se deliv̄ed at ye Trinite howse a dozen of good ale to be gyven to poor peopyll by the seyde Wardens or their sufficient deputy immediately after the seyd obitt ended and done. And shall also fynd a tap weying at lest 2 pound to bren at Clewer on festivall dayes before th<sup>r</sup>image of our Lady in the Lords (?) Isle there wher the modre of the seyde Andrew lyeth buried for ev̄more And if default be at any season in tyme to cum in findyng of the seyde taps or brynging of the seyd ale in manner and forme above expressed Then it shal be lefull to the Trinite wardens for tyme being and to their successors for ev̄ to enter into the seyde howses and evy of them where any defeaut touching the p̄mises shall happen to be and distreyne to the vallue of 6s. sterling and seeing the p̄mises takyng suche default if any be truly p̄formed to besto the residue of the same dystres as the same wardens thinke most expedient w<sup>th</sup> the advyse of Master Meyr and the more p̄te of the Brethren all w<sup>ch</sup> p̄mises Mr. Meyr and the Wardens above named wthon assent and agreem<sup>t</sup> of the Brethern and Systers of the seyde Fraternite have surely p̄mised and affirmed for them and their successors to be substantially p̄formed so long and as long as the seyd howses so newly buildyd be sufficient and able to beare the charges above expressed, the Maior and Wardens above named w<sup>th</sup> other of [on ?] the baksyde hereof writen then and ther p̄sent. Dated as above.”<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth Willis, widow, late wife of William Canon, of New Windsor, by her will dated the 6th of May, 1528, about a month

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126, f. 66 b, 67.

before her death, bequeathed her body to be buried in the Church of St. John the Baptist, of New Windsor, within the Lady Chapel, before the image of St. Anne, and by her husband, William Canon. After bequeathing 1*s.* 4*d.* to the high altar of St. John the Baptist "for lyghtes and oblations forgotten," and 1*s.* "to maintaine the lights of every Alter within the s<sup>d</sup> Church," the will thus proceeds: "Item I will to have the day of my corse p<sup>re</sup>sent and the day of my berying a Trentall of Massis. Itm I will to have a solemne dirige in my howse or I be borne to the church. It. I will to be given in almes in brede the day of my beryinge to pore people to the valour of 20*s.* It. I will to have an honest prest synging twelve months continent after my dep<sup>ar</sup>ting in the s<sup>d</sup> p<sup>ar</sup>ish Church of St. John Bapt<sup>t</sup> at o<sup>r</sup> Lady Awter for the sowlys of W<sup>m</sup> Canon and Eliz: his wife and all o<sup>r</sup> Children's Soules and all Crysten. And the s<sup>d</sup> preist shall weekly say e<sup>er</sup>y Munday mass of Requin, and e<sup>er</sup>y friday Masse of the 5 woundes of o<sup>r</sup> Lord, for the sowles before said (?) taking for his wages or sallery for the s<sup>d</sup> yere 10 m<sup>ar</sup>ks [marks]. It. I will to have at my months day a trentall of Massis to be done in the s<sup>d</sup> Church of new Wyndesor. It. I will to be given to the poore in bred at the s<sup>d</sup> moneths day the valo<sup>r</sup> of 20*s.*" She then gives the inn called the Ram, with seven acres and three roods of meadow in "Datchet meade," to Edmund Appowell, and Alice his wife, her daughter, and the heirs of their bodies, to the intent that they shall keep an obit, or anniversary, yearly, within the said parish church of Windsor, the same day of the month she should happen to die, or within four days after, to the value of £1 6*s.* 8*d.*, to be divided and distributed as she afterwards appoints, for the souls of William Canon and Elizabeth his wife, and all their children's and all Christian souls. And if they died without heirs, then the premises were devised to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of New Windsor, on their keeping the said obit. She also gave to the said Edmund Appowell, and Alice his wife, and their heirs, her messuage or farm, with all the lands, &c., lying and being at "Spekell" and in the common fields there, within the parish of New Windsor, upon condition that he should find "an honest priest" to sing twelve months within the said parish church of New Windsor, at Our Lady's Altar, for the souls before mentioned, taking for his sti-

pend ten marks, and that to be done "immediately after the first year of the s<sup>d</sup> other preist." The residue of her goods she gave to the said Edmund and Alice, to dispose of them for the health of her soul and all Christian souls.

Then follow "the p<sup>t</sup>icular p<sup>c</sup>ells that shal be ordained spent and paid yearly upon the obit of £1 6s. 8d. above written"—as under :

	s.	d.
"Inpr <sup>t</sup> at the dirige an <sup>t</sup> night in spice Cakes . . . . .	1	0
4 dozen of white bread . . . . .	4	0
chees 2 <sup>d</sup> 2 doz: of good ale . . . . .	3	0
to have at the dirige 8 prests and they to have for their labour ech of them when the Requin <sup>t</sup> mass is done	0	6
To 7: oth <sup>r</sup> prests to say Mass the day of requin <sup>t</sup> each . . . . .	0	4
To the pish Clerke for ring <sup>s</sup> the Bells and to sing at the said Obit . . . . .	0	8
To the bedman to go about the Towne with the Bell and to set up the herse . . . . .	0	4
To 2: oth <sup>r</sup> Clerkes to helpe sing at ye s <sup>d</sup> Obit . . . . .	0	4
to 8 poore children having surplus . . . . .	0	4
for 8 Taps [tapers] of wax burning about the herse and dirige and requin <sup>t</sup> masse . . . . .	0	8
for 4: doz: of bred to be divided among poore people when the Requin <sup>t</sup> masse is done . . . . .	4	0
to Mr. Vicar of this Towne or his deputy executin <sup>s</sup> the s <sup>d</sup> Obit and to se the pemises pformed . . . . .	1	8
Itm to Mr. Maior of this Towne or his deputy offering a penny at the s <sup>d</sup> Requin <sup>t</sup> Mass and to se the pemises pformed . . . . .	1	0
To the 2: Bailiffs for the tyme being offering ech of them 1d. at the s <sup>d</sup> requin <sup>t</sup> Masse and also to see the pemises pformed, each of them . . . . .	0	8
Sum . . . . .	1	6 8 <sup>1</sup>

William Thorpe, by will dated 4th July, 1537, appointed that, out of his lands and tenements in New Windsor, and three acres and a half in the parish of Clewer, an obit or anniversary should be kept in the parish church of Windsor yearly, on the day of the

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, "excerpted out of the large vellum Book of Inrolments."

month he should die, to the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*, for the health of his soul, his friends' and all Christian souls.<sup>1</sup>

On the 8th of November, thirty-fourth of Henry the Eighth, James Malleyt, one of the canons of the college of Windsor, delivered, by the hands of Symon Todde, clerk, to William Snoball, then mayor, Henry Bartlet and Robert Sadok, wardens of the fraternity of the Blessed Trinity, £1 13*s.* 4*d.*, to the intent that the said mayor and wardens, and successors, should keep and maintain, two years after his departure, an obit, with placebo and dirige and mass of requiem, by note, in the parish church of Windsor, after the manner and at the charges following :

" Inprimis the Viccar or Deputy for dirige and masse . . .	0	6
to the morrow mass prest . . .	0	4
to ye pish Clerke for sing <sup>r</sup> at the masse and ringing the bells at the same . . .	0	6
To anoth <sup>r</sup> Clerke to helpe to sing at the dirige and masse . . .	0	2
for the offering . . .	0	1
to the Sexton for to go about the Towne w <sup>th</sup> the bells to pray for the Soule and setting of the herse . . .	0	2
to be dealt to poore people in bread upon the morrow after Requie <sup>n</sup> mass is done . . .	3	10
to 2 Children to sing at Dirige and Mass . . .	0	1
to the Maior for the tyme being seeing the pemises done and offering the mass penny . . .	0	4
To the Trinity wardens for the tyme being serving the s <sup>d</sup> Obit kept once a yeaere at the day he dyed . . .	0	4
To the maintenance of the Church out of the afores <sup>d</sup> some . . .	6	8'

About the same time, Henry Smith, Thomas Benet, John Wellis, and William Billisden, conveyed to Katherine Long a tenement, situate and being in New Windsor, between a tenement late of Elizabeth Bowland, and a way called "Grope-cownt lane,"

<sup>1</sup> There was one charitable gift, in the thirtieth year of this king's reign, unconnected with religious rites. Margaret Oliver, of New Windsor, widow, by deed poll dated the 1st of May in that year, gave and granted to Robert Robynson and Cicely his wife, and the heirs of the former, a field in "Pukets lane," in trust after her death to pay weekly to the "almonsfolks" in the said lane, or other poor persons, the sum of one penny weekly, either in money or in bread or fagots. Upon default, the mayor and bailiffs were to enter upon and hold the property on the same trusts, and in default it was to revert to the right heirs of Margaret Oliver. (Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 67 *b.*)

and extending from "Fish-streete" to "Preste strete," and which tenement had been given to them by the said Elizabeth Bowland; and after the death of Katherine Long, to Henry Marshall and his heirs, and for want of issue, to Hugh, his brother, and to his heirs, upon condition they kept an obit in St. John the Baptist's Church yearly for ever, for the souls of Thomas Bowland and the said Elizabeth, and all the faithful deceased, to the value of 4s., to be divided as is appointed in the following schedule annexed :

"This is the extent of the Obits of Eliz: Bowland to be done wthin the pish Church of New Windsor of the pfts and Rents of the Ten'mt wthin specified and of the Ten'mt next adioyning unto the same to the value of 5s. whereof to be p<sup>d</sup> of the howse wthin written 4s. and the xij as residue to be p<sup>d</sup> out of the ten't next adioyn<sup>e</sup> as foll :

"first to the pish priest . . . . .	6d.
to ye 2 other priests . . . . .	8
to the Clarke for his dirige and to the bells for a pele at morrow mass anoth <sup>r</sup> at hy mass . . . . .	6d.
to the Belman 1d. in offering . . . . .	1d.
to the Churchwardens . . . . .	6
in bread to dele to poore people . . . . .	2s.
to the Maior his Brethren and the seid Wardens to drinke at wyne after the said mass is done of Requiem . . . . .	8d."

The following "order made in the Guildhall concerning the Lands of the Guild" may possibly relate to lands the trusts of which were void as contrary to the Mortmain and other acts. It at least illustrates the mode in which, subsequent to the Reformation, public trusts were converted to private purposes.

"M<sup>d</sup> the 28 day of Jan: in the 32<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reigne of Sovayne Lorde K<sup>e</sup> Henry the 8: by the seid Meyer Balys and Bretherne then and there p<sup>e</sup>sent it was agreed condecendyd and in-acted yt yf any lands or Ten'ts apperteyning or belonging to the Gwyld hawle of New Wyndesor, or to the Fraternity or bretherhode of the blyssyd Trinitie by deth or otherwyse to be voyde. That then the eldest Brother or Burges who hath borne the Rome or offyce of Maioraltye having no p<sup>le</sup> of the seyde lands to him before assigned, shall alwaies have the choys of such house or land when yt happynythe to be voyde to him and to his assignes during the terme of his nrall lyfe only, and the same lands and ten'ts afterward to remayne to

thother eldest Brother who hath occupyed the seid roome, and so successively. When evy of the seid Aldermen who have occupyed the seid Rome have his and their tourne, then evy other Broder w<sup>ch</sup> hath occupied the roome of Baly by seniority as he was elected shall have in like case such lands and tenements as the shall happen to fall in likewyse manner and forme and in like estate. and at the same tyme was granted to James Prynce being next senior to Mr. Symonds the Close of Medow that Xrofer Star late hylde to have and to hold the same and to hys assignes for terme of his lyff naturall, and so all and evy such psons w<sup>ch</sup> shall in tyme to come have any lands or ten'ts belonging to the Meyer Baylyes and Burgesses, or to ye Meyer Aldermen or Trinitie Wardens and by theye grawnt when yt shall happen to be voyde by dethe or other wyse, shall in noe wyse have hauld ne occupie the same in any other wyse manner ne forme but for the terme of lyff of the grante only. Provyded alwey that when every Alderman who hath occupied the rome of Meraltye hath his porcon as yt hath fawlyne.<sup>1</sup> Then yf any other porcon fawle voyde which the eldest Alderman hath more mynde to have then the lande to him before apporcioned, he then to surrender or relese the land or ten't w<sup>ch</sup> hetofore had and to have the same. And so in likewise the 2<sup>d</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Alderman and then the Senior Brother to have that is realeysyd and the Alderma<sup>n</sup> to have that is fallen voyde. And so successively, and if evy Alderman of the seyd (?) be content w<sup>th</sup> his porcon then to pceede successively in such wyse manner and forme as ys above expssed and this act and Statute to remaine for ever."<sup>2</sup>

The numerous obits in St. George's Chapel must have furnished employment for a number of priests.<sup>3</sup>

By the original statutes of the Order of the Garter, the sovereign, as soon as he received intelligence of the death of any knight companion, was required to celebrate a thousand masses for his soul; and all the other knights companions were obliged to contribute a proportionate number to the relief of the soul of their deceased fellow. "This course of celebrating these masses for defunct knights, was constantly observed," says Ashmole, "and so continued, until the 32d year of King Henry the Eighth; at which time, upon a motion made concerning those suffrages for the dead, in a chapter

<sup>1</sup> Fallen in.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126.

<sup>3</sup> See a list of some of them in Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 150.

held in his Palace at Westminster, on the 24th of May in the aforesaid year, this Decree passed. That every one of the knights companions, in lieu of the said masses, should for the future, after the death of any of their brethren, according to the rates of their degrees hereafter mentioned, and immediately upon demand made for the same, by the Register and Dean of Windsor, or one of them, pay the several sums of money here specified: the Sovereign £8 : 6 : 8; a Stranger King £6 : 8 : 4; the Prince £5 : 16 : 8; a Duke £5; a Marquess £3 : 16; an Earl £2 : 10; a Viscount £1 : 1 : 8; a Baron £1 : 13 : 4; a Batchelor Knight 16*s.* 8*d.* The monies collected upon this account (called obit monies) were by the aforesaid decree, appointed to be distributed and employed in Alms Deeds: of which sort are the reparation of High ways, the relief of the poor, and other things of like nature, as the sovereign should from time to time limit and appoint," &c.

"This charitable distribution, in a chapter held at Greenwich, the 24 of April, an. 5 E. 6. was enlarged to the relief and succour of the Poor, where most need was, in the Town of Windsor, and other Towns, Villages, and Places, at and by the discretion of the Dean of Windsor, he advising with some honest men, who could best give an account of such as were truly poor and indigent."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding that this decree was confirmed by Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, the collection of obit money was neglected until the reign of Charles the First, when it was revived, and the monies collected employed in providing plate for the altar in St. George's Chapel.<sup>2</sup>

Although the property and patronage of the dean and chapter were preserved to them, nevertheless the revenues of the college suffered from the abolition of shrines and superstitious offerings.

"The College," says Ashmole, "lost at least 1000 marks per annum, upon the Reformation of Religion, in the profit made by St. Anthony's Pigs, which the appropriation of the Hospital of St. Anthony's, London, had brought to it, and no less than £500 per

<sup>1</sup> 'Order of the Garter, pp. 625, 626.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 626, 627



annum, the offerings of Sir John Shorne's Shrine, at Northmarston in Buckinghamshire."<sup>1</sup>

With respect to Eton College, we find Robert Rede, of the town of Burnham, gentleman (who died on the 11th of May, 1515), giving certain lands to the college for the keeping open an annual mass for his soul and the soul of Merryell his wife.

About the same time, Dr. Roger Lupton, the provost, conveyed to the college his manor of Pyrton, in Hertfordshire, for the establishment of a chantry in the college chapel and the maintenance of

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 172. (See *ante*, pp. 377, 390.) The following abstract of the revenues of the college in 1535, taken from the 'Liber Valorum,' is printed in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus,' vol. ii, p. 153:

"DEANERY OF READING.

	£	s.	d.
"Ecclesia coll <sup>ta</sup> sive libra capella Sancti Georgii infra Cast' de Wyndsoure ex fundacone dñi Regis in temporalibus et sp <sup>ualibus</sup> p <sup>r</sup> ann' clare valet	Mecciiij <sup>xx</sup>	xvij	j q'
x <sup>ma</sup> inde	cxxxix	xiij	vij ob' q'
	De quibus.		
	£	s.	d.
"Porcō decani ib'm valet clare p <sup>r</sup> ann'	clviiij	vj	vj
Porcōnes sive p <sup>r</sup> petue pencōnes xij <sup>xxxx</sup> canonicorū ib'm quorū quilitt p <sup>r</sup> cepit annuatim l <i>j</i> . <i>li</i> . xxiij. <i>d</i> . attingunt in toto ad summam	vj <sup>x</sup> xiij	ij	—
Salaria octo canonicorū minorū vocat' petty cannons quorū quitit p <sup>r</sup> cepit annuatim xv. <i>li</i> . ij. <i>s</i> . vij. <i>d</i> . q' extendunt se in toto ad	cxxj	—	x
Salaria octo vicariorū ib'm quorū quitit p <sup>r</sup> cepit x. <i>li</i> . xv. <i>s</i> . xj. <i>d</i> . q' p <sup>r</sup> veniunt ad sum'	iiij <sup>xx</sup> xiij	vij	vj
Salaria octo capellanorū cantaristar vñt due earūdem ex fundacōe nup Regis Edwardi quarti utriq <sup>r</sup> eorū xiiij. <i>li</i> . vj. <i>s</i> . vij. <i>d</i> . alie due cantarie ib'm ex fundacōe Anne nup ducisse Exon' utriq <sup>r</sup> eorū x. <i>li</i> . xiiij. <i>s</i> . vij. <i>d</i> . quinta ex fundacōe dñi Hastings valet vij. <i>li</i> . xvj. <i>s</i> . iiij. <i>d</i> . sexta ex fundacōe Thome Pashe nup canonici ib'm valet vij. <i>li</i> . xv. <i>s</i> . iiij. <i>d</i> . septima ex fundacōe Joh'is Oxenbridg nup canonici ib'm valet x. <i>li</i> . xv. <i>s</i> . iiij. <i>d</i> . octava ac ultima ex fundacōe Joh'is Plumber nup virgebajuli ib'm valet vij. <i>li</i> . xvij. <i>s</i> . vij. <i>d</i> . in toto aspirant ad sumā	iiij <sup>xx</sup> xiij	xvij	iiij
Et remanet clare ultra porcōnes et salaria predict'	cccxxv	—	xiij q'."

The details of the endowment of the college are not given, because the original inquisition is lost, and the 'Liber Valorum' does not furnish the particulars.

a priest there. A licence was obtained from the king for this purpose, and a composition made for it between the Bishop of Lincoln and the colleges of Eton and King's.<sup>1</sup>

The college, also apparently at this time, made several purchases of houses in Eton, and of several pieces and parcels of land lying in and about the villages of Stoke, Burnham, Upton, Dorney, &c., the

<sup>1</sup> Huggett, MSS. Sloane, No. 4843, f. 97. "This provost likewise purchased lands in Farnham, Slough, Stoke, Upton, Cockfield in Burnham, and likewise lands in Windsor of the fee of the Abbot of Reading. But whether these purchases were made with his own or with the money of other pious persons I pretend not to say." (Ibid.)

"Anno 8 H. VIII. There were works carried on at College [Eton] and continued to Jan<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> anno 13 H. VIII. Probably it might be ye finishing the Tower over ye Gate leading into ye inner Cloyster, w<sup>ch</sup> is usually call'd Lupton's Tower, Roger Lupton LL.D. being Provost there at this time. This Provost built a Chantry on ye north side of the Chapel, next to ye vestiary, w<sup>ch</sup> is called to this Day Lupton's Chapel wherein he lies buried; but without Inscription, and a Chantry Priest was appointed to officiate there, as by an epitaph formerly in the chapel.

"Of your charity pray for the soul of S<sup>r</sup> Alexander Philippe, Chantrie priest for Dr. Lupton, w<sup>ch</sup> died on the 13<sup>th</sup> Decemb. an. D. 1558. whose soul God pardon."

"It is observable of this Provost that his exequies were perform'd here on a certain Day annually for some years before his death, as by this article: 'In exequiis Doctoris Lupton, tentis Jan. xi, ann. 27° 28° 29° H. VIII. 1536,' &c., whereas his death did not happen till 1540." (MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 188; see also ff. 201, 202.)

"1531. The Provost and College made over to the King the Hospital of St. James Westminster (where is now the Kings Palace) who gave them in exchange Bawdins Manor and the Rectory of Newington in Kent, Chattersham Rectory, Suffolk the Flache-Marsh, &c." (Huggett, MS. Sloane, No. 4843, f. 95, citing Rymer's 'Fœdera,' vol. xiv, pp. 426, 505.)

The following are the "titles of licences" from Henry the Eighth, "impowering Persons to give and ye College to receive Lands, &c., notwithstanding the Act of Mortmain, viz.,

"An<sup>o</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> H. VIII. Licence for persons to give, and the College to receive Lands to yearly value of xx*l*.

"An. iij<sup>o</sup> H. VIII. Licence for ye College to receive Lands in Dorney, Boreney, Penne, Wycomb, and Burnham.

"An. xx<sup>o</sup> H. VIII. Licence to ye College for receiving Lands to the yearly value of x*l* *l*.

"An<sup>o</sup> — H. VIII. Licence to ye College to receive Lands, &c., to ye yearly value of xx*l*. Specialiter de manerio de Pyrton Com. Hertf (ex dono Rog. Lupton Præpositi).

"Lands and Rectories w<sup>ch</sup> the College received of the king in exchange for the Hospital of St. James's Westminster.

"An<sup>o</sup> 1525—1527. Provost Lupton's Letters to the Visitor, declaring the impossibility of filling the 10 Fellowships and reciting the Visitors appointment of a visitation: together with the Dates of former Visitations.

"An<sup>o</sup> 1545. Survey of the state of the College by the King's Commissioners with its Income and Disbursements." (Huggett, MS. Sloane, No. 4843, f. 8; see also f. 95.)

property of — Blackwell, “the which seemingly were bought at an under price, it being part of the agreement that Blackwell should be prayed for by the college post mortem.” Lands in New Windsor also were given by pious persons in consideration that the college should find mass priests for the celebration of their annual obits.<sup>1</sup>

By the statute 27 Hen. VIII, c. 42, Eton College, together with Winchester and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were exempted from the payment of first fruits and tenths of spiritual benefices, granted by parliament to the king in the previous year. The exempting statute, after reciting the former act (26 Hen. VIII, c. 3), thus proceeds :

“The Kynges mooste Riall Magestie hath mooste graciously and of his mooste excellent Goodnes and dyvyne Charitie, with the fervent Zele whiche his Majestie hath conceived and bearith as well pryncipalle to the advauncement of the syncere and pure doctrine of Goddes worde and Holy Testament, as to thincrease of the Knowlege in the seven liberall sciences and the thre tonges of laten greeke and hebrewre to be by his people applied and larned, Considerid that if his Highnes shulde use his right in his Unyversities of Oxforde and Cambridge or in the College of our Ladye in Eton besydes Wyndesore or Saynt Marie College of Wynchestre besides Wynchestre, where yowth and good wyttes be educate and norysshed in vertue and larnyng, and of the Studentes or Ministers whiche be or shal be in the same or any of the same, receiave suche first frutes and tenthes as his Majestie by the said acte is lafully intytelyd unto, the same shuld percaas discourage mannye of his subjectes whiche be both apte and wylling to applye theym selves to larnyng, and cause theym by reason of the tenuytie of lyvyng to withdrawe and gyve their myndes to suche other thynges and fantacies as shulde neyther be acceptable to God ne profittable for his publike welthe; His Majestye of his mooste aboundaunt and speciall grace, havynge conceived suche hartie love and tender affection to the contynuaunce and augmentacion of all honeste and vertuose larnyng artes and sciences, wherewith it hath pleased Almyghtye God so aboundauntely to endowe His Hignes as in Knowlege and wysdam he farre excellith any of his mooste noble progenytours, as his Grace cannot in enny wyse compare the same to annye Lawe Acte Constitution or Statute ne tollerate or suffer any suche ordynaunce, thowgh the comoditie and benefice therof shulde never so highly redounde to

<sup>1</sup> Huggett, Sloane MS., No. 4843, f. 97.

his profute or pleasure, as myght by annye meane hynder thadvancement and setting fourth of the lyvely worde of God wherewith his people muste be fedd noureshid and instructed, or impeache the knowledge of suche other good letters as in x̄poned Realmes be expedyent to be lerned for the conservacion of their good pollices and the breadyng of discrete and prudent personnages to serve and administre in his comen welth, hath as well for avoydyng of thoccasion of these inconveniences as for the revyvyng and quickenng of the courage of Studentes to thentent they shulde the more joyously and gladlye bende theire wittis and holye gyve theym selves to thattaynyng of larnyng and knowledge pryncipalle and before all other thynges in and of the holsome doctrine of Almyghtye God, and after of the vij artes liberall, and the said thre tonges whiche be requisite and necessarie not onely for the understanding of Scripture, but also for the conservacion and mayntenaunce of pollicie and comen justice, thought convenient for ever by the auctoritie of this his Highe Courte of parliament to discharge acqute and exonerate as well the said Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge as the said Colleges of oure Ladye in Eaton besides Wyndesore and Saynt Marie College of Wynchestre besydes Wynchestre and everye of theym frome the payment of ennye suche firste frutes and tenth aforesaid."

After declaring them exempt accordingly, the statute provides that, in consideration thereof, each university shall maintain a lecturer, to be called "King Henry the eight his lecture;" and that two masses shall be kept yearly in the universities and two colleges. The latter provision is made in these terms:

"And for a further perpetuall memoriall, and leste suche inestimable goodness and bounteous gyfte by his Majestie at this tyme declared to his Universities and Collegies aforesaid shuld be had in oblyvyon, Be it enacted by the auctoritie aforesaid that as well the Chauncellours of the Universities aforesaid or ther Deputes Masters and Scolers and their Successours and the Successours of every of theym, within the Church of Saynt Marie in eyther of the said Universities, and the forsaid Provostes of oure Ladye College in Eaton besides Wyndesore with the Felawes Scolers and other Ministers in their Collegiate Church, and the said Wardeyne of Saynt Marie College of Wynchester besides Wynchester with the Felawes Scolers and Ministers in their Collegiate Church, and their Successours and the Successours of every of theym, shall yerely kepe severallye in every of the said Universities and Colleges two masses to be there solempnely songe, wherof one

shal be of the Holye Trynyte the viij daye of Maye and the other of tholye Gooste the eight day of October than next ensuyng, for the preservacion of the Kynges Highnes and the mooste excellent Prynces Quene Anne his wyfe, and the right noble Princes Elizabeth daughter of our said Sovereigne Lorde and of the said Quene Anne duryng their lyves; and after the decease of our said Sovereigne Lorde shall yerely kepe for ever in the daies above rehersed two solempne annyversaries that is to saie dyrge over nyght and masse of requiem in the next morowe, in as devote fourme and manor as is devised and ordeyned for the annyversarie and obite of the mooste excellent Prynce of famous memory Kyng Henry the vij<sup>th</sup> ffather to oure saide Sovereigne Lord."

For "accomplishment" of this, the statute required that the heads of houses, graduates, and fellows should take an oath to see the premises carried out.

In the thirty-seventh year of this reign, Roger Bradshaw, the king's attorney, with Robert Drury, George Wright, and Hugh Fuller, Esqrs., came to Eton College, and took an inventory of the plate, &c.

"The Plate came to . . .	2295 oz.
The Ornaments valued at . . .	£312 13s. 4d." <sup>1</sup>

We must now proceed to narrate the judicial murders perpetrated in this reign at Windsor upon the martyrs Pearson, Testwood, and Filmer. We shall do so for the most part in the words of John Foxe, who, in his 'Acts and Monuments,' gives a full account of the whole proceedings against "these good Saints of Windsor," "according," as he says, "to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the truth thereof."

It is necessary to observe that these proceedings arose out of the statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. 14, known by the name of the Six Articles, passed at the instance of Gardiner Bishop of Winchester. That prelate had superseded Cromwell's influence with the brutal king, who once more became the persecutor of the Church Reformers. The statute imposed the penalty of death by burning or hanging

<sup>1</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4840, f. 185.

on all who denied, among other things, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the expediency of masses, and the necessity of auricular confession.

Entitling his narrative 'The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsore men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck,'<sup>1</sup> Foxe proceeds to detail "the original of Robert Testwood's trouble."

"In the yere of our Lord 1544, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in musicke had so great a name that the musitians in Windsor Colledge thought him a worthy man to have a roome among them. Whereupon they enformed Doctor Sampson (beeing then their Deane) of him. But forsomuch as some of the Canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning (as they called it) it would not be consented unto at the first. Notwithstanding, with oftensute of the foresaid Musitians, made to one Doctor Tate (who, being half a musitian himselfe, bare a great stroke in such matters) a roome being voyd, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there foure or five dayes among the Quire men, hee was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in Windsor, with his houshold, and had in good estimation with the deane and canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talke at their tables (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he leaned to Luthers sect, they began to mislike him. And so passing forth among them, it was his chance one day to be at diinner with one of the Canons, named Doctor Rawson. At the which dinner, among all other, was one of King Edwards 4 Chantrie Priests, named Master Ely, an old Bachelor of Divinitie. Which Ely in his talke at the boord began to raile against Lay men, which took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but

<sup>1</sup> In a subsequent paragraph, Foxe gives the following list of "persons persecuted at Windsor, A.D. 1543 :"—"Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer (called Finmore in the first edition), Anthony Peerson, John Marbeck, Robert Bennet, Sir Philip Hobby and his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine and his wife, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon; Snowball and his wife, of the king's chamber; and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

"Persecutors; Master Ely, Simons a lawyer, Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then secretary to the king, and afterwards lord chancellor; Southarne, treasurer of Exeter; Dr. Bruerwood, chancellor of Exeter; Master Knight, Winchester's gentleman; Dr. Oking; Dr. Capon, bishop of Sarum; Sir William Essex, kt.; Sir Thomas Bridges, kt.; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklin, dean of Windsor; Master Fachel, of Reading; Bucklayer, the king's attorney; Filmer's brother; Hide, a Jurate dwelling beside Abingdon; Robert Ocham, a lawyer."

the English tongue) than they which had beene Students in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the daies of their lives."

A discussion then ensued between Testwood and Ely, in which the question of the Pope's supremacy was involved.

"When they were both well stricken in a heate, Testwood forgetting himselfe, chanced to say, that every king, in his owne realme and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ: at the which words Ely was so chafed, that hee rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretique, and all that nought was; and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there. Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously: Whereupon, after dinner, he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have beene at one again: but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to other that walked by, 'Beware of this fellow! for he is the greatest heretique and schismaticke that ever came in Windsor.'"

The matter began to be talked about. Ely complained "to the deane's deputie and other of the canons" who took part against Testwood. Within "twelve days after," however, "the kings supremacy passed in the parliament house," and thereupon Dr. Sampson, the dean, came home suddenly late in the night, "and forthwith sent his Verger about to all the canons, and ministers of the Colledge, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the Chapter-house by eight of the clock in the morning." Ely immediately consulted with the canons, intending to "put Testwood to a great plunge," but in the morning, when all were assembled in the chapter-house, the dean proceeded, "contrary to every man's expectation," to inveigh against the Bishop of Rome's authority, "and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament house, the pope's supremacie was utterly abolished out of this realme of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Bishop of Rome, and whatsoever hee were that would not so doe, or did from that day forth maintaine or favour his cause by any manner of meanes, he should not onely lose the benefit of that house, but be

reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the king. The Canons, hearing this, were all stricken in a dump. Yet notwithstanding, Ely's heart was so great, that he would faine have uttered his cankered stomacke against Testwood ; but the Deane (breaking his tale) called him old foole, and tooke him up so sharpely, that hee was faine to hold his peace. Then the Deane commanded all the pope's pardons which hanged about the church, to be brought into the Chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burned before all their faces ; and so departed."

Foxe then proceeds to relate "another cause of Testwood's trouble:"

"As it chanced Testwood one day to walke in the church<sup>1</sup> at afternoone, and beheld the pilgrims, specially of Devonshire and Cornewall, how they came in by plumps, with candles and images of waxe in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatrie committed, and how vainely the people had spent their goods in comming so farre to kisse a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads ; insomuch, that hee could not refraine, but (seeing a certaine companie which had done their offering stand gazing about the church) went unto them, and with all gentlenesse began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumbe creatures, and to learne to worship the true living God aright," &c. "Then he went further and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised in a wall behinde the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when hee saw them so superstitiously use the Image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had bin great vertue in touching the picture, he up with his hand, in the which he had a key, and smote a piece of the border about the image, downe, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to breake off the images nose. 'Lo, good people' (quoth he) 'you see what it is, nothing but earth and dust, and cannot helpe it selfe, and how then will you have it to helpe you ? For God's sake, Brethren, be no more deceived.' And so he gat him home to his house, for the rumor was so great, that many came to see the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one William Simons a Lawyer, who seeing the Image so beraied, and to lacke her nose, tooke the matter grievously, and looking downe upon the pavement, he spied the Images nose where

<sup>1</sup> St. George's Chapel.



it lay, which he tooke up and put in his purse, saying it should be a deare nose to Testwood one day.

"Now were many offended with Testwood, the Canons for speaking against their profit, the Waxsellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the Images nose. And more than that, there were of the Canons men that threatened to kill him. Whereupon Testwood kept his house, and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his wife, to Master Cromwell the kings secretarie, who was his speciall friend. The Canons hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwel, they sent the Verger unto him, to will him to come to the church; who sent them word againe that he was in feare of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest Petie Canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harme. He made them a plaine answer, That he had no such trust in their promises, but would complaine to his friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell, but sent in post hast for old Master Ward, a justice of peace dwelling three or foure miles off, who beeing come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithstanding through their entreatie he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuaide him, but at the last he did so faithfully promise him, by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harmes, that Testwood was content to go with him.

"And when Master Ward and Testwood were come into the church, and were going toward the chapter house, where the canons abode their comming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter house, causing the serving-men to bee called in, and sharpely rebuked of their masters, who strictly commanded them upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evill word. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter house with the Canons and Master Ward, was gently entreated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and doe his dutie as he had done before."

A "Third Cause of Robert Testwood's trouble" was this :

"Upon a Relique Sunday (as they named it) when every minister after their old custome should have borne a relique in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood. Which relique, as they sayd, was a Rotchet of Bishop Becketts. And as the Sexton would have put the Rotchet in Testwoods hands, he pushed it from him, saying, if

he did give it to him, he would wipe his taile withall, and so the rotchet was given to another. Then came ye verger down from the high altar with S. Georges dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relique. Mary quoth Testwood, give it to M. Hake who stood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in Master Hakes hand, and being merrily disposed (as he was a merry conceited man) stepped forth out of his place to Doctor Clifton standing directly before him in the midst of the quire, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the Pixe in his hand, and says, 'Sir, Master Hake hath Saint Georges Dagger. Now if hee had his horse and Saint Martins Cloake, and Master John Shorns bootes, with king Henries spurs, and his hat, hee might ride where he would,' and so stepped into his place againe. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say."

A "Fourth Cause of Robert Testwood's trouble" arose thus:

"In the dayes of Master Franklen, who succeeded Doctor Sampson in the Deaury of Windsore, there was on a time set up at the quire doore, a certaine foolish printed paper in meeter, all to the praise and commendation of our Ladie, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sinnes, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the Canons called Master Magnus (as it was reported) caused to bee set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he pluckt it downe secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood comming into the church and seeing another paper set up, and also the Deane comming a little way off, made haste to be at the quire dore, while the Deane staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, pluckt away the paper with him. The Dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and sayd, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take downe the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended with that he had don, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man made no more adoe with him. After this were no more papers set up, but poore Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meale, and an heretike hee was, and would rost a fagot for this geare one day.

"Now Master Magnus being sore offended with Testwood for plucking downe his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the Deane and the rest of the Canons, to send their letters to D. Chamber, one

of their brethren, and the kings phisition, who lay, for the most part, at the Court, to see what he would doe against Testwood. Which letters beeing made, were sent with speed. But whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for feare of Cromwell, or what else I cannot tell, their sute came to none effect. Then wist they not what to doe, but determined to let the matter sleepe, till Saint Georges feast, which was not far off.

"Now in the meane time there chanced a pretty storie, betweene one Robert Philips Gentleman of the kings chappell, and Testwood. Which Storie, though it was but a merry pranke of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this. Robert Philips was so notable a singing man (wherein he gloried) that wheresoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counterverses in it, should bee set up at his comming. And so his chance being now to be at Windsore, against his comming to the Antheme, a long song was set up, called *Lauda vivi*. In which song there was one counter-verse toward the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix et salvatrix*: Which verse of all other, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that dittie. Now Testwood knowing his mind well enough, joyned with him on the other part: and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with *O redemptrix et salvatrix*, repeating the same one in another's necke, Testwood was as quicke on the other side to answer him againe with *Non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*, and so striving there with *O* and *Non*, who should have the masterie, they made an end of the verse. Whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips with other of Testwoods enemies were sore offended.

"Within foureteene dayes after this, the Lords of the Garter (as their custome is yearly to doe) came to Windsore to keepe Saint Georges feast, at which feast the Duke of Norfolke was president; unto whom the Deane and Canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood. Who being called before the Duke, he shooke him up and all to reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet neverthelesse Testwood so behaved himselfe to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the Deane and Canons."

Foxe then proceeds with "the original of Henry Filmer's trouble," as follows:

"About the yeare of our Lord, 1541, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put downe, there chanced one Syr Tho. Melster, which had beene a Frier before, and

changed his Friars coat (but not his Friars heart) to be Vicar of Windore. This priest on a time made a Sermon to his parishioners, in the which hee declared so manie fond and frierish tales, as that our Ladie should hold out her breasts to saint Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like Festivall tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Henry Filmer then one of the Church Wardens; who was so zealous to Gods word, that he could not abide to heare the glorie of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him heartie thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reforme himselfe without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

“Now was there one in the towne, called William Simons a Lawyer (as is aforesayd) who hearing that Filmer had beene with the priest, and reproved him for his Sermon, tooke pepper in the nose, and got him to the Vicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise hee had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons: who meeting with Filmer afterward, all to reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the Bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and sayd, that the Vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and so would hee say to the Bishop whensoever hee came before him. Then Simons slipt not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signified with their own hands in the priests favour, as much as could be devised, and so departed himselfe with other his friends to goe to the bishop (whose name was doctour Capon) and to take the Priest with them; which was a painefull journey for the sillie poore man, by reason hee had a sore legge.

“Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foyle, consulted with his friends what was best to doe; who concluded to draw out certaine notes of the Vicars sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons or before him, if it might bee possible. Thus both the parties being in a readinesse, it chanced them to set forth of Windsor all in one day. But by reason the priest, being an impotent man, could not indure to ride very fast, Filmer and his companie got to the towne an houre and more before Simons, went to the bishop and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill when the bishop had seene and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, it did behooove him to looke upon it, for the priest had preached heresie, and should bee punished.

“Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the forme of his talke he

had with the priest, and the end therof; and how the matter, being renewed againe by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. Well, sayd the bishop, ye have done like honest men. Come to me soone againe, and ye shall know more, and so they departed from the bishop to their Inne. And while they were there reposing themselves, Simons with his companie came to the towne, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the Bishop in all post-haste, taking the priest with them.

"The Bishop, hearing of more Windsore men, demanded what they were, and beeing informed how it was the Vicar of the towne with other moe, hee caused the Vicar to bee brought in. To whom hee sayd, are you the Vicar of Windsore; yea forsooth, my Lord, quoth he. How chanceth it quoth the Bishop that you are complayned on? for there have beene with me certaine honest men of your town, which have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you, and opening the bill he read it unto him. How say you, quoth the bishop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not denie it, but humbly submitted himselfe to the bishops correction. Then was his companie called in, and when the Bishop saw Simons hee knew him well, and sayd, Wherefore come yee Master Simons? Pleaseth it your Lordship, quoth he, we are come to speake in our Vicars cause, which is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his dutie so well in every point, that no man can finde fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town called Filmer, which is so corrupt with heresie, that he is able to poyson a whole countrey: and truly my L. quoth Simons, there is no man that can preach or teach anything that is good and godly, but hee is readie to controll it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship hee may be punished, to the ensample of other, that our Vicar may doe his dutie quietly, as hee hath done before this busie fellow troubled him. And that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the town, and beside all that, a testimoniall from the Maior and his brethren to confirme the same, and so he held out the writing in his hand. Then sayd the bishop, so God helpe mee Master Simons, yee are greatly to blame, and most worthy to bee punished of all men, that will so impudently goe about to maintaine your priest in his errour, which hath preached heresie and hath confessed it; wherefore I may not nor will not see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer on whom ye have complayned, I tell you plainly hee hath in this point shewed himselfe a great deale more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more beare out your Vicar in his evill doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before

al his parishioners in Windsor church ; and so the Bishop called in Filmer and his companie which waited without, and delivered the priests recantation unto them ; with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop and departed with a flea in his care, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foyle. For this cause Simons could never brooke Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was where hee ought displeasure) and say, 'I will be even with you one day, trust me.'

"The original of Anthony Pierson's (or Person's) trouble" is thus told :

"There was a certaine priest, named Anthonie Person, which frequented much to Windsor, about the yeare of our Lord 1540, and using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which hee made both in the towne and countrey, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the towne, specially Simons, were sore offended : insomuch that Simons at the last began to gather of his Sermons, and to marke his auditors ; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a yeare and more after, a minister of Satan called Doctour London, warden of the new Colledge in Oxford, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of Windsore, who, at his first comming to Windsore, began to utter his stomach and to shew his affection. For at his first residence dinner which he made to the Clerks (which companie for the most part at that time favoured the Gospell) all his whole talke to two Gentlemen strangers at his boord (till the table was taking up) was nothing else but of heretikes, and what a desolation they would bring the realme unto, if they might be so suffered. And by Saint Marie masters (quoth he to the Clerkes at last) I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house. Some made answer, it was undeserved. 'I pray God it be,' quoth he. 'I am but a stranger and have but small experience amongst you ; but I have heard it sayd before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting.'

"Then spake Testwood. 'By my troth sir,' quoth he, 'I thinke that was spoken of malice : for prayer as your mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us.' 'Yea marie sir,' quoth he, 'but the heretikes will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers doe allow.' 'What the old fathers doe allow,' quoth Testwood, 'I cannot tell ; but Christ doth appoint us to goe to his Father, and to aske our petitions of him in Christs name.'

'Then you will have no meane betweene you and God,' quoth Doctor London. 'Yes sir,' quoth Testwood, 'our meane is Christ, as saint Paul sayth, There is one mediator betweene God and man, even Jesus Christ.' 'Give us water,' quoth Doctour London. Which being set on the boord, he sayd Grace and washed, and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the Clerkes tooke their leave and departed.

"When Doctor London had bene in Windsore awhile among his Catholike brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons (who shewed him our Ladies nose, as he called it) what a sort of heretikes were in the town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughtie priest called Anth. Person, he was so maliciously bent against them, y<sup>t</sup> he gave himself wholly to the divell to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, hee conspired with the foresayd Simons, a meet Clerke to serve such a Curat, and other of like sort, how they might compasse the matter, first to have all the arch heretikes as they termed them, in Windsore and thereabout, indicted of heresie, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First they drew out certain notes of Anthony Persons sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the Altar and their popish Masse. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby with the good Lady his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine, Master Edmund Harman, M. Th. Weldon, with Snowball and his wife, as chiefe aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anth. Person. Also they noted D. Hains, deane of Exceter, and a prebendarie of Windsore, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Anth. Persons sermons, and of al such as had the testament, and favoured the Gospell, or did but smell thereof.

"Then had they privy spies to walke up and downe the church, to hearken and heare what men said, and to marke who did not reverence the sacrament at the elevation time, and to bring his name to doctor London. And of these spies some were Chantry Priests; among the which there was one notable spie, whose name was called sir William Bowes, such a fleeing priest as would bee in every corner of the church pattering to himselfe, with his portuise in his hand, to heare and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, doctor London, with two of his catholike brethren moe, gave them up to the B. of Winchester, Ste. Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretikes that were in Windsore, declaring unto him how the towne was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evill example.

Wherefore they besought his Lordships helpe, in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop hearing their complaint, and seeing their booke, praised their doings, and bad them make friends and goe forward, and they should not lacke his helpe. Then they applied the matter with tooth and naile, sparing for no money nor paines taking, as Marbecke saith that hee himselfe heard one of them say, who was a great doer therein, and afterward sorie for that he had done, that the sute thereof cost him that yeare, for his part onely an hundred marks, beside the death of three good Geldings.

"Now Bishop Gardiner, which had conceived a further fetch in his braine then doctor London had, made Wrisley and other of the Counsell on his side, and spying a time convenient went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretiks his grace had in his realme, and how they were not onely crept into every corner of his Court, but even into his privy chamber, beseeching therefore his majesty that his lawes might bee prosecuted: the king, giving credit to the counsell's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the Bishop that hee desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privy search to bee had in Windsore for books and letters that Anth. Person should send abroad, which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the Castle."

"Master Ward and Fachel, of Reading," were appointed commissioners, and "came to Windsore the Thursday before Palme Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord 1543, and began their search about xi of the clocke at night. In the which search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbecke and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the sixe Articles, and kept in warde till Munday after, and then fetcht up to the Counsell, all save Testwood, with whom the Baylifes of the town were charged, because hee lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, beeing examined before the Counsell, were committed to prison, Filmer and Benet to the bishop of Londons Gaole, and Marbecke to the Marshalse." <sup>1</sup>

Marbeck underwent five several examinations: the first before the Council; the second before the Bishop of Winchester's (Gardiner) gentleman in the Marshalsea; the third before the bishop himself, in his house at St. Mary Overy's; the fourth before the commissioners, in the Bishop of London's house; and the fifth before

<sup>1</sup> Sir Philip Hobby (called by Foxe Sir William Hobby) and Dr. Heynes, Dean of Exeter, were apprehended about the same time and sent to the Fleet; "but it was not very long after, ere that, by the mediation of friends, they were both delivered."



“Dr. Oking, and Master Knight, secretary to the Bishop of Winchester, in St. Mary Overy’s Church.”

The principal subject-matter of the examinations was “a great work in English,” begun by Marbeck, called ‘The Concordance of the Bible,’ “which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the Counsell.”

Marbeck’s wife, leaving a child three months old, travelled up from Windsor to London, to ascertain what had become of her husband, and traced him to the Marshalsea prison, where he was kept in irons. Being at first refused admission, she made intercession with Bishop Gardiner, and at length succeeded in not only obtaining an interview with her husband, but “was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.”

“In like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husband’s trouble to be onely procured of malice by Simons, his old enemy, made great sute and labour unto the bishops which were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodnesse to examine her husband before them, and to heare him make his purgation. This was her onely request to every of the bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them. Insomuch that two of the bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very sorie (considering the importune and reasonable sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to helpe her. Thus travelling long up and downe from one to another to have her husband examined, it was her chance at the last to finde the bishops all three together in the bishop of Ely his place: unto whom shee said, ‘O good my Lords, for the love of God, let now my poore husband bee brought forth before you, while you be here all together. For truly my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envie and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you my Lord of Salisburie,’ quoth the poore woman, ‘can testifie (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice Simons bare to my husband when they were both before you at Salisburie (little more than a yeere ago) for the Vicar of Windsor’s matter. For as your Lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified you of the Priests sermon, which you said was plaine heresie, then came Simons (after the priest him selfe had confessed it) and would have defended the Priests error before your Lordship, and have had my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my husband for his honestie, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the Priest in his error, and thereupon commanded the priest to recant his heresie, at his

comming home to Windsore. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lord,' quoth the woman, 'it is most certaine, that for this cause onely did Simons evermore afterward threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore good my Lords, call my husband before you, and heare him speake; and if you finde any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death.' 'Is this so my Lord?' quoth the Bishops of Ely, and Hereford; and the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latine to the Bishop of Salisbury, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought betwene doctor London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the Commissioners to be examined."

The historian then proceeds to narrate "the manner of their condemnations, and how they died."

"When the time drew nigh that the kings Majestie (who was newly married to that good and vertuous lady Katharine Parre) should make his progresse abroad, the foresaid Stephen Gardener Bishop of Winchester had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did. Wherewith the Gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked everie houre to be clapt in the necke. For the saying went abroad, that the Bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head Deere. But in the mean time three or foure of the poore rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthonie Person, Henrie Filmer, and John Marbecke, and sent to Windsor by the Sherifes men, the Saturday before Saint James day, and laid fast in the townes Gaole; and Testwood (who had kept his bed) brought out of his house upon crutches, and layd with them. But as for Benet (which should have beene the fifth man) his chance was to be sicke of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behinde in the Bishop of Londons Gaole, whereby he escaped the fire.

"Now these men being brought to Windsore, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday following, which was Saint Annes day. Against the which sessions (by the counsell of Doctor London and Symons) were all the farmers belonging to the Colledge of Windsor, warned to appeare, because they could not picke out Papists enow in the towne to go upon the Juric. The Judges that day were these: Doctor Capon, Bishop of Salisbury. Sir William Essex Knight. Sir Thomas Bridges, Knight. Sir Humfrey Foster, Knight. M. Franklin, Dean of Windsor. And Fachel, of Reading.

"When these had taken their places and the prisoners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockham, occupying for that day the Clerke

of the Peace his roome, called Anthonie Person, according to the manner of the Court, and read his Indictment, which was this :

"First, That he should preach two yeares before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, That like as Christ was hanged betweene two Theeves, even so when the Priest is at Masse, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth betweene two theeves, except hee preach the Word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

"Also that he said to the people in the Pulpit, Yee shall not eate the body of Christ, as it did hang upon the Crosse, knowing it with your teeth, that the bloud runne about your lips ; but you shall eat him this day as yee eate him to morrow, the next day, and everie day ; for it refresheth not the body but the soule.

"Also, after hee had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the Word of God, he sayd as followeth. This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

"Also he said, That Christ sitting with his Disciples, tooke bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying 'Take and eate, this is my body.' What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people ?

"To this, Anthonie answered and said, 'I will be tried by God and his holy Word, and by the true Church of Christ, whether this be heresie or no, whereof yee have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the Bishop of Rome and his filthie traditions, I was never troubled ; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his Gospell, yee have alwaies sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soule.' 'Thou callest us théeves,' quoth the Bishop. 'I say,' quoth Anthonie, 'yee are not onely théeves, but murtherers, except yee preach and teach the Word of God purely and sincerely to the People, which yee do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisie, for your owne lucre and glories sake, through the which yee are become rather Bitesheepes, than true Bishops, biting and devouring the poore sheepe of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood ; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not.' Then spake Symons his accuser, standing within the barre, saying ; 'It is pittie this fellow had not beene burnt long ago, as he deserved.' 'In faith,' quoth Anthonie, 'if you had as you deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I : but I trust, in the last day when we shall both appeare before the tribunall seate of Christ, that then it will be knowne which of us two hath best deserved this place.' 'Shall I have so long a day ?' quoth Simons, holding up his finger. 'Nay then I care not ;' and so the matter was jested out.

"Then was Testwood called and his indictment read, which was that he should say in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament; 'What wilt thou lift up so high? what yet higher? take heed, let him not fall.'

"To this, Testwood answered, saying it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. 'Yes' (quoth the bishop) 'thou hast beene seene, that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldest thou looke downe upon thy booke or some other way, because thou wouldest not abide to looke upon the blessed Sacrament.' 'I beseech you my Lord,' quoth Testwood, 'whereon did he looke that marked me so well?' 'Mary,' quoth Bucklayer the kings attorney, 'hee could not bee better occupied, than to marke such heretikes that so despised the blessed sacrament.'

"Then Filmer was called and his Inditement read; that he should say that 'the sacrament of the Altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremonie;' and also, 'if God be in the sacrament of the Altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my daies.'

"Heere you must understand, that these words were gathered of certaine communication which should be betweene Filmer, and his brother. The tale went thus.

"This Henry Filmer comming upon a Sunday from Clewer his parish Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his brother (which was a very poore labouring man) and asked him whither he went. 'To the church,' said he. 'And what to do?' quoth Filmer. 'To do,' quoth he, 'as other men do.' 'Nay,' quoth Filmer, 'you go to heare Masse, and to see your God.' 'What if I do so,' quoth he. 'If that bee God (should Filmer say) I have eaten twenty gods in my daies. Turne againe, foole, and goe home with me, and I will reade thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or heare there.'

"This tale was no sooner brought to doctor London (by William Symons, Filmers utter enemy) but he sent for the poore man home to his house, where he cherished him with meate and mony, telling him he should never lacke so long as he lived; that the silly poore man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Doctor London, was content to doe and say whatsoever hee and Symons would have him say or doe against his owne brother. And when Doctor London had thus wonne the poore man, he retained him as one of his household men, untill the Court day was come, and then sent him up to witnesse this foresaid tale against his brother. Which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, That Doctor London, for a little meate and drinke sake, had set him on and made him say what his pleasure was; 'wherefore my Lord (quoth Filmer to the bishop) I beseech your Lordship waie the matter

indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this towne, that can or will testifie with him, that ever he heard any such talke betweene him and me; and if hee can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die.' But say what he could it would not prevaile.

"Then Filmer seeing no remedie but that his brothers accusation should take his place, he said, 'Ah brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this unkindnesse? I have alwaies been a naturall brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time as thou thy selfe knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindnesse? God forgive it thee my brother, and give thee grace to repent.' Then Filmer looked over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the booke of Statutes. His wife beeing at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the booke of statutes, ran downe to the keeper, and brought up the booke, and gate it conveyed to her husband.

"The Bishop, seeing the booke in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that booke, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should goe to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper; 'Like enough (my Lord)' quoth Simons, 'for he is one of the same sort, and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served.' But who-soever it was the truth would not bee known, and so the bishop sate him downe againe.

"Then said Filmer, 'O my Lord, I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawfull witnesses, and here is but one, which would not doe as hee doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies.' Nay, quoth Buckler the kings attorney, thine heresie is so hainous, and abhoreth thine owne brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses.

"Thus (as you see) was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Doctor London, who had incited that wretched cattife his brother, to be their minister to worke his confusion. But God, which is a just revenger of all falsehood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next yeare following, he being taken up for a labourer to goe to Bulleine, had not been there three daies, ere that a Gunne toke him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Saloman fulfilled; '*A false witness shall not remaine unpunished.*'

"Then was Marbecke called, and his inditement read, which was

that he should say ; that the holy inasse, when the Priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinfull and open robbery of the glory of God, from the which a Christian heart ought both to abhor, and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of the setting up of images of the Calves in the Temple builded by Jeroboam ; and that it is more abomination than the sacrifices done by the Jewes in Jeroboams temple to those Calves. And that certaine and sure it is that Christ himselfe is made in the Masse mans laughing stocke.

“ To this he answered and said, That these words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvine, and drawne out of a certain Epistle which the said Calvine had made, which Epistle he had but only written out, and that long before the six Articles came forth ; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the kings generall pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

“ Then was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of Windsor, wherof few or none had ever seene those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partiall) desired to have the townesmen, or such as did know them, and had seene their daily conversations, in the place of the Farmers, or else to be equally joyned with them : but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseene and determined.

“ Now when the Jurie had taken their Oath and all, Buclayer the kings Attorney began to speak ; and first he alledged many reasons against Anthonie Person, to prove him an heretique. Which when Anthonie would have disproved, the Bishop sayd ; Let him alone sir, he speaketh for the king : and so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making everie mans cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and sayd what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foster spake to the Quest in the favor of Marbeck on this wise ; ‘ Masters’ quoth he, ‘ you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poore man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain things of other mens sayings, with his owne hand, whereof he is discharged by the kings generall Pardon ; therefore yee ought to have a conscience therein.’ Then start up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, ‘ What can we tell whether they were written before the pardon or after ? They may as well be written since as afore, for anything that wee know.’ These words of Fachel (as everie man said) were the cause of Marbeckes casting that day.

“ Then went the Jurie up to the Chamber over the place where the Judges sate, and in the meane time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, saving the Bishop, Sir William Essex, and Fachel, which

three sate still upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had beene together above in the chamber about the space of a quarter of an houre, up goeth Symons (of his owne braine) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while; and came downe againe. After that came one of the Jurie downe to the Bishop, and talked with him and the other twaine a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of Marbecke. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up againe, ere that they came downe to give their verdict; and being required according to the forme of the law to say their mindes, one called Hide dwelling beside Abington in a Lordship belonging to the Colledge of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said they were all guiltie.

"Then the Judges beholding the prisoners a good while (some with waterie eyes) made courtesie who should give judgment. Fachel requiring the Bishop to do it, he said he might not. The other also being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, It must be done, one must do it, and if no man will, then will I. And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgement. Then Marbeck, beeing the last upon whom sentence was given, cried to the Bishop, saying, 'Ah my Lord, you told mee otherwise when I was before you and the other two Bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellowes; and is your saying come to this? Ah my Lord, you have deceived mee.' Then the Bishop, casting up his hand, said hee could not do withall.

"Now the prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments and of his free mercy and goodnesse (without their deserts) for his promise sake, receive their soules. Thus lay they all the night long till very dead sleepe tooke them, calling to God for his ayd and strength, and praying for their persecuters which of blind zeale and ignorance had done they wist not what, that God of his mercifull goodnesse would forgive them, and turne their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessid and holy word: yea such heavenly talke was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the prison without, wherof the sherife himselve was one, with divers Gentlemen moc, were constrained to shed out plentie of tears as they themselves confessed.

"On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to goe to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this, the Bishop of Sarum,

and they among them had sent a Letter by one of the Sherifes Gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the Court being then at Oking) in the favour of Marbecke. At the sight of which letter the bishop straightway went to the king and obtained his pardon.

"Which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sherifes discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who with speed returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the partie) bringing good newes to the towne, of Marbeckes pardon; whereat many rejoyced."

"The Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should goe to execution, came into the prison two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called Doctor Blithe,<sup>1</sup> and the other Master Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors: Master Arch asked them if they would be confest, and they sayd, yea. Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament. Yea, sayd they, with all our hearts. I am glad, quoth Arch, to heare you say so, but the Law is, quoth hee, that it may not bee ministred to any that are condemned of heresie. But it is enough for you that ye doe desire it. And so he had them up to the Hall to heare their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Doctor Blith took Anthonie Person to him to confesse, and Master Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went betweene the Doctour and Anthonie, he tarried not long with him, but came downe again, saying, He would no more of his doctrine. 'Do you call him doctor Blith,' quoth Anthony? 'Hee may bee called doctor Blind for his learning, as farre as I see.' And soone after the other two came downe also. Then Anthonie, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lords prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Marbecke (their prison fellow) they prayd God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godlinesse and vertue, and last of all besought him heartily to helpe them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

"Now as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithfull people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospell, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them; And ever as doct. Blith and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) would persuade

<sup>1</sup> James Blyth, installed Canon of Windsor in the place of Christopher Plummer, deprived by attainder for refusing the Oath of Succession, 25th of August, 1536, and had other dignities; and dying in 1546, he was buried in St. George's Chapel. (Wood's 'Fasti Oxoniensis,' ed. Bliss.)



them to turne to their mother holy church; 'away' would Anthony cry, 'away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it.' When Filmer was come to his brothers dore, he stayed and called for his brother, but he could not be seen, for D. London had kept him out of sight ye same day for the nonce.

"And when hee had called for him three or foure times, and saw hee came not, hee sayd, 'And will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man.' And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthonie Person with a cheerefull countenance embraced the poste in his armes, and kissing it, sayde, 'Now welcome mine owne sweet wife; for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.'

"And beeing all three bound to the post, a certaine young man of Filmers acquaintance brought him a pot of drinke, asking if he would drink. 'Yea,' quoth Filmer, 'I thanke you.' And now my brother, quoth he, I shal desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, which you have received; and so taking the pot at his hand asked his brother Anthonie, if he would drinke. Yea brother Filmer, quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

"And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. Of which drinking their adversaries made a jesting stocke, reporting abroad that they were all drunke, and wist not what they said; whereas they were none otherwise drunke than as the Apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared; for when Anthonie and Testwood had both drunken, and given the pot from them, Filmer, rejoycing in the Lord, said, 'Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God, for after this sharpe breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdome of Christ our Lord and redeemer.' At the which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. And Anthonie Person, pulling the straw unto him, layd a good deale thereof upon the top of his head, saying, 'This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true souldier of Christ, by whose merits only, I trust this day to enter into his joy.' And so yekled they up their soules to the Father of Heaven, in the faith of his deare son Jesus Christ, with such humilitie and stedfastnes, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the editions of Foxe contain curious woodcuts of the execution and other incidents connected with the trial of the Windsor martyrs. In Jackson and Chatto's 'Treatise on Wood-Engraving,' 1839, it is said, speaking of Foxe's 'Martyrs'—"This

The notorious "Vicar of Bray" was, it appears, present at this shocking spectacle. Fuller, speaking of Bray, says: "The vivacious vicar hercof, living under King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, was first a Papist, then a Protestant, then a Papist, then a Protestant again. He had seen some martyrs burnt (two miles off) at Windsor, and found this fire too hot for his tender temper. This vicar being taxed by one for being a turncoat and an inconstant changeling—'Not so,' said he, 'for I always kept my principle, which is this, to live and die the Vicar of Bray.' Such many now-a-days, who though they cannot turn the wind will turn their mills, and set them so, that wheresoever it bloweth their grist shall certainly be grinded."<sup>1</sup>

With respect to Marbeck's pardon, various conjectures were made.

"Some sayd it was by the sute of the good sherife sir William Barrington, and sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen more that favoured Marbecke, to the bishop of Sarum, and the other commisioners, that the letter was sent. Some sayd againe that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachels first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other thought again that it was a policy purposed afore, by the Bishop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of Doctour London, because they should seeme to be mercifull. Which conjecture rose upon this occasion. There was one Sadock dwelling in the town which was great with Doctor London and Simons; and hee should say foure dayes before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbecke should have his pardon."

Other persons thought that the pardon was granted to Marbeck in the hope that he would be thereby induced to implicate other suspected parties.

Marbeck continued in the choir of St. George's Chapel, and in

work contains a considerable number of woodcuts, all undoubtedly designed and engraved in England. Two of the best are Henry the Eighth, attended by his council, giving his sanction to the publication of the Bible in English, with the mark 1 F, and a view of Windsor Castle, with the mark M. D. Both these cuts are in the second volume of the edition of 1576."

<sup>1</sup> 'Worthies,' vol. i, p. 113, edit. 1840.

1550 he published his 'Concordance of the Bible,'<sup>1</sup> and a musical work, entitled 'The Book of Common Prayer noted.' In the course of a long dedication of the 'Concordance' to Edward the Sixth, he describes himself as "destitute bothe of learnyng and eloquence, yea, and suche a one as in maner never tasted the swetnes of learned Letters, but altogether brought up in your highnes Colledge at Wyndesore in the study of musike and playyng on organs, wherin I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life."<sup>2</sup>

About the same time he applied at Oxford for the degree of Bachelor of Music, but whether he was admitted does not appear.<sup>3</sup>

He subsequently published several other religious works, and supplied Fox with the materials for the history of the preceding transactions at Windsor.

<sup>1</sup> 'A Concordance, that is to saie a worke wherein by the ordre of the Letters of the A. B. C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible so often as it is there expressed or meneioned. Anno MDL.' (Folio, printed by Grafton.)

<sup>2</sup> In describing how the idea of the work originated in his seeing a Latin Concordance, he says—"Beyng desirous for the profite of many, to have the same in Englishe, I began to practise diuerse and sundery waies, blottynge a greate nombre of queres of paper, before I could bryng it into ordre, howbeit, trustyng that the beginnyng was the hardest, as after it proved, I continued my labours, and wrote the whole worke in sentences, so that not onely the reader might finde any woorde that he desired, but also the whole sentence that it was written in, whiche made a greate and a houghe volume: And as I had almoste finished the same, my chaunce among others was, at Windsore to bee taken in the labirynth and troublesome net of a lawe, called the Statute of vj articles, where, by the meanes of good workkers for my dispatche, I was quickly condenpued, and Judged to death, for the copyng out of a worke, made by the greate clerke Master John Calvin, written against the same sixe articles, and this my concordance was not one of the least matters, that then thei alleged, to aggravate the cause of my trouble: but the same tyme was my greate worke, emong other, taken from me and utterly lost, whiche (beside my labor) I had spent no small tyme in. But the livyng lorde, who brought Daniell out of the lake of Lions, and sent the Prophete Abacuek to beare hym foode, moved the harte of the noble and famous prince, your highnes father, to graunte me his moste gracious pardon, whiche I enjoyed and was set at libertie. After, havynge suche an earnest desire for the furtheraunce of this good worke, that I was never in quiet, till the same were doen, I began again therewith," &c.

<sup>3</sup> See Wood's 'Fasti Oxoniensis,' sub anno 1550. The following order appears among the "Injunctions newly given by the kinges ma<sup>ty</sup>: Commissioners," dated the 26th of October, 4 Edw. VI (A.D. 1550), "for reformation of certayn abuses:"—"And whereas we understand that John Merbeck and George Thaxton, hath of your graunt, ffees appointed them severally for playing upon Organs. We take ordre that the sayd John and George shall enjoy their severall offices during their Lyves, if they continue in that Colledge, in as large and ample maner as if organ playing had still continued in the Church." (Ash. MS., No. 1123, f. 38 b—41 b.)

His son, Roger Marbeck or Merbeck, was educated in the study of physic, and became a canon of Christ Church, provost of Oriel, and the chief physician of Queen Elizabeth, and died in London in 1605.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Bennet, who was left in the Bishop of London's prison, as already mentioned, subsequently obtained his liberation in the following manner :

"This Bennet and Symons (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and companie keepers that were in all Windsor, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of religion, wherein they could never agree. For Bennet, the one lawyer, was an earnest gospeller, and Simons, the other lawyer, a cankered papist ; but in all other worldly matters they cleaved together like burrees.

"This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round God, for the which he was as farre in as the best, and had suffered death with the other if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisburie, that Robert Ockham, on the Monday after the men were burnt, should go to the bishop of Winchester, with the whole processe done at the sessions the Thursday before.

"Then Symons, at Bennet's wife's request, procured the bishop of Salisburie his favourable letter to the Bishop of Winchester, for Bennet's deliverance, which letter Bennet's wife (forsomuch as her owne man was not at home which should have gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockham to deliver to the bishop and to bring her word againe ; who said he would."

One of Queen Catharine Parr's men, however, named Fulk, who was at Windsor during the whole transaction, finding out that a number of persons were privily indicted, got away to the court at Guildford before Ockham, and disclosed the scheme to Sir Thomas Carden. The result was, that Ockham was himself arrested, and Bennet's man, who was sent after Ockham, returned to Windsor with a discharge for his master, "procured by certain of the privy chamber." Upon Ockham's despatches being searched, it was found that certain members of the privy chamber, and other officers of the king, and their wives, were indicted by force of the Six Articles as aiders and maintainers of Anthony Peerson : viz., "Sir

<sup>1</sup> Wood's 'Fasti Oxoniensis,' sub anno 1574.

Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, with both their ladies, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife." The king pardoned them all, as well as a number of others indicted for heresy.

"And as God would have the matter further knowne unto his majestie, as he rode one day a hunting in Gilford parke, and saw the Sherife with Syr Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebackes together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his laws were executed at Windsor: Then they beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainely that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his graces authoritie, that went so much against their consciences, as the death of these men did, and up and told his grace so pitifull a tale of the casting away of these poore men, that the king turning his horse head to depart from them, sayd, 'Alas poore Innocents.'

"After this the king withdrew his favor from the bishop of Winchester, and beeing more and more informed of the conspiracie of Doctor London and Simons, he commanded certaine of his Counsell to search out the ground thereof.

"Whereupon doctor London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the Counsell, and examined upon their oath of allegiance. And for denying their mischievous and traiterous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to weare papers in Windsor; and Ockham to stand upon the pillerie in the town of Newberie where he was borne.

"The Judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsore, Reading, and Newbery, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse tailes, and so to stand upon the pillerie in every of these townes, for false accusation of the fore named Martyrs, and for Perjury."<sup>1</sup>

It is remarkable that there is no entry in the corporation accounts of the period connected with the shocking execution above described. Foxe's narrative, however, receives some confirmation from these accounts, in the identity of the names occurring in them with those inhabitants of Windsor mentioned by Foxe.

William Symonds or Simons, and Robert Bennet, were undoubtedly lawyers of Windsor, and we find repeated mention of the names of Sadock, Snowball, and Ockham, as inhabitants of the town.

<sup>1</sup> Foxe.

Andrew Symonds, probably a kinsman of the lawyer, has been already mentioned as a brewer in the town. In a speech made at the Guildhall on the 4th of May, in the twenty-eighth year of this reign, he is called "Andrew Symonds, otherwise Bereman, one of the cheyff and head Burgesses of the Towne of Wyndesor."<sup>1</sup>

The only items of note, however, in the corporation accounts for the year 34 and 35 Hen. VIII are :

- "Itm. payd and delyv'd to John Pury to paye Master  
Warde for Wyndesor Underhower . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d."  
"It. the Costs of the Swyns was this yer iij.s. and for  
that was solde a swane for iij.s. by John Tylle"  
"Recayv'd of this yer Master Benet for iij quarters rent  
of the Bryge and to hym also for the Mylle . . . iij.li. vj.s. viij.d."  
"It. delyv'd to Richard Gallys the kyngs collector for  
the fyrst yer payment of ye subsyde . . . . . xliij.s."

35 and 36 Hen. VIII :

- "It. delyv'd to ye seyd Meyr in elle grotts (?) . . . . . xj.s.  
the weche was solde to John Keyne for . . . . . viij.s."  
"It. payd to Thomas Stacy for xxx lodys of Tymber  
provydyd for the bryge . . . . . vj.li. xv.s.  
It. payd to Jemes prynce and Thomas Stacy for tylls  
for ye gylde awle . . . . . x.s.  
It. the chargys downe one the gylde awle this yer as  
in ye carpenter tylling and dawbyng . . . vj.li. xix.s. viij.d."

36 and 37 Hen. VIII :<sup>2</sup>

- "It. payd to Mr. Warde for Wyndesor Underhower the  
v of Octobre before thys accompte in full pay-  
ment of lxxvj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. of all hys lands  
and tents there . . . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d."  
"Wherof Mr. Mayre payde to Xrofer Custe the xxix<sup>th</sup>  
day of January for iij kylderkyngs of bere and  
the vessells sent furthe to Portsmouth . . . viij.s. iiij.d."

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1115, f. 40 b.

<sup>2</sup> With reference to a payment in this year's accounts of 3s. 4d. "to James Prince and Tho: Stacy being chamberers for their fee," Ashmole makes the following remark :—"Ere yre before by the name of Rent Gatherers of the Guildhall, nor doe I observe any allowance for such officers before 29th Hen. 8, and then it is made to Math: Gwyne and John Pury, for gather<sup>e</sup> Rents and se<sup>e</sup> repa<sup>e</sup>cons done."

also payd the seyd day to Mathewe Gwyne for himself  
 and John Tyle for vj dosen of brede vj.s. and  
 ij.s. for Shearyge (?) reward . viij.s.  
 also payd the seyd day to Rychard Gallys and Andrewe  
 Alley Baylyffs for the quit rent of the water  
 dewe at Mychelmas last past . xxx.s.  
 Itm payd the last day of ffebruarye to Rychard Gallys  
 collecto<sup>r</sup> of the fyrst paym<sup>t</sup> of the subsidye  
 granted in a<sup>o</sup> xxxviij<sup>mo</sup> R Henr<sup>i</sup> viij<sup>mo</sup> . xx.s.  
 M<sup>d</sup> resevyd of the Trynytie Wardens towards the  
 repacons of the myll in Underowre . iiij.li."

37 and 38 Hen. VIII: <sup>1</sup>

"It. payd to Mr. Mayo<sup>r</sup> for the charge of the buck  
 eatyng and for the foteman's rewarde . xxxv.s. vj.d."

The "account of George Tudwey, collector of the rents in  
 Underower," is added, and the following items occur in it:

"It. resevyd of George Tudwey for the hole yeres rent  
 there . vij.li. xv.s. vj.d.  
 It. payd therof to the Kyngs Mat<sup>ie</sup> for the hole yeres  
 rent . vj.li. xix.s. xj.d."  
 "It. Mr. Mayre payd to Thomas Bunby Smythe owt  
 of the same money for the yron worke of the  
 myll thys yere . v.s."

By his will, dated 30th November, 1546, Henry gave directions  
 respecting his burial, and also for the endowment of St. George's  
 College.

The following is the part of the will relating to these directions,  
 together with the introductory matter, or preamble, which goes far  
 to show that Henry had never earnestly embraced or cared for the  
 doctrines of the Reformed Church for their own sake, and that his  
 zeal was, in fact, as is now generally admitted by all who examine  
 the question, the result of his lust, and merely adopted as a means  
 for its gratification.

"In the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgine our  
 Lady Saint Marie, and all the holy companie of Heaven. We Henry,

<sup>1</sup> This account is styled the "Account of Mathew Gwyn kep<sup>r</sup> of the bridge," and  
 "The Account of Mathew Gwyu and Henry Bartlett, Chamberlains."

by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth immediately under God the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, of that nomme the eighth; calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almightye God given unto us in this transytory life, we give unto him our most humble and lowlie thanks, acknowledging ourselves insuffycient in euerie parte to deserve or recompence the same; but feare that wee have not worthlie received the same. And considering furthermore with ourselves that wee be as is all mankind mortall, and borne in synne, believing nevertheless and hoping that every Christian creature living heerc in this transytory and wretched world under God, and dying in stedfast and perfect faith, indeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his lifetime (if he have leisure) such good deeds and charytable workes as Scripture commandeth, and as maic be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's passion to be saved and to attaine eternal life, of which number we verilie trust by his grace to be one: and that euerie creature, the more high he is in estate, honour, rule, and authoritie in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thanke God, and the more diligentlie to endeavour himselfe to doe good and charitable workes, to the laud, honour, and praise of Almightye God, and the profit of his soule: We also calling to our remembrance the dignitie, state, honour, rule, and governaunce, that Almightye God hath promoted us unto in this world, and that neyther wee nor any other mortall creature knoweth the time, nor place, when nor where it shall please Almightye God to calle him out of this transitory world, Willing therefore and minding, by God's grace, before our passage out of this world, to disposc, give, ordaine, our last mind [and] will, and to lament in that sort as we trust shall be acceptable to Almightye God, our onlie Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the holie companie of Heaven, and the due satisfaction of God's brethren in earth, now being of wholle and perfect minde, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, renouncing and abhorring alsoe our olde and detestable life, and being in perfecte mind and will by his grace never to returne to the same nor such like, and minding by God's grace never to varie therefrom, as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth or maie remaine within this mortal bodie, most humblic and hartelic doe commend and bequeath our soule to Almightye God, who in persone of the Sonne redeemed the same with his most pretious bodie and blood in time of his passion, and, for our better remembrance thereof, hath lefte heere with us in his church militant the consecration and administration of his pretious bodie and blood, to our no litle consolation and comforte, if we as thankfullie accept the same as he lovinglie and undeservedly on our behalf hath ordained it for our



only benefitte and not for his: Also, we doe instantlie desire and require the blessed Virgine Marie his mother, with all the holy companie of Heaven, continually to pray for us and with us while we live in this world, and in time of passing out of the same, that we maie the sooner obtayne eternall life after our departure out of this transitory life, which we doe both hope and claime by Christs passion and word. And as for my bodie, which when the soule is departed shall then remaine but as a dead carcase, and soe returne to the vild matter that it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignitie which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be an infringer of worldly policies and customes when they be not contrarie to God's lawes, we would be content to have it buryed in any place accustomed for Christian folks were it never soe vild, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall returne againe; nevertheless, because we would be loath in the reputation of the people to doe injury to the dignitie which we are unworthlie called unto, we are content, and also by these presents, our Last Will and Testament, doe will and ordaine, that our bodie be buried and enterred in the quire of our College of Winsor, midway between the halls and the high altar; and there to be made and set, as soon as convenientlie maie be donne after our descease, by our executors, at our costs and charges (if it be not donne by us in our lifetime), an honourable tombe for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therfore already, with a fair grate about it, in which we will alsoe the bones of our true and loving wife Queene Jane be put alsoe, and that there be provided, ordained, made, and sette, at the costs and charges of us, or by our executors (if it be not donne in our lifetime), a convenyent aulter, honorable prepared and aparelled with all manner of things requisite and necessarie for dailie masses there to be said perpetually as long as the world shall indure: Alsoe we will the tombes and aultars of King Henry the Sixth, and alsoe of King Edward the Fourth, our great unkle and grandfather, be made more princelie, in the same places where theie now be, at our charges. And alsoe we will and spetially desire and require that where and whensoever it shall please God to call us out of this transitory world to his infynite mercie and grace, be it beyond the seas or in any other place without the realme of England, or within the same, that our executors, soe soone as convenientlie theie maie, shall cause all devine service accustomed for dead folkes to be celebrated for us in the next proper place where it shall fortune us to depart out of this transytorie life; and over that we will, that whensoever and wheresoever it shall please God to call us out of this transytory life, to his infinite mercie and grace, be it within this realme or without, that our executors, in as goodlie, briefe, and convenyent haste as thaie can or maie order, pre-

pare, or cause our bodie to be removed, conveyed, or brought into the said collodge of Winsor, and the service of Placebo and Dirige, with a sermon and mass, on the morrowe, at our costs and charges, devoutlie to be donne, observed, and kepte solemnelie, there to be buryed and enterred in the place appointed for our said tomb to be made for the same intent, and all this to be donne in as devout wise as it can or maie be donne. And we will and charge our executors, that thaie dispose and give in alms to the most poore and needie people that maie be found, (common beggars as much as may be avoided), in as short space as possible theie may after our departure out of this transitorie life, 1000 marks of lawfull monce of England, parte in the same place and thereabouts where it shall please God to call us to his mercie, partly in the way, and parte in the same place of our burial, after their discretions. And to move the poor people that shall have our almes to praie heartilie unto God for the remission of our offences and the welth of our soule, also we will, with as convenient speed as maie be donne after our departure out of this world, if it be not donne in our life time, that the Deane and Channons of our free chappell of Saint George, within our castle of Winsor, shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotions, to the yearlie value of £600 over all charges, made sure to them and their successors for ever, uppon these conditions hereafter ensuing. And, for the due accompyshment and performance of all other things conteyned with the same, in the form of an indenture, signed with our own hand, shall be passed, by waie of covenants for that purpose, between the said Deanne and Channons, and our executors (if it pass not between us and the said Deane and Channons in our life), that is to say, the said Deane and Channons and their successors for ever, shall finde two priests to saie masses at the said aulter, to be made where we have appointed our tombe to be made and stand, and also after our decease keepe yearlie foure sollemne obits for us within the said Collodge of Winsor, and at eurie of the said obits to cause a solemn sermon to be made, and also at every of the said obits to give to poore people an alms of £10; and also to give for ever yearlie for ever to 13 poore men, which shall be called Poore Knights, to everie of them 12*d.* by daie; and once in the yeare, yearlie for ever, a long gowne of white cloth, with the Garter uppon the brest imbrothered, with a shield and crosse of Saint George within the Garter, and a mantle of red cloth; and to such a one of the 13 Poore Knights as shall be appointed governor and head of them £3 6*s.* 8*d.* for ever yearly, over and above the said 12*d.* by the daie: And also to cause everie Sondaie in the yeare for ever a sermon to be made at Winsor aforesaid, as in the said indenture and covenants shal be more fullie and particulerlic expressed; willing, charging and requiring our sonne

Prince Edward, all our executors and counsellors which shal be named hereafter, and all our heires and successors which shall be kings of this realme, as theie wil answeare before Almightye God at the dreadfull daie of judgement, that theie and everie<sup>d</sup> of them doe see the said indenture and assurement to be made between us and the said Deane and Channons, or between them and our said executors, and all things therein, maie be duly put in execution, observed, and kept for ever perpetuallie, according to this our last will and testament."

Henry died at Westminster on the 28th of January, 1547, and was buried at Windsor on the 16th of February, with great solemnity,<sup>1</sup> after lying in state at Whitehall.

"On the 14th of February, about Ten in the morning, the kings body set forward towards Windsor in a stately chariot, his effigies lying upon the coffin with the true imperial crown on the head, and under it a night-cap of black sattin, set full of precious stones; and appareled with robes of crimson velvet, furred with minever, powdered with ermine, the collar of the Garter, with the order of St. George, about the neck; a crimson satin doublet embroidered with gold, two bracelets of gold about the wrists, set with stones and pearl, a fair armoury sword by his side, the sceptre in the right hand, the ball in the left, a pair of scarlet hose, crimson velvet shoes, gloves on the hands, and several diamond rings on the fingers; drawn by eight great horses, trapped with black, adorned with escutcheons, and a shaffedon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour carrying a bannerol of the king's arms.

"Thus with an exceeding great Train of Four Miles in Length, the Body was conducted to Syon, where it was receiv'd at the Church Door, by the Bishops of London, Bristol, and Gloucester, who perform'd Dirige that night, and next morning: The corps being brought into the Church, was placed in a Herse like that at Whitehall, but the Effigies was conveyed into the Vestry.

"The next morning about six of the clock, after the third sound of the trumpets, the whole company (the Marquis of Dorset being chief mourner) proceeded for Windsor, and brought the corpse to the Castle College gate, about one of the clock;<sup>2</sup> from which place to the west door of the church, a large way was railed on both sides, and hung round with black cloth and escutcheons; the church and choir being

<sup>1</sup> Stow's 'Annals.'

<sup>2</sup> When the corpse arrived at the "bridge foot" at Windsor, "the mayor and most substantial men stood on the one side, and on the other the priests and clarks; and by them the corps passed through to the castle-gate," &c. (See the narrative printed in Strype's 'Ecclesiastical Memorials,' vol. ii, part 2, referred to in the note in the next page.)

likewise hung round with black. The Bishops of Winchester, London, and Ely, in their pontificals, with the subdean of the kings chapel, and the singing men of the same, and the Dean of Windsor, with the canons and the whole choir, received the corpse at the aforesaid place ;” whence, “after censuring and such like ceremonies, it was carried into the church, the singing men of the king’s chapel on the right hand, and they of Windsor on the left, preceding it. Thus the effigy was first conveyed into the choir by divers knights and gentlemen ; and then the coffin by sixteen yeomen with black staves in their hands, was brought into a hearse, made in the midst of the choir, under which was provided a goodly vault to bury the corpse in, over which was laid a grate, whereon stood the said hearse with the coffin and picture. This hearse was like that at Whitehall, only it consisted of Thirteen great Pillars, and weighed by estimation 4000 lbs., having about it twelve banners of descent. Thus the usual ceremonies being performed, the body remained there that night.

“Wednesday being the 16th of February about four of the clock, began the communion of the Trinity, performed by the sub-dean of Windsor and the sub-dean of the kings chapel ;” where “after an offering of gold by the chief mourner, of the knights of the Garter to St. George, and of the kings hatchments, bannerols and banners, and other trophies, as also of the kings horse richly trapped, came four gentlemen ushers, and took away the pall of cloth of tissue (the picture being conveyed away before by six knights into the vestry) ; after which, sixteen strong yeomen of the guard took the coffin and with five strong linen towels, which they had for their fees, let it into the vault (near unto the body of Queen Jane Seymour, his third wife), the grate being first taken away ; then the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Great Master, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, and the Sergeant Porter breaking their white staves upon their heads in three parts, as did likewise all the gentlemen ushers, threw them into the grave, when Garter, assisted by the Bishops of Canterbury and Durham, declared the state and the name of the most godly prince their master, King Edward VI. Thus the funeral ending, the trumpet sounded in the rood-loft, and the company departed.”<sup>1</sup>

The following entry is added to the corporation accounts of the last year of the king’s reign :

<sup>1</sup> Sandford’s ‘Genealogical History,’ pp. 493, 494. A much more detailed narrative is printed in Strype’s ‘Ecclesiastical Memorials,’ vol. ii, part 2, giving many very curious particulars. In the Harl. MSS., No. 1419, art. 22, there is a list of “Ornamentes remaynyng within the Kinges Honour and Castell of Windsor: appointed for the obsequy of Kinge Henrye th’ Eight.”

"payd to Mr. Mayor the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Marche for the  
 makyng clene of the Stretyts agenst the  
 Kyngs ma<sup>tie</sup> was buryed . . . . . xliij.s. iiij.d." <sup>1</sup>

We find, from a contemporary narrative, that order was made "for the clearing and mending of all the high ways between Westminster and Windsor, whereas the corps should pas; and the noisome boughs cut down of every side the way, for prejudicing of the standards, banners, and bannerols. And where the ways were narrow there were edges opened on either side, so as the footmen might have free passage, without tarrying or disturbing of their orders." <sup>2</sup>

The king's tomb was never completed. "The details," says Mr. Poynter, "which have been preserved concerning the tomb of Henry VIII describe a composition of luxuriant taste and extraordinary magnificence, and as the patron of Holbein and Torreggiano would have entrusted its execution to no mean hand, and Italy might well have spared out of the abundance of her riches at this time artists superior to either, the cause, whatever it might be, which prevented its completion, has perhaps deprived England of a great work of art. The sculpture, which was to be of gilt metal throughout, would have presented a mixture of chivalry and religion which the locality could scarcely fail to suggest. The whole was to have been inclosed within a grate, which was certainly so far advanced that the gates were cast if not erected." <sup>3</sup>

Wolsey, whose magnificence, observes Mr. Poynter, trod on the heels of his royal master's, also began a stately tomb at Windsor, in the chapel erected by Henry the Seventh, of which he had obtained a grant from the king, and which is consequently known as "Wolsey's tomb house." If this monument was not intended to rival that of the sovereign, it was to surpass that of Henry the

<sup>1</sup> Two additional items are also added, unconnected with the above :

"to Wylm Gallys for a box for the charters . . . . . vj.d.  
 It. to Wylm Gallys for burnyng of unholosome ffysh . . . . . ij.d."

<sup>2</sup> See Strype's 'Ecclesiastical Memorials,' vol. ii, part 2, p. 296, edit. 1822.

<sup>3</sup> Stow says he saw the tomb, "with this inscription cast in the grates or inclosure thereof (being copper) *Henricus Octavus Rex Angliæ Franciæ, dominus Hiberniæ, fidei defensor.*" Speed gives a detailed description of it, which he states to have been written from the model.

Seventh, at Westminster. It was the work of Benedetto, a Florentine artist, who began it in 1524, and it was so far advanced before the disgrace of the cardinal, that 4250 ducats had been paid to the sculptor, and £380 13s. expended upon the gilding of so much as was completed, being about one half.<sup>1</sup> After his retreat to York, Wolsey sent instructions to Cromwell to procure for him his image, with such part of the tomb as it might please the king to grant him, in order that he might dispose of it in the church for his burial, "which," he adds, "is like by reason of my heaviness to be shortly."<sup>2</sup> Some portion of these works remained in the tomb-house until April 1646, when it was demolished by command of the Long Parliament, and the statues and figures of copper gilt were removed and sold for £600, and the money given to Colonel Venn.<sup>3</sup> A sarcophagus of black marble, of Italian design, escaped the wreck, and was reserved for a more honorable destiny. After lying neglected until 1805, it was appropriated to the sepulture of Nelson. It surmounts the tomb where he lies in the crypt of St. Paul's, and the bones of the hero and patriot repose under the intended receptacle of the mortal remains of Wolsey.<sup>4</sup>

Of Henry the Eighth's "out of door" amusements, shooting at the rounds, hunting, hawking, fishing, horse-racing, bowls, and tennis, were the chief; and in his palaces many hours were daily passed at "the tables," or backgammon, shovel-board, dice, and cards: wagers on races run against dogs, or at shooting or hunting; payments to people for making dogs perform tricks; gratuities

<sup>1</sup> Lord Bacon's 'Life of Henry the Eighth.'

<sup>2</sup> Fiddes' 'Life of Wolsey.' Fuller appears to be in error in his 'Church History,' where, after giving the will of Henry at length, he says—"Whereas mention in this will of 'a monument well onwards and almost made,' it is the same which Cardinal Wolsey built for king Henry, and not for himself, as is commonly reported. Wherefore, whereas there goeth a tale that king Henry, one day finding the cardinal with the workmen making his monument, should say unto him, 'Tumble yourself in this tomb whilst you are alive; for when dead, you shall never lie therein;' it is a mere fiction, the cardinal originally intending the same for the king, as appeareth by the ancient inscription thereupon, wherein king Henry was styled 'lord' (not king) 'of Ireland,' without addition of 'supreme head of the church,' plainly shewing the same was of ancient date in the days of the cardinal." (Book v, § 53.)

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' p. 136; Sanderson's 'Life of Charles the First,' p. 555; Lysous' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 655.

<sup>4</sup> Poynter.

to persons for different feats, as eating a buck, riding two horses at once; and others of a similar description are continually mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The habits of Henry the Eighth are referred to in a letter from Thomas Heneage to Cardinal Wolsey: "His Grace, every after noone, when the wether ys any thyng feyer, dooth ride ffurthe on hawkyng, or walkyth in the Parke, and cummyth not inne ageyne till yt be late in the evenyng."<sup>2</sup>

On one occasion, the king having appointed a great shooting-match at Windsor, it happened that towards night, when the diversion was almost over, one Barlow, a citizen of London, and inhabitant of Shoreditch, outshot all the rest; wherewith Henry was so exceedingly pleased, that thenceforth he should be called "the Duke of Shoreditch;" which appellation the captain of the London archers enjoyed for ages after.<sup>3</sup>

At another time, Henry sent Archbishop Cranmer a deer from Windsor Forest, as appears by a letter from Cranmer to Henry concerning the king's supremacy, concluding—"And I most hartely thanke your Grace for the stagge which your Grace sent unto me from Wyndesor foreste, which if your Grace knowe for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many wayes it did me service, I am sure you wolde thynke it moch the better bystowed. Thus our Lorde have your Highnes always in his preservation and governance. From Forde, the 26th day of August.

"Your Graces most humble chaplain and bedisman,

"T. CANTUARIE."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas' *Introductory Remarks to the 'Privy-purse Expenses of Henry the Eighth,'* p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> State Paper Office, Wolsey's Correspondence, vi, 51; Ellis' *'Original Letters,'* 3d series, vol. ii, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols' *'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,'* vol. ii, p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis' *'Letters,'* 3d series, vol. iii, p. 30, taken from MS. Cotton., Brit. Mus., Cleop. E, vi, 232, orig. Sir Philip Draycot, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 4th of September, but no year mentioned, says—"And to ascertain you of the King's progress after your departing: The first was to Otlands; and there, in the meads under Chertsey, was killing of stags, holden in for the purpose, one after another, all the afternoon; so that they were warned by the trumpets, and known thereby if they did enter any deer of price; and they were not only coursed with some greyhounds, but also with horsemen, with darts and spears, and many so slain, the most princely sport that hath been seen: and many did escape over Thames, and to the forest after they passed there:

The garden at Windsor appears in the reign of Henry the Eighth to have received less attention than the royal gardens at Hampton Court, Beaulieu, Greenwich, and other places. The amount of wages of the gardener at Windsor was £4 a year,<sup>1</sup> while the gardener at Beaulieu received £12 3s. 4d.<sup>2</sup> yearly. The gardeners at Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond, &c., were constantly bringing fruits and vegetables to the king even when he was at Windsor,<sup>3</sup> and receiving various gratuities "in reward." Labourers were paid for work in these gardens in addition,<sup>4</sup> but at Windsor the only indication of the existence of a garden at this period is the punctual payment of 20s., the quarter's wages of the gardener.

On the other hand, we find the parks of Windsor excelling in deer, and venison taken from thence to the king at Hampton Court.<sup>5</sup>

The king's table in those days was not, however, supplied from the royal establishment alone. Presents were continually brought from public bodies and private individuals, the donors or the carriers of which, according to circumstances, were liberally rewarded.

In 1530, within the period of six weeks, the servant of the Provost of Eton brought cakes four or five different times, and was on each occasion rewarded.<sup>6</sup> Nor were these presents confined to the vicinity of the royal residence. The Prior of Llanton, near Gloucester, in the same year sent cheeses to Henry the Eighth at Windsor, for which the bearer received twenty shillings;<sup>7</sup> and in the expenditure of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, for March

And on Thursday last the King alighted at Byfleet, and there I took my leave; and from Otlands he removes to Cobham, or Woking, I know not whether the first; and then to Guildford; and so to Windsor, and there Holyrood day; and, by estimation, he will be at every of these places four days, or thereabouts." (Lodge's 'Illustrations of British History,' vol. i, p. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas' 'Privy-purse Expenses,' p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 39, 207, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 52, 55.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 49. The prior subsequently sent cheese, carp, and baked lampreys to Henry, on each of which occasions the servant received twenty shillings. (Ibid., pp. 53, 100, 108, &c.)



1537-8, we find the sum of 3*s.* 4*d.* given "to a pore woman of Worcest'rshyre bringing chickens."<sup>1</sup>

Sick persons came to the castle to be "heled by the kinge grace of ther sikenes." It appears to have been the custom to give money to such of these persons as were poor.<sup>2</sup>

The mode of conveyance, as well of persons as of goods, between London and Windsor at this period (Henry the Eighth) seems to have been very frequently by boats on the Thames;<sup>3</sup> barges being the term applied to that kind which conveyed persons of consequence, while boats conveyed the servants and goods.<sup>4</sup>

The ferry at Datchet existed from an early period. The ferryman had several sums given to him by Henry the Eighth, in reward.<sup>5</sup>

The state of postal communication between Windsor and London at the same time may be gathered from the statement of Bryan Tuke to Cromwell, in answer to a complaint of "grete defaulte in conveyance of Letters, and special men ordeyned to be sent in post," and that "the kings pleas' is that Posts be better appointed and laide in all places most expedient." Tuke says (17th August, 1533) — "As to Posts betwene London and the Corte, there be nowe but ij. wherof the on is a good robust felowe, and was wout to be diligent, evil intreated many tymes; he and other posts, by the herbigyors, for lak of horserome or horsmete, withoute whiche diligence can not be. The other hathe ben the most payneful felowe in nyxt and day that I have knowen amongs the messengers. If he nowe slak he shalbe changed, as reason is; he sueth to the Kings Grace for som smal living for his olde service, having never had ordinary wages til nowe, a moneth or litle more, this posts wages. It may please you to advertise me in whiche of them ij. ye fynde default, and he shal be changed. I wrote unto my lorde of Northumberlande to write on the bak of his pacquetts the houre and day of the depeche, and so I did to other, but it is seldome observed. I wol also desire you to remember that many tymes

<sup>1</sup> Madden's 'Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary,' p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Nicolas' 'Privy-purse Expenses,' pp. 40, 46, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 301 (note).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, 54, 146, &c.

happen ij depeches in a day on way, and somtyme moo, and that, often seasons, happen countre<sup>1</sup> posts; that is to ride bothe northe-warde and southewarde. This is moche for on horse or on man.”<sup>2</sup>

The manor of Windsor Underoure, which had been the property of the Abbey of Reading,<sup>3</sup> on the dissolution of the monasteries was granted to Thomas Ward, Esq., of Lawrence Waltham, and was subsequently purchased by the Corporation of Windsor from Richard Ward. It appears from the above and subsequent entries, that the purchase-money was paid by instalments. The deed of conveyance was dated in the thirty-first year of the king’s reign.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ward was probably the same individual who represented Windsor in parliament from 1541 to 1555. There was a quit-rent due to the king for this manor or lordship, which the corporation had to pay yearly, as subsequent entries will show.

It may be here observed, that in 1540 a bill passed through parliament concerning the honour of Windsor, and for annexing certain manors to the castle.<sup>5</sup>

In the accounts, an. 31 and 32 Hen. VIII, we find the following :

“It. payd to the forsaid Richard fitzwal’ for the  
Rest of a bylle of his costs for the lordchep  
Underhower and other charg<sup>a</sup> longyng to the  
office of ye meyryalte as yt appert by his byl . xvij.s.”

“It. payd to Robert Benett for his costs Rydyng to  
Newebery to Master Essex . . . ij.s.”

Robert Benett, or Bennet, as Foxe spells his name, was the lawyer, residing in Windsor, who, adopting the reformed doctrine, was one of the individuals imprisoned with Pearson, Marbeck, and others, in 1543, as already mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Simons, the other lawyer of Windsor, adhered to the old religion, and appears to have been generally employed by the corporation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Counter.

<sup>2</sup> State Paper Office, Miscellaneous Correspondence, sec. 2, xlv, 282; Ellis’ ‘Original Letters,’ vol. ii, p. 272. A stage coach was not established between Windsor and London until after the middle of the seventeenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Note of Mr. Eglestone in a manuscript volume in the possession of Mr. Blount, of Windsor.

<sup>5</sup> Lords’ Journals, vol. i, pp. 142 a, 146 b, 162 b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, p. 540.

<sup>7</sup> See *post*, pp. 570-1.

"It. payd to John Pury and John Tylle for the Rest of  
 Etyng of ij bockys at the trynste howse on of  
 the gyft of my lord prevy selle and a nother  
 of Master hennege . . . vij.s. ix.d."

An. 32 and 33 Hen. VIII :

"Will'm halle delyvd to Thomas Goode to maynten the  
 lyght that he hade in store . . . viij.s."

"It. payd to Master Symonds then meyer to delyver to  
 Master Warde for dett for underhoer . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d."

"It. delyvd to the forsayde meyer by Jamys prynce  
 and Mathew Gwene in ye plement tyme . . . iiij.li."

"It. payd this yer to Master Warde for Wyndesor  
 Underhower by Mr. Symonds Meyer . . . vj.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d."

On the 16th of September, 1539, Frederick Duke of Bavaria, the Palsgrave of the Rhine, came to London; and two days afterwards, "Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony, chancellor of William Duke of Cleve, Galiche, Gelderland, and Berghen," also arrived. "The Palsgrave was received and conducted to Windsor by the Duke of Suffolk, and the others were accompanied with other noble men, and the three and twentieth of the same month they all came to Windsor, where eight days together they were continually feasted and had pastime shewed them, in hunting and other pleasures, so much as might be. The Palsgrave shortly after departed homewards, and was princely rewarded, and at that present was the marriage concluded betwixt the king and the Lady Anne, sister unto Duke William of Cleve, and great preparation was made for the receiving of her."<sup>1</sup>

After an interval of a few months, in which Henry was married to and divorced from Anne of Cleves, we find the king conducting Catherine Howard to Windsor, in August 1540, where they appear to have resided during a great part of the autumn. The king was certainly there in August, and again in October and November, his privy council being in attendance, and sitting almost daily.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hall; Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Viz., August 17, 18, 19, and 21; October 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31; November 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20. From

At a privy council held at Grafton, 29th August, 1540, letters were received from the Lord Privy Seal, "the thirde parte" whereof "declared the appearance of a certain priest of Windsor called Sir ——— before him and others in his company at that time, upon the complaint of the dean of Windsor for certain words spoken by him," and the letter concluded "with the suit of the keeper of Windsor Castle to be discharged of ——— [in] prison there for speaking unfitting words of the queen's grace, which letter and deposition against the priest remain in the keeping of Mr. Wriothesley, secretary."<sup>1</sup>

At a privy council held at Grafton the following day, the Lord Privy Seal was answered as to the preceding contents of his letter, that "the king was contented that he should enjoin the priest of Windsor to reside upon his benefice, and to give him a lesson to temperate his tongue hereafter, upon adventure of further punishment. And finally concerning the prisoner at Windsor that had spoken unfitting words of the queen's grace, the king's pleasure was that he should yet remain there for his further punishment, and that provision should be made for his competent meat and drink during the time of imprisonment."<sup>2</sup>

The queen alluded to here, must, of course, have been Catherine Howard, who, as we have seen, had been only a few weeks before united to Henry.

Windsor appears to have been visited by the plague at this period.

At a privy council held at Moor Park, in Hertfordshire, the 8th of October, in the same year (1540), "being present the Lord

the last-mentioned day no council appears to have sat at Windsor until the 26th of October in the following year. (*Vide* Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council.' See also a warrant of Henry the Eighth, dated at Windsor, 3d of October, 1540, and various orders and allowances by the Great Master, Treasurer, and Comptroller of the Household, dated at Windsor in this reign, in 'Orders and Regulations of the Royal Household,' 4to, 1790, p. 213, &c.) The privy council was usually attended by from six to twelve members, the whole number being, in August 1540, nineteen. "Wherever the king [Henry the Eighth] moved, he was immediately followed by the greater part of his privy council; and they transacted business with nearly the same punctuality whilst accompanying him on his journeys as when the court was at Windsor, Hampton Court, or any other of its usual residences." (*Ibid.*, vol. vii, Preface, p. xv.)

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vii, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 21.

Privy Seal, the Earl of Hertford, the Great Admiral of England, the Treasurer of Household, the Master of the Horse, Sir Ralph Sadler knight secretary, letters were sent to the Dean of Windsor, Mr. Chamberlain, and the mayor of the said town, to enquire what houses be infected in Windsor, and to cause the inhabitants of the infected houses, with their families and household stuff, to avoid the towne to some place of good distance from thence, and from such other places as where the kings highness resorteth, signifying unto them that the kings highness would bear the charges of their removing.”<sup>1</sup>

At a council held at Windsor, on the 20th of the same month, “a proclamation under the stamp and signet was made touching the inhibition as well of Londoners to come within the court gates until they had first knowledge of the kings pleasure, as also those that went from hence to London to come in to the Court, and furthermore that no man should break up in the king’s houses or his parks any door window lock or pale, upon pain of imprisonment.”<sup>2</sup>

There does not appear to be any entry in the corporation accounts of this period, connected with the pestilence.

At a council held at Windsor on the 13th November following (1540), “Thomas Thwaytes, servant unto — Shyrington, page of the kings wardrobe of robes, was accused by — — servants to Richard Cecylle, yeoman, to have spoken certain traitorous words against the kings majesty; whereupon being examined and confessing before the council the words laid unto his charge, he was committed to the porters ward.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 16th, Thwaytes “was sent to the tower of London by certain of the guard, with a letter to the Lieutenant declaring his confession, and commanding him that in case he would stand still in denial to show of whom he had heard the things he confessed, he should give him a stretch or two at his discretion upon the *brake*.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas’ ‘Proceedings of the Privy Council,’ vol. vii, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. vii, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. vii, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

At a council held at Windsor on the 21st of the same month of November, a warrant was directed to Sir Bryan Tuke, knight, Treasurer of the Chamber; "for the payment of £26 13*s.* and 4*d.* to a gentleman of the County of Bucks that brought hawks to the king, and of £7 to Dethyck the post that came with letters from Mr. Wallop out of France."<sup>1</sup>

At another council also held at Windsor on the following day, "the Bishop of Carlisle, who having the charge of certain of the kings highness' treasure, delivered unto him for the payment of the workmen upon the new fortresses at Carlisle, came down hither, as it was supposed rather to have lingered the time at Eton, than for any other just cause, was commanded on the kings behalf to return forthwith home to his diocese, there to remain for the feeding of the people, both with his preaching and good hospitality."<sup>2</sup>

On the 23d of November the court departed from Windsor to Oking.

A singular investigation connected with Eton College took place in 1541.

At a privy council held at Westminster, 12th March of that year, William Emlar, a goldsmith of London, was examined before the council for buying "certain images of silver and other plate which were stolen from the College of Eton; and being suspected to have used himself lewdly in the handling of the matter was committed to the porters ward."

At the same council, John Hoorde, a late scholar of Eton, was examined concerning the robbery supposed to have been done at Eton by him and others; and having made a confession in writing, was committed to the keeping of John Piers, the clerk of the check of the guard.

The following day, Thomas Cheney, also a late scholar of Eton,<sup>3</sup> was examined before the council upon the same charge; and confessing the fact, in like manner, was delivered to the same custody.<sup>4</sup>

On the 14th, "Nycolas Uvedale, schoolmaster of Eton," was

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vii, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. vii, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. vii, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 153.

sent for (to the privy council) "as suspect to be counsel" in the robbery committed by Cheney, Hoorde, and one Gregory, a servant of Uvedale, and had "certain interrogatories ministered unto him touching the said fact and other felonious trespasses whereof he was suspected," and was committed to the Marshalsea.<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th, Robert Cheney, "of Chessamboys in the County of Bucks Esquire," entered into a recognizance in the sum of one hundred pounds, conditioned for the appearance of his son, Thomas Cheney, before the council, at all times within twelve months ensuing, "upon reasonable warning."<sup>2</sup>

On the 17th, William Emlar entered into a recognizance in the sum of two hundred marks, to appear before the privy council at Easter, and Richard Stanfeld, skinner, John Jukes, merchant tailor, Philip Gunther, skinner, and Thomas Godale, haberdasher, all of London, became bound for his appearance at that time.<sup>3</sup>

On the 18th, "Alanus Hoorde" of London, "generosus," entered into a recognizance for the appearance of "John Hoorde" (who is described as of London, and "son and heir of Richard Hoorde of the county of Salop Esqre") at all times within a twelvemonth before the council, and also that he should "observe fulfil and keep all such orders decrees and determinations as he the said John shall be deemed adjudged or commanded to do by the said Council."<sup>4</sup>

On the 18th of May, Emlar appeared in pursuance of his recognizance and those of his sureties, "before Mr. Comptroller and Mr. Treasurer who commanded them to give their attendance upon the Lords and others of the Kings Majesty's Privy Council the next day at Westminster."<sup>5</sup>

It appears that Emlar and his sureties did attend on the 19th, and entered into fresh recognizances,<sup>6</sup> but the nature of them does

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' p. 153. Nicolas Uvedale, on his examination, confessed to a crime of a much more atrocious description than the robbery. (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 155. Robert Cheney, or Cheyney, had been inserted the year before in the new commission for the subsidy into Buckinghamshire. (Ibid., p. 13.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

not appear, and no further entry occurs on the minutes of the privy council relating to this extraordinary robbery.

Nicholas Uvedale, whose name is mixed up with this affair, retained his appointment, for he is identical with Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton, a canon of Windsor, and translator (with Coverdale and others) of 'Erasmus' Paraphrase,' the first volume of which appeared in 1548.<sup>1</sup>

Henry the Eighth arrived at Hampton Court from his northern progress on the 25th of October, 1541, and was at Windsor on the 26th. On the 30th he was again at Hampton Court.<sup>2</sup>

The Parliamentary Rolls, which are defective, as has been already stated, from 1476 to 1541, are resumed in the latter year.

In the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, Richard Ward and William Symonds were the members for Windsor. Richard Ward continued to sit for six parliaments, until 1555, having for his co-member during that interval, successively, Edward Weldon, Roger Amyce, Thomas Goede, Thomas Butler, and William Norrys. Roger Amyce was member in 1551, and at the same time held the office of "Particular Surveyor of the Lands of the King" to Edward the Sixth.<sup>3</sup>

The following entries in the corporation accounts of 33 and 34 Hen. VIII relate to William Symonds, the Mayor of Windsor, who was Mr. Ward's colleague in 1541.

"payd to Master Symonds for the Meyrallte the yer  
byfore . . . . . iij.li.

<sup>1</sup> Among the Loseley MSS. is "a warrant donner from Mary the Queen, addressed to the Master and Yeoman of her Revels, commanding him to deliver to Nicholas Udall all such apparel as shall be necessary for him to set forth Dialogues and Interludes before her, for her regal disport and recreation." (Kempe's 'Loseley MSS.,' Svo, 1835, p. 62.)

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas' 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. vii, Preface, p. lxi. Sir H. Nicolas observes—"The Council Register states that the council were at *Cheynies* on the 25th, which it is difficult to reconcile with their having been at Hampton Court on the 24th, and at Windsor on the 26th of October. Possibly some mistake was committed in the Register, which is rendered the more likely by the council having been at Ampthill on the 23d of October. As Cheynies is about halfway between that place and Hampton Court, it is most probable that the king was at Cheynies on the 24th, at Hampton Court on the 25th, and that he proceeded to Windsor on the 26th of that month."

<sup>3</sup> *Fide* Survey made by him in the month of September, 6 Edw. VI (MS.)



And the seyd Master Symonds whas aloyd for beyng  
 Burg<sup>s</sup> of plyment the seyd yer for chargs . . . *iiij.li.*  
 And also the seyd Master Symonds was aloyd for the  
 costs and chargs of the charter of Wyndesor  
 Underower and the p<sup>er</sup> of Mertyns hold<sup>1</sup> and  
 other chargs as yt appert by his byll . . . *iiij.li. x.s. viij.d."*

"Wherof was delyvd to Rob<sup>t</sup> Sadocke and Willm  
 hawle the xx day of Novemb for rent of  
 Wyndsore Underhower . . . *vij.li.*  
 and to Mathew Gwynne for ye same rent . . . *xij.s. ij.d.*  
 It. delyvd to the seyd Matthew for ye Just<sup>a</sup> Deners . . . *v.s. iiij.d."*

<sup>1</sup> Prior of Merton's holding?



Part of the Town of Windsor near the Bridge.

(From a Painting of the Seventeenth Century in Greenwich Hospital.)

## CHAPTER XX.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.

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CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE.

. . . . .

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DEAN OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. ——. WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

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MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1547. RICHARD WARD AND EDWARD WELDON.

A.D. 1551. RICHARD WARD AND ROGER AMYCE.

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PROVOST OF ETON.

A.D. 1547. THOMAS SMITH, LL.D.

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Property of St. George's College—The Order of the Garter—Extracts from the Corporation Accounts—Proceedings with reference to Somerset the Protector—Corporation Accounts—Sale of Church Property—Supply of Water to the Castle—Survey of "Windsor Underoure."

THE Protector Somerset and the co-executors of the will of Henry the Eighth proceeded to carry its provisions into effect with respect to St. George's College.

By letters patent, in the king's name, bearing date at Hampton Court the 7th of October, in the first year of his reign, various "Rectories, Impropriations, Parsonages, Chapels, Portions, and Tithes" were granted to the dean and canons, the improved value of which at the time of this grant amounted to £812 12s. 9d.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole thus enumerates the lands, &c., granted to the college by these letters patent:—"The Rectories and Churches (Pat., 1 Edw. VI, pars v) of Bradnynche, Northam, Iplepen, Ilington, and Southmolton in Devonshire, and the Tithe of Corn of Otery in that County, part of the Duke of Somersets Possessions, as also Blossoms-Inn in St. Lawrence-Lane, London, sometime parcel of the possessions of the late College of

It appears that the college had conveyed to Henry the Eighth certain manors and lands,<sup>1</sup> intended as an exchange, but for which the college had "no recompence" in that king's life. The surplus rents of the property now granted to the college, beyond the £600 a year mentioned in Henry's will, were as an equivalent for those manors and lands previously conveyed by the college.

The dean and canons were immediately put in possession of this property, but £600 a year were for some years paid back "at

Otery. The tithes of Grain, &c., of the Rectory of Ambrosbury in Wiltshire, and all the Tithes of Bedwyn, Stoke, Wilton, Narden, Harden-Tanrige, Knoll, Pathall, Chisbury, East-Grafton, West-Grafton, Grafton-Marten, and Wexcombe, parcel of the prebend of Bedwyn in that County; as also the Prebend of Alcannynys and Urchefounte, the Rectories of Urchefounte, Stapleford, Tytcombe, and Froxfield in the said County, and all the annual Pension of £8 issuing out of the manor of Icombe in the County of Gloucester. The Rectory and Vicarage of Ikelington in Cambridgeshire. The Rectory of East-Beckworth in the County of Surrey. The Reversion of the portion of Tithes of Treguite in Cornwall, and the Rent of 13s. 4d. reserved upon the same. All the portion of Tithes of Treguite aforesaid, belonging to the Priory of St. Germans in Cornwall. The Rectory and Church of Plymton the Chapels of Plymstoke, Wembury, Shagh, Sanford-Spone, Plymton, St. Maurice, and Bryxton in Devonshire, belonging to the late Priory of Plymton, the Rectory of Istleworth [Isleworth] and Twickenham in the County of Middlesex, parcel of the possessions of the College of St. Maries of Winchester, and the Rectory of Shiplake in Oxfordshire, lately belonging to the Monastery of Missenden in Buckinghamshire. As also all the Reversion of the Rectory of Aberguille, and of the chapels of Llanlawett (alias dict. Llanbadock) and Llanpenysaunt, (part of the Monastery of Karmarden in South Wales) with the Rent of £30 per annum reserved thereon; the reversion of the rectory of Talgarth (part of the priory of Brecknock in South Wales) with the reserved rent of £11.6s. 8d. The reversion of the Rectory of Mara in the County of Brecknock (belonging to the priory of Brecknock) and £6 Rent. The reversion of the Rectory of St. Germans in Cornwall (appertaining to the Monastery or Priory of St. Germans) with £61 13s. 4d. Rent. To have and to hold all the premises, unto the Dean and Canons and their successors for ever; except the Tithes in Woolpall and Fitz-Waren in Wiltshire, (belonging to the Priory of Bedwyn) the vicarage-house of Ikelington, the Monies called Marriage-Money, Dirge-Money, and Mass-Money, and the whole profits of the Bedrolls of Ikelington. Nevertheless to pay the King and his successors in the Court of Augmentation, for the rectories of Aberguille, Talgarthe, and Mara, the Chapels of Llanbadock and Llanpenysaunt £4 2s. 8d. in the name of Tenths, and for all rents, services, &c., of the other Rectories, &c., £48 7s. 4d. annually at Michaelmas.

"Furthermore, within all these premises the King (by the said Letters Patent) granted to the Dean and Canons, Court Leets, or Views of Frankepledge, and to have Fines and Amerciaments, Free-Warrens, Waifs, and Felons Goods, and all other Profits, Commodities, Liberties, Emoluments, and Hereditaments whatsoever."

<sup>1</sup> Viz., "The Manor and Rectory of Iver in Buckinghamshire, the Manor of Damerny Court in Dorsetshire, and divers other Lands, Rents, Portions and pensions in the Counties of Somerset, Hants, Middlesex, Oxford, and Sussex." (Ashmole.)

the appointment of the then Lord Treasurer," to be employed in building houses for the alms knights, in accordance with the intentions of the late king.<sup>1</sup>

The alms houses were completed in the next reign.<sup>2</sup>

Ashmole tells us "there fell out a question, at the feast of St. George held at Windsor, the 23d of May, an. 1 E. 6, which held some debate, viz. whether the Atchievements of King Henry the Eighth, which yet hung over the Sovereigns stall, should be taken down and offered at the Mass of Requiem ensuing, or not? in regard his Banner, Sword, Helm, and Crest, with Mantles, had been offered up the 16th of Febr. before, at his Interment within that Chappell: whereupon it was determined, that the said Atchievements should not again be offered, but remain over the Sovereigns stall for his son king Edward the Sixth."<sup>3</sup>

Ashmole laments the neglect of the Grand Feast of the Order, and gives us some curious particulars respecting the proceedings in this reign. "King Edward the Sixth," he says, "assuming the Sovereignty of this Noble Order, the days became more gloomy, in as much as during his Reign, there was no Anniversary of St. George kept at Windsor, by a Grand Festival. Under what churlish Fate this noble place then suffered, we cannot guess, other than the common calamity of that Age, wherein most Ceremonies, solemn or splendid, either (chiefly such as related to Divine Services) came under the suspicion of being superstitious, if not idolatrous. Insomuch as at a Chapter held at Greenwich, upon the 22. day of April, in the second year of his Reign (an abolition being intended of all such Ceremonies, as were not consonant to the King's Injunctions then lately prescribed) it was Ordained and Decreed, that then and for ever from thenceforth (at the Feast of this most Noble Order) no other Ceremonies should be observed, than such as were appointed in the following Letter. Which was at that Chapter agreed upon, and a little before the next years Feast day of St. George, sent from the Lords of the Council to the Knights Companions, attributing the whole pro-

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter.'

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, Chapter XXI.

<sup>3</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' p. 629.

cedure, to the great piety of the then sovereign, and the care he took, that certain abuses and preposterous Ceremonies of the Church, should be reformed: Whereby the Solemnity, State and magnificence of this Grand Festival was very much eclipsed.

“ ‘After our most hearty commendations; For as much as the Kings Highness hath appointed a most godly Reformation of divers abuses and rites in the Church, to a more convenient and decent Order, of the which some hath been used heretofore, in the most honorable and amicable Order of the Garter, and being not reformed, there should make a disagreeing from his Majesty’s most godly proceedings.

“ ‘Therefore it is his Majesty’s will and pleasure, by the advice of us the Lord Protector, and other his Highness Council, that all such things, as be not conformable and agreeing to his Majesty’s Injunctions, Orders, or Reformations, now of late prescribed, should be also in that most Noble Order and the Ceremonies thereof left undone, and reformed as hereafter followeth. First, that no Procession be made with going about the Church or Church-yard, but the Kings Majesty’s Procession, lately set forth in English to be used. His Majesty and other Knights of that Honorable Order, sitting in their Stalls, at the entry such Reverence to be made to the King’s Majesty only as was heretofore.

“ ‘The Offring to be in the Box for the Poor, without any other Reverence or kissing of any Paten or other thing, but only at the return due Reverence to the King’s Majesty as was used before. The Mass of Requiem to be left undone, but yet both upon St. George’s day, and the next day a Mass to be sung with great Reverence; in the which immediately after the words of Consecration is said, the Priest shall say the Pater Noster, and so turn and communicate all, or so many of the Order or other, after they have done, as shall be disposed godly at the same time to receive the Communion, according to such order as is prescribed in his Highness Book of Communion, and without any other Rite or Ceremony after the said Communion to be used, except it be some godly Psalm or Hymn to be sung in English, and so to end the said Service. All Chapters and other Rites concerning the said Order, not being contrary to these, to remain as they have been prescribed and used, the which we have thought good to signifie unto you, that you may follow the same accordingly. From Greenwich the 20. of April 1548.’

“ ‘This Decree we observe, signified not less than a Prohibition to the holding the Grand Feast at Windesor (although it spoke

not so plain) at least the neglect of its celebration there, whilst King Edward the Sixth lived, makes it to seem so. And albeit towards the end of this Sovereign's Reign, some care was or seemed taken, for a permissive holding of the said Feast, either upon the day of St. George, or some other day appointed by Prorogation, yet was it without any regard had to the ancient and usual place, the Castle of Windsor. For when the Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup> passed, commanding the days therein mentioned to be kept holy, and none other (whereby the celebration of many days besides, which in former time, by the Canons of our Church appointed to be kept holy, were prohibited, and among the rest the Feast day of St. George, it being not found among those Feast days at that time established) It was considered, That a Proviso and allowance should be entred in the aforesaid Act, for the celebration of this Feast, particularly by the Knights-Companions of this most Noble Order, in these words :

“ ‘ Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to the Knights of the right honorable Order of the Garter, and to every of them, to keep and celebrate solemnly the Feast of their Order, commonly called St. George's Feast, yearly from henceforth the 22. 23. and 24. days of April, and at such other time and times, as yearly shall be thought convenient, by the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, and the said Knights of the said honorable Order, or any of them, now being, or hereafter to be, any thing in this Act heretofore mentioned to the contrary notwithstanding.’ ”

“ Which Act, although it suffred a Repeal by Queen Mary, yet stands it at this day in force, being revived by King James, [by] his repealing of that Statute of the first of Queen Mary, cap. 2.”

The “Injunctions” referred to in the above letter, were injunctions given by the king in his visitation, “to ye Deane, Cannons, Petti-Cannons, Chauntrye Priests, Vicars, Clerkes, and other mynisters of this the king's fre Chappell or Collegiate Church within ye Castell of Wyndesor, to be observed of everye of them in their offices and degrees, as farre as to them shall apperteyne, for ye advancement of God's honour, encrease of vertue, and for a good ordre to be hadde amonge them.” These injunctions were

<sup>1</sup> 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 3.

framed by "William Maye, Deane of Pawles, Symon Haynes Deane of Exon., Walter Buckler knyght, and Thomas Cotsforde duke," and were followed by "new" and "farther" injunctions.<sup>1</sup>

The statutes of the Order of the Garter were reformed, in a chapter, holden at Westminster, the 17th of March, 1552-3.

The preamble of the new statutes recites and approves of the institution of the Order in these words :

" Our most noble auncestours kings of Englande, studyeng gretly and long considering with themselves what devoute reverence towardes God, what natural love to theire country, what lovyng affection to theire subjects they owght to bere, They sone fownde that nothing was eyther fyttre or more agreable with theire office than to advaunce to high honor and glorye, good, godly, valyant well couraged, wyse, and noble men, and to brede and maynteyne a certeyne amytie, fellowship, and mutuall agrement in all honest things amongst all men, but especially among equals, for they judged honor, as surely it is, the regards of vertue and concorde, the fundacion and enlarger of comen weales, when they had wysely weyd these things, they thought it best to make a certeyne fellowship, and as it were a Colledge of those that had very well and honestly borne themselves at home in tyme of peace, and had tryed themselves valyant and wyse abrode in martial feates, wherfore they devised that such men in a token of concorde and unyte shulde weare about their leggs a certeyne garter, wherby they shulde declare to all men, that for their country and God's cause they wolde be redy valiauntly and manfully to spend not only their goods but also themselves and their lyves, and for that cause they have cauled this felawshipp the Order of the Garter. But that olde serpente Sathan a contynual adversarye to mankynde had so grete envye herat, for that he espied it to be of all men bothe in our owne and foreyne countrys much commendid, that he busily labored to deface and utterly to destroye so grete an encouragement and occasion of vertue, and this he did so much the rather, when he sawe so many valiant men styrrd with desyer of this honor to the atteyning of perfytte and absolute vertue wheruppon so farre furth he wente subtylly blyndyng mens eyes upon hope of preye, that at length he filled and stuffed the very statutes and ordynaunces of this felawshipp and order with many obscure, superstitious and repugnant opinions, We therfore to defeat this so grete malyce of that subtyll ennemy have ben gretly moved by the auncyentness, majestie, and very godlyness of this

<sup>1</sup> See Ash. MSS., No. 1123, f. 25—44.

order, so that we thought all ovr study, labor and diligence to be well bestowed in reducyng the same to his originall estate and pristyn fundacion."

It was accordingly first decreed, that the order "from hensforth shall be cauled the order of the Garter, and nat of saynte George, leste the honor which is dew to God the Creator of all things mighte seme to be geven to any creature."<sup>1</sup>

It appears that a design had been entertained of converting the badge of the order into an emblem of the newly established religion, for in one draft of the reformed statutes, the ensign is described as "a Horseman holding in one hand, a Sword piercing a Book, on which shall be written 'Verbum Dei,' and on the sword, 'Protectio;' and in the other hand, a Shield, on which shall be written 'Fides.'"

Nothing is said in the new statutes of the canons or choristers, nor of the poor knights; but the manuscript draft states, that "they shall enjoy their livery so long as they live, but after they die, that Preachers shall enjoy their Promotions or Livings in the Castle;" and that the vacancies in the poor knights shall be supplied by "maimed or hurt soldiers; only they shall not use the superstitious ceremonies that has been accustomed."<sup>2</sup>

These statutes were abolished in the following year, after the accession of Queen Mary.<sup>3</sup>

A commission similar to that issued for St. George's College, and to the same persons, followed by injunctions, was issued with respect to Eton College.<sup>4</sup>

On the appointment of Dr. Smith to the Provostship of Eton College, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Aldrich, the following letter was addressed, in the name of the king, to the fellows:

"Trusty and welbelovyd we greate you well. And whereas ye Provostship or Mastership of our Colleage of Eton is now as at this present void by the resignation of ye R<sup>t</sup> reverēte Fader in God

<sup>1</sup> See the statutes, printed in Anstis, vol. ii, Appendix No. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, Chapter XXI.

<sup>4</sup> See Ash. MSS., No. 1123, and Sloane, No. 4845, f. 53.



Rob<sup>t</sup> Bishop of Carliell We therefore having a zeale and mynd to the good government of that our Collage and desiring to se you furnished of such a governeare as in all points might seme worthy for ye same, have thought good by advice and consent of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, and governor of our person, and protector of all our Realmes Domynions and subjects, to commend to you by thes letters our trusty and wellbelovyd Tho: Smythe Doctor of Civil Lawes, whom we knowe to be a man most mete to ye Government of such a Colledge for the furtherance of vertue and learning; willing and requiring youe therefore to elect and chose ye same to ye said rowme and offyse. And to ye entent that there might be no stop nor let to the same bycause the said Thomas is not Priste, or D<sup>r</sup>. of Divinitie, or otherwyse qualified as your statutes dothe requyer, we consyderynge his other qualitees, theexcellency whereof do far surmount ye defect that thes before rehersed should make, have dispensyd and by thes presents do dispens with yowe and ye said Thomas and any other that shall admytt ye same, w<sup>th</sup> and for all suche thyngs or matters as shold in any wise stope or let ye same election. Wherefore as our trust is of your gentil conformytie herein so we do not dowght but thecomplyshment of this our pleasure you shal have cause to thynke your self furnyshed of such a master or Provost as apperteyneth.

"Given under our Sygnett at our honor of Hampton Court 25<sup>th</sup> day of Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> yere of our rayne."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Thomas Smith was subsequently ejected by Queen Mary, with a pension of £100 a year.

The following are extracts from the corporation accounts for the year ending 3d November, 1 Edw. VI:

"ACCOUNT OF THE RENTS OF UNDEROWER.

"It<sup>m</sup> of George Tudwey for the hole yeres rent  
of the myll and the quytt rents in Under-  
ower . . . . . xj.li. xij.s. viij.d. ob."  
whereof

"payd to the kyng's matties Resever for the quytt  
rents of the same . . . . . vj.li. xix.s. x.d. qr."

<sup>1</sup> See Sloane MSS., No. 4840, f. 233. Queen Elizabeth wrote a similar dispensatory letter on the appointment of Sir Henry Savile. (Ibid., f. 236.)

## "CHAMBERLAINS ACCOUNT.

"It'm of the said Matthew Gwyn and Henry Bartlett for the hole yerres rent of the lands and Tents belonging to the hall . . . x.li. v.s. j.d."

## "ACCOUNT OF THE KEEPER OF THE BRIDGE.

"It'm Reseyd of the seyd Mathew Gwyn . . . xliij.li. xvj.s. viij.d."

"It'm payd to Mr. Th. Butler for hys chargs ryding w<sup>th</sup> answe're to my lord Brett a swyft letterre in the favor of Mr. Syms . . . iij.s. iiij.d."

"Item payd to Mr. ffawcett for the charge of the etyng of venyson for Subsydye money xx.s. for the x.li. iij.s. vj.d. . . . l.s."

"It'm for the charge of the Swan Uppying . . . viij.s. x.d.

Item for the charge of the fedyng of the Swans yt were given to the M<sup>r</sup> of the horse . . . iij.s.

It'm for uppyng of the Swans to Wyll<sup>m</sup> Gallys . . . xij.d.

It'm for Mr. Hanley for havying of Th. Butler's turne for kepyng of a courte when he ryd to ye M<sup>r</sup> of the horse . . . iij.s. iiij.d.

Item payd to Mr. Gwyn for the charge rydyng to London to speake w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Chancellor for the fraternytye . . . iij.s. vij.d."

"Rob<sup>t</sup> Sadock ys chosen the byrgema<sup>n</sup> and the lock ys delyved to hym."

"ffirste taken oute of the same some to pay for iij capons to Mr. Chancellor . . . v.s."

"It'm for a skyn of p<sup>h</sup>ement and redd waxe for Mr. Weldon's patent for ye stewardship . . . vij.d.<sup>1</sup>  
It. for drinke and candells to Wyllesby . . . iij.d."

"It'm payd to the Kyngs fotemen in reward . . . viij.s."

In the chamberlain's account for the year ending 16th October, 2 Edw. VI (Matthew Gwyn, mayor), are the following entries:

"Payd to Mr. Germyn for the charge of the etyng of the buck of Mr. Weldons gyft . . . xj.s. iij.d."

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole says—"He is the first high steward I observe." (Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 26.) Sir Anthony Brown, however, was high steward in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

In the bridge-keeper's account for the same year :

"ffyrst resevyd of the seyd Rob<sup>t</sup> Sadock for the  
p<sup>r</sup>ffytte of the byrge thys yere . . . . . xxj.li. ij.s. vj.d."

And in the account of the collector of the rents of Underower,  
taken 17th December, in the same year :

"Item resevyd of George Tudwey for the hole yeres  
rent there . . . . . ix.li. vij.s. iiij.d.

Wherof paid to the kyngs ma<sup>tie</sup> for the yeres rent  
of the mylle and the mano<sup>r</sup> for one yere endyd  
at the feest of Seynt mychell tharkangell in  
the seyd yere . . . . . vj.li. xix.s. xj.d."

"M<sup>d</sup> paid owt for vij loads of byllett to Mr. Gwyn  
Mayo<sup>r</sup> to the use of the pore people in the  
Almes howse . . . . . xiiij.s."

Edward the Sixth, by letters patent, dated at Westminster the  
23d day of February, in the third year of his reign, confirmed the  
Inspeximus Charter of the sixth of Henry the Eighth.<sup>1</sup>

The following entries in the corporate accounts refer to this  
grant :

"M<sup>d</sup> yt Mr. Mayre paid owt of the seyd money to  
hym delyved of the accompt day thys psent  
xxv<sup>th</sup> day of february A<sup>o</sup> pp E. sexti trio,  
towards the charge of the renewyng of the  
Charto<sup>r</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was delyved to Th. Butler . . . . . iiij.li. . . . . iiij.d.

Itm paid the sam day to Mr. Hanley for sealyng  
wax . . . . . ij.s.

Itm paid to Thom<sup>s</sup> Butler the xi<sup>th</sup> day of Marche  
A<sup>o</sup> pp Edwardi sexti seco<sup>m</sup> in full paym<sup>t</sup> of  
the charge of the renewyng of the Charto<sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup> . . . . . iiij.li.

Itm paid to Mr. Mayre for the charge of or<sup>r</sup> suytt  
for the Trynyty land and other chargs as  
apperyth by hys byll . . . . . xj.s. viij.d."

The dissatisfaction of the lords of the council at the authority  
usurped by the Protector Somerset, approached a climax in the  
autumn of 1549.

<sup>1</sup> From a MS. volume in the possession of Mr. Snowden, of Windsor, there said to be  
"E Carta Orig. Penes Majorem et Ballivos de Windsor."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

On the night of the 6th of October, Somerset conveyed the young king from Hampton Court to Windsor, taking with him five hundred armed men.<sup>1</sup> He began to fortify the castle,<sup>2</sup> but he found little to give him confidence, scarcely a gentleman obeying the summons to meet him there.<sup>3</sup> Before leaving Hampton Court, he wrote to Lord Russell, the lord privy seal, who was then in the west, engaged in suppressing the insurgents of Devonshire, urging him to hasten with his followers to the king's assistance at Windsor.<sup>4</sup> Lord Russell replied coldly, and he and Sir William Herbert made no secret of their adhesion to the council in London; and from that moment the cause of the protector became desperate.<sup>5</sup>

From the language of a justification by the Duke of Somerset to the king, or, as the duke termed it, "Articles offerid by me the Lord Protector to the King's Majestie," dated from Windsor Castle, on the 8th of October, 1549, it appears that an unusual military force was assembled at the castle. The protector says, "Secondly, that this force and power which here is assembled about your Majestie at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London or elsewhere either in person or goods any damage or hurt, but to defend only if any violence should be attempted against your Highnes."<sup>6</sup>

The lords of the council, on the other hand, "seeming not greatlie to regard the offers" contained in the protector's letter, "persisted in their intended purpose; and continuing still in London conferred with the Maior of London and his brethren, first willing them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good ward by daie to be kept for the safeguard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was consented unto, and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordinglie. Then the s<sup>d</sup> Lords and counsellors demanded of the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Lingard.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>5</sup> Lingard.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Cotton., Calig. B. VII, fol. 407, printed in Ellis' 'Letters,' 1st series, vol. ii, p. 173, note, 2d edit.

Maïor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them, to fetch the Lord Protector out of Windsor from the king. But thereunto the maïor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common counsell of the citie : wherupon the next daie a common counsell was summoned to the Guildhall in London.”<sup>1</sup>

A proclamation was in the mean time issued by the lords of the council, denouncing the protector, “and after it was proclaimed the Lords or the most of them continuing and lieng in London, came the next daie to the Guildhall, during the time that the Lord Maïor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with them, and at the last the maïor and his brethren came foorth unto the common counsell, where was read the king’s letter sent unto the maïor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand men, as hath maister Fox, and to send the same to his Castell at Windsore : and to the same letter was adjoined the king’s hand, and the lord protector’s. On the other side, by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather unto the lords : for that the protector had abused both the king’s majestie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to understand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard : and therefore required that the citizens would willinglie assent to aid the Lords with five hundred men.”<sup>2</sup>

After some discussion, “the lord maïor and his brethren for that time brake up, and afterward communed with the Lords.”<sup>3</sup>

“The lords sat the next daie in counsell, in the Star Chamber, and from thence they sent Sir Philip Hobbie, with their letters of credence to the king’s majestie, beseeching his highnesse to give credit to that which the said Philip should declare unto his majestie in their names :<sup>4</sup> and the king gave him libertie to speak,

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> The following letter was also at the same time written by the lords of the council in London to those at Windsor (*vide* Ellis’ ‘Letters,’ 1st series, 2d edit., vol. ii, p. 169) :

“My Lords, after our most hartie commendacions, we have received your Lettres by Mr. Hobby, and herl such credence as he declared on the King’s Majesties and your behaulf unto us. Th’ aunsvers whereunto because they may at more lenngh appere to

and most gentlie heard all that he had to saie. And trulie he did so wiselie declare his message, and so gravelie told his tale in the

You both by our Lettres to the Kings Majestie and by report also of the said Mr. Hobby we forbore to repete here againe, most hartely prayeng and requiring your Lordships and every of you, and nevertheless charging and comaunding you in the Kings Majesties name to have a contynual earnest wache, respect, and care to the suretie of the Kings Majestie our natural and most gracious Soveranne lords persone, and that he be nat removed from his Majesties castel of Wyndesour, as you tender your duties to Almighty God and his Majestic, and as you will aunswer for the contrary at your uttermost perills. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, nat without grete cawse, and, amongs many others, we can nat but remembre unto you that it appeareth very straunge unto us and a grete wonder to all true subjects that you will either assent or suffer his Majesties most royall persone to remaine in the garde of the Duke of Somersetts men, sequestred from his old sworne servaunts. It seemith straunge that in his Majesties owne Howse strangers shuld be armed with his Majestie's owne armour, and be nearest abowte his Highnes persone; and those to whome the ordynary charge is committed, sequestred away so as they may nat attende according to their sworne ductyes. If any evyll come thereof ye can consider to whome it must be imputed. Ones the exemple is very straunge and perillous. And now my Lords, if you tender the preservation of his Majestie and the State, joyne with us to that ende. We have wrytten to the Kings Majestic by which way things may sone be quyety and moderatly compounded; in the doing whereof we nynde to doo none otherwise then we would be doon unto, and that with as much moderacion and favour as we honorably maye. We trust none of you hath juste cawse to note any oon of us, and much lesse all of such crueltye as you so many tynes make mention of. Oon thing in youre Lettres we mervayle much at, which is that you write that you knowe more than we knowe. If the matters comen to your knowledge and hidden from us be of such waight as you seme to pretende, or if they towche or may touche his Majestie or the State, we thinke you do not as you ought in that ye have not disclosed the same unto us being the hole state of the Counsaile. And thus prayeng God to sende you the Grace to do that may tende to the surety of the Kings Majestie and tranquillite of the Realme, we bidde you hartely farewell. From Westm. the ix<sup>th</sup> of Octobre 1549.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> assured loving frends,

“ R. RYCHE, <i>Canc.</i>	W. SEINT JOHN.	W. NORTH.
ARUNDELL.	F. SHREWESBURY.	
THOMAS SOUTHAMPTON.		T. CHEYNE.
JOHN GAGE.	WILLIAM PETRE.	EDWARD NORTH.
EDWARD MONTAGU.	R. SADLEYR.	NICHOLAS WOTTON.
RIC. SOUTHWELL.		JO. BAKER.”

The following reply was sent by Archbishop Craumer, Sir William Paget, and Sir Thomas Smith (Ellis' *Letters*, 1st series, 2d edit., vol. ii, p. 171):

“It may lyke your good Lordshyps, with our most hartly commendacions, to understand that this mornynge Sir Phillip Hobby hath, according to the charge gyven to hym by your Lordships, presented your Letters to the Kings Majestie in the presence of us and all the rest of his Magisties good servants here, which was there redde openly; and also the others to them of the chambrre and of the household, moche to their comforts

name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehementlie and greevouslie against the protector, who was also there present by the king, that in the end, the Lord protector was commanded from the king's presence."<sup>1</sup>

On the 11th of October, Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, was sent to the king at Windsor, "and severed the Lord Protector from his person, and caused the Guard to watch him till the Lords comming. On the morrow, the Lord Chancellor with the rest of the Councell, rode to Windsore to the king, and that night the Lord Protector was put in ward into Beauchamps Tower in the Castle of Windsor.

"The 14 of October in the afternoone, the Duke of Somerset was brought from Windsore, riding betwixt the Earles of Southampton, and of Huntington, through Oldborne<sup>2</sup> in at Newgate, to the Tower of London, accompanied with divers Lords and Gentlemen, and with 300 horse."<sup>3</sup>

and ours also; and according to the tenors of the same we will not faile to endeavor ourselves accordingly. . . . Now tooching the mervaille of your Lordships both of that we wold suffre the Duke of Somersetts men to garde the Kings Majestie's persone and also of our often repeting the word cruel. Although we doubt not but that your Lordships hath been thorowly enformed of our estates here, and uppon what occasions the one hath bene suffred, and the other proceeded, yet at our convenyng togider (which may be when and where please you) we will and are able to make your Lordships such an Accompt as wherewith we doubt not you wilbe satisfied if you think good to require it of us. And for bycause this berar Mr. Hobby can particulerly enforme your Lordship of the hole discourse of all things here, we reniitt the reaport of all other things to hym, saving that we desyre to be advertised with as moch spede as you shall think good, whether the Kings Majestie shall cum furthwith thither, or remayn stil here; and that sum of your Lordships woud take payn to cum hither furthwith; for the which purpose I the comptroller will cause thre of the best chambres in the gret court to be hanged and made redy. Thus thankyng God that all things be so wel acquieted we committ your Lordships to his tuyeion. From Wyndsor the x<sup>th</sup> of October 1549.

"Your Lordshyps assured loving frends,

"T. CANT.

WILLIAM PAGET.

T. SMITH.

"To our verie good  
Lords and others of  
the Kings Majesties Privie  
Cownsell at London."

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed; Grafton.

<sup>2</sup> Holborn.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's 'Annals,' p. 600, edit. 1631.

Soon afterwards, the council proceeded to the Tower, and there charged the protector with sundry articles.<sup>1</sup> Among the articles alleged against him were the following :

“ 26 Item, the 9<sup>th</sup> of October last, you did of your owne head, sodainly remove the Kings Majesties person late in the night from Hampton Court to Windsor, without any provision there made for his Grace, whereby his highnesse was not onely in great feare, but tooke also such disease as was to his great perill.”

“ 27 Item, you caused your own servants, and friends at Hampton Court, and at Windsor to be harnesssed with the kings armour, the kings graces servants having no armour nor harnes.”

“ 28 Item, you caused at Windsor your owne person in the night time to be garded in harnesse by many persons, leaving the Kings Majesties person ungarded, and would not suffer his owne gard or servants to be next the kings person, but appointed your servants and friends to keepe the gates.”<sup>2</sup>

The following payments in the corporate accounts appear to be connected with the military force, and defence of the town, on occasion of these proceedings between the protector and the lords :

“ Itm payd for the charge of the watche of the  
bekons . . . . . xv.s.”

“ Itm payd to xxvij Souldyers for iiij days evy of  
them at vj.d. the day . . . . . xl.s. vj.d.  
It. payd to Fry's Galys for gun powder xj.s.” “ rem ij.li.”

Steps seem to have been subsequently taken to provision the town.

“ ffyrst resevyd of the seyd chambleyns for the hole  
yeres rent of the lands and tents belongyng  
to the hall . . . . . ix.li. xvij.s. viij.d.”

“ Itm the seyd Thom's Goede<sup>4</sup> resevyd owt of the  
seyd S<sup>m</sup> above chargyd, for meale cōmandyd

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> 6th (?).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Stow's 'Annals,' p. 602, edit. 1631.

<sup>4</sup> Mayor of Windsor.



by the kyngs Ma<sup>te</sup> counsell to be p̄vyded  
 at Mychelm's Anno pp Edwardi sexti t̄tio . *vj.li.*  
 Wherof the seyde Thomas Ayen of the bakers re-  
 sevyd for the seyde Stuff beyng utteryd . *ij.li. viij.s. iiij.d."*

The other noticeable items in the account of the years ending at Michaelmas, 3 and 4 Edw. VI, are these :

- " Itm paid for the charge of the butts to Th. Pode *v.s."*  
 " M<sup>d</sup> Reseyd of Mr. Mathewe Gwyn the vij<sup>th</sup> day  
 Octobr A<sup>o</sup> pp E. sexti trio *vij.li. xv.s. xjd.*  
 in redy money and in ij bylls *xxiiij.s. j.d.*  
 w<sup>ch</sup> amountyth to the some of *ix.li.* in the  
 hole and was taken owt of the cōmon  
 cheste in testerns to be exchaunged . *xxiiij.s. j.d.*  
*leyd owt"*  
 " Itm allowyd to Reynold Redyng for the charge  
 of the etyng of the buck gevyn by Mr.  
 ffytzwyllms . . . . *xxix.s. vj.d."*

Chamberlain's account, 21st October, 3 Edw. VI :

- " ffyrst resevyd of the seyde chambleyns for the hole  
 yeres rent of the lands and tents belongyng  
 to the hall . . . . *ix.li. xvij.s. viij.d."*

Bridge account :

- " Itm paid to Thomas Butler Town Clerk for hys  
 ffee thys yere . . . . *vj.s. viij.d."*

Chamberlain's account, 15th October, 4 Edw. VI :

- " It. paid to the baylyffs for the rent of the water *xl.s.*  
 It. paid to Rychard Grohard for the repacons  
 of ye well next the Markett place and be-  
 fore Henry Clerks dore . . . . *v.s."*

In the margin opposite the above entry, is written " Note that  
 ye well in the mket place and ye well before Mr. Clarks door  
 were repaired by the tōne haule."

Account of " Undero'."

- " Itm for the repacons of the welshe womans howse *ij.s. x.d."*

"It. for charge rydyng to pay the rent at two times in the yere . . . . .	ij.s.
Itm the charge of the swan uppyng . . . . .	xxijj.s. iij.d.
Itm for fedying of iij swans . . . . .	vj.s."

The chamberlain's account, dated 14th of October, 5 Edw. VI (John Tyle, mayor), has the following entry :

"Also Chargyd uppon the seyde Rob<sup>t</sup> for two chales  
by hym sold weying ffyftyc ounces at vj.s.  
the ownc for the repayryng of the brige . xv.li."

A note in the margin says "ij chalices solde for xv.li."

"And the seyde chambleyns have leyde owt as  
aperyth by there bylle for the repacons of  
the byrge and of the Tents belongyng to  
the Guyld hall . . . . . lx.li. xvijj.s. xj.d."

"Itm payd to Ryc Grohard for makyng of the style  
into Goswell . . . . . ij.s. viij.d."

"Itm payd for o' dynn uppon the accompte day . xj.s.

Itm payd to Th. Goede for a sygnett at the seyde  
dynn . . . . . v.s.

Itm payd to the Goodwyff Rowland for fedying  
of the Swans and for the corne to fede  
them . . . . . xij.s. vj.d.

It. payd to John Taylor for the castell dyche . vij.s."

"Under our :"

"ffyrst resevyd of the seyde fferm<sup>er</sup> for the hole  
yere's rent w<sup>t</sup> vj.s. viij.d. of an yerefy flee  
allowed by the kyng . . . . . ix.li. xv.s. ob.

Wherof we allowyd hym for rent payd to the  
Kyngs matie . . . . . iij.li. v.s. iij.d. q<sup>r</sup>."

Chamberlain's account, 14th October, 6 Edw. VI :

"Receyved of the same [Chamberlains] for the lopps  
of the xx<sup>ti</sup> oks geven us by the Kyngs  
matie . . . . . xlj.s. viij.d."

From subsequent entrics, it seems probable, that these twenty

oak trees were given by the king to the town for the purpose of repairing the bridge over the Thames.

" Itm allowyd to humfrey Sale for charge his paynes rydyng to Oxford for affayres of the town . . . .	xij.s."
" It. payd to Willm Wyllyson uppon a byll of charges rydyng on the town affayres .	viiij.s. viij.d."
" And soe all thyngs accompted and allowed there remayneth in gold iij frenche crownys and in whyte money xxv.li. vj.s. ij.d. w <sup>ch</sup> gold and sylv was delyv'd to the seyd Thomas Goede mayo <sup>r</sup> . . . . Sm <sup>a</sup> xxv.li. vj.s. ij.d."	
" Whereof Mr. Pyle mayor payd to Mr. Woodward for the quyt rent of the sand pyttys dewe at o <sup>r</sup> ladye day last past . . . .	iiij.s.
It. payd by the seyd Mayo <sup>r</sup> for charge in the lawe for tryall of lyb <sup>t</sup> yes of the seyd Town .	xx.s.
It. payed to Mr. Kylby for the resydue of the tymbre . . . .	xxj.s. viij.d.
It. payed to Mr. Sadock for his charges Ryding to Tame to paye the Rent of Undowre .	v.s. iiij.d.
It. payed to Mr. Butler for Sollicyting owr Cawses cocnyng our Charter in the Eskcker <sup>1</sup> . . . .	xx.s.
It. payed unto Rob <sup>t</sup> Sadock by th <sup>e</sup> hands of the Mar <sup>r</sup> for the sawyng of plancks for the Bryge . . . .	iiij.li.
Itm payed to Rob <sup>t</sup> Sadock the ix <sup>th</sup> day of January a <sup>o</sup> pp E. vj <sup>ti</sup> for vi <sup>to</sup> pecs of Tymbre for pyles and two pecs for Dameys pre the lode xij.s. to be employed abowt the byrge . . . .	vj.li.
Itm payed unto Mr. Buttler by the hands of the mayor for cheages yn the Eschequer for our lybertyes the xij daye of february anno E. vj <sup>ti</sup> vij <sup>mo</sup> . . . .	xl.s.
Payd by Mr. Mayo <sup>r</sup> for the brasen deske in the pabe churche to th <sup>e</sup> use of the hawle .	x.s."

This last is a singular item. It seems that the brass desk or

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer.

lenten in the parish church, was sold to the corporation, and placed in the Town Hall.

A great amount of church property was sold at this period. Ashmole, after referring to the inventory of the plate, jewels, and church ornaments, in the reign of Richard the Second,<sup>1</sup> says, "a great part of these, and other succeeding contributions towards the Furniture, both of the High Altar and this sacred Chapel, were in the second, third, and fifth years of King Edward the Sixth, sold by the mutual consent of the Dean and Canons for the sum of £1489 8*s.* (besides Copes, Vestments, Cloths of Arras, Altar Cloths, Albs, Frontlets, and other ornaments, which they distributed among themselves) alleging a necessity so to do, for defraying the building of some part of the Castle Wall, taking down the high Altar, paying the Tenths and subsidies of the inferior officers of the College, bringing water to their houses, the charges of Visitations, and loss by the fall of Money; taking themselves only to be owners and disposers thereof, by virtue of the first article in the Statutes of Foundation of the College.

"What was left (being but a small portion in comparison of what was there, when one Mr. Henley took an Inventory of them an. 36 H. 8) appears from an Inventory taken the 16 of July 1552, by Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Maurice Berkley, Mr. Thomas Welden, and Mr. John Norrys, Commissioners impowered by the King to survey the Jewels, Plate, and ornaments of all kinds, within the College of Windsor, as also to take an account from the Dean and Canons of what things had been sold, alienated, distributed, or made away since their first coming to the said College."<sup>2</sup>

It appears from the answer (bearing date in the sixth year of this reign) of Owen Oglethorpe, Canon of St. George's College, to this commission, that property of the college had been sold to the amount of £1529 4*s.*<sup>3</sup> Oglethorpe says "that in passing back-

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 490, 491. See also Ash. MS., No. 1123, f. 174—189; and Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 5498 and No. 5751.

<sup>3</sup> It seems, however, that between 1544 (36 Hen. VIII) and 1552 (6 Edw. VI) the plate sold amounted to £1965 3*s.* 1½*d.*, and the jewels to £1489 8*s.* (See Ash. MS., No. 1123, f. 189.)

wards and forwards through Windsor, he did often sign acts of chapter, which the dean and canons told him were just and right ; that he had for his share as much as sold for £25, but that he lost most of the money, and that because he did imagine it to have been unjustly gotten.”<sup>1</sup>

“The palls of the henses of Kings Henry VII and VIII, and Edward IV, the organ and pipes, the plates of copper upon the graves, King Edward III's cap of maintenance, the sword and girdle of pearl and stone, the Duke of Suffolk's sword, &c.,” were sold at this time.

In this reign a plan was formed and commenced of supplying Windsor Castle with water, by means of conduit pipes laid all the way from Blackmore Park, in the parish of Winkfield, to the castle, a distance of five miles. The task was not finally completed until the reign of Elizabeth. Further particulars respecting it will be found in the next chapter. The castle appears to have been previously supplied from wells within the walls.

In digging a large vault or grave some years ago in the parish churchyard, to deposit the bones disturbed by the lowering of the churchyard, one of the old pipes used in the formation of this conduit was discovered.<sup>2</sup>

The following survey of the manor of Windsor Underour was made in this reign :

“A vew taken of the Mannor<sup>s</sup> of Windesore Underower By Roger Amyce gent p̃ticular Surveyor there the 13 day of September Anno Reg. Edwardi sexti sexto, at the Law day then ther boulden by the othes of every the Tennants, and renewed the 23<sup>d</sup> day of October 1561.

“Underower the bowndes therof.—The perambulaçon and bowndes of the said Mannour beginneth at a house on the Castle Hill in the occupacon of John Aldham and extendeth downe to the Thamys unto the Towne Bridge, and from thence by the Thames side unto the Mill there from thence by the Themis side unto a pecce of ground p̃cell of Shawe called the tenn acres, from thence to the est end of the Cawcey [causeway] under the parke peale and so from thence along under the same up into the Towne.

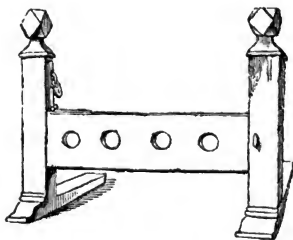
<sup>1</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1123 ; Huggett, MSS. Sloane, No. 4847, f. 119, &c.

<sup>2</sup> From the information of J. Secker, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for Windsor.

"Underower Common.—Also ther is within the said Mannor a severall common for the Tenantes of the same Lordshipp cawled the gravell pitts severed containing by estemacon six acers.

"Orders for ye feilds.—Item an agreement was meade concerning the use of the common feilds appertaining to the said Mannor by the mutuall assente and consente as well of Robert Saddock then farmer of the Colledge of Eaton of ther farme of Underower, as of the whole homage of Reading fee with the assent also of the Lord of the same in manner and forme insuing viz: first that the common feildes should bee closed up yearly by the feast of th'annunciacon of our Lady next, and laid open at the Feast of Thenveñcon of the holy Crosse in Maye at w<sup>ch</sup> day is the Tennant to enter common with ther Cattell according to his porc<sup>on</sup> viz: Robert Saddock xiiij Rother beastes."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Day's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126. A MS. volume of the late Mr. Chamberlain Egelstone, in the possession of Mr. Blount, of Windsor, contains a transcript of the rental of the manor, forming part of the survey.



Old Stocks. formerly lying in the Cloisters adjoining St. George's Chapel

## CHAPTER XXI.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF MARY.

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#### CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE.

A.D. 1553. OWEN OGLETHORP, D.D.                      A.D. 1556. HUGH WESTON, D.D.  
A.D. 1557. JOHN BOXALL, D.D.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1553. RICHARD WARD AND THOMAS GOEDE.  
RICHARD WARD AND THOMAS BUTLER.  
A.D. 1554. RICHARD WARD AND WILLIAM NORRYS.  
A.D. 1555. RICHARD HOORD AND WILLIAM NORRYS.  
A.D. 1557. WILLIAM HANLEY AND WILLIAM NORRYS.

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#### PROVOST OF ETON.

A.D. 1554. HENRY COLE, D.D.

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The Order of the Garter—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer conveyed to Windsor—The Princess Elizabeth at the Deanery, on her way to Woodstock—Marriage of Philip and Mary—Privileges of St. George's Chapel retained—Corporation Accounts—Progress of the Works for conveying Water to the Castle—Dwellings of the Poor Knights—Boundaries of the Manor of Clewer Brocas.

“MARY lost no time,” observes Sir H. Nicolas, “in restoring the Order of the Garter to the condition in which it was left by her royal father, and in replacing in their stalls such of her adherents as had been expelled from them. On the 27th of September, 1553, in a chapter at Saint James's, ‘it was decreed and ordained that the Laws and Ordinances (made by King Edward the Sixth), which were in no sort convenient to be used, and so impertinent and tending to novelty, should be abrogated and disannulled; and

no account to be made of them for the future;’ and commands were issued to Sir William Petre, who was on that day admitted as chancellor, ‘to see that they should be speedily expunged out of the Book of Statutes, and forthwith defaced, lest any memory of them should remain to posterity, and only those decrees and ordinances which her father and his royal predecessors had established should be retained and observed.’ On that occasion the Duke of Norfolk, who was attainted and removed from the order in 1546, and Lord Paget, who had been degraded on pretence of his mean extraction, were honorably restored, re-invested with the Garter and Collar, replaced in their former stalls, and all the records of their disgrace in the Register were cancelled and defaced.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of April, 1554 (after the insurrection of Wyatt), Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had long been prisoners in the Tower, were conveyed to Windsor, and afterwards to Oxford, “there to dispute with the divines and learned men” holding opposite theological opinions.<sup>2</sup> This was about eighteen months before the burning of Ridley and Latimer, and two years before Cranmer shared the same fate.

On the 19th of May, 1554, the Princess Elizabeth, who had been committed to the Tower on the 17th of March preceding, was removed to Woodstock, which had been selected for her residence. The princess was escorted by Sir Henry Bedingfield and Lord Williams of Thame. She slept the first night at Richmond; from thence she was taken to Windsor, “and lodged there that night in the Dean of Windsor’s house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess.”<sup>3</sup> The next night she was lodged at “Master Dormer’s,” and the following at Ricote, Lord Williams of Thame’s seat; the next day she reached Woodstock.

The marriage of Philip and Mary took place at Winchester on the 25th of July, 1554. Several days were devoted to feasting and rejoicings, and then the royal pair proceeded by easy journeys, by way of Basing, to Windsor, where they arrived on Friday, 3d of August.<sup>4</sup> They were met at the lower end of Pescod Street by the

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas’ ‘Orders of Knighthood,’ vol. i, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed; Grafton.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshed, Stowe, &c. See Ash. MSS., No. 1114, f. 43.



mayor and his brethren, "and thence (the trumpets sounding) they proceeded with the officers of arms before them, into the castle, till they arrived at the west door of the chapel, where was prepared a form with carpets and cushions, and at their entry the Bishop of Winchester censured them.

"The Queen having received the Mantle of the Order, with a reverential kiss from the Earls of Derby and Pembroke (to whom it had been presented by the Register of the Order), put it upon the king (assisted by the said Earls); the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, receiving the Collar of the Order from Garter, presented it to the Queen (with the like ceremony as was the Mantle) who put it about the King's neck.

"Then all the Knights Companions put on their Mantles, within the chapel door, and proceeded into the choir, and stood before their stalls according to antient order. Then the Queen went into her stall, taking the King by the hand, and setting him in the same stall with her, and after a little space, they both descended and proceeded up to the high altar (the Queen keeping the right hand) and there offered; after which they returned to their stall, where they reposed themselves, while all the knights companions present, did offer, according to their degree, and had taken their stalls according to their ancient custom. Then was *Te Deum* and *de Profundis* sung, which being finished, they came all down from their stalls, and proceeded to the chapter house door, where the King, and all the knights companions put off their mantles; and immediately going out of the chapel, they took their horses at the chapel door, and proceeded in order, up to the Castle, where they reposed themselves that night."<sup>1</sup>

Holinshed says the installation of Philip took place on Sunday, the 5th of August, "and the Earl of Sussex was also the same time stalled in the order. At which time an herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords."

The 7th of August "was made a general hunting with a toil

<sup>1</sup> Pote's 'History of Windsor,' p. 331; Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' pp. 308, 352, and Appendix, No. clx. See also Ash. MSS., No. 1110, f. 118.

raised of four or five miles in length, so that many a deer that day was brought to the quarry."<sup>1</sup>

On the 11th of August the king and queen removed from Windsor to Richmond, and from thence, on the 27th of the same month, they proceeded by water to London.<sup>2</sup>

The statute 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, repealing "all statutes articles and provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome since the xxth yere of King Henry theight, and also for the establishment of all Spyrytuall and Ecclesiasticall Possessions and Hereditamentes conveyed to the Layetye," and restoring (amongst other things) the jurisdiction of archbishops and bishops over certain parish churches and chapels in the hands of laymen, contained the following proviso :

"Provided alwaie and Be it enacted, That this Acte extende not to take away or diminishe the Priveleges of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxforde, ne the Privilegies or Prerogatifes granted heretofore to the Churches of Westminster and Wyndesore, ne the Tower of London, ne prejudiciall to suche Temporall Lordes and Possessioners in this Realme, as by auncient Custome have enjoyed Probate of Testamentes of their Tenantes or others."

"The Church of Windsor" refers of course to the chapel and collegiate establishment of St. George, and not to the parish church.

The following are extracts from the corporation accounts of this reign :

Chamberlain's account, dated 15th of October, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary (Andrew Alley, mayor) :

" Itm in allowance of the money leyd owt abowt the churche <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	iiij.li. xij.s. ix.d.
Itm p <sup>d</sup> to Wyllm Wylysing for the Statute boke of the ffyrst plyamt . . . . .	x.d.

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> The Ashmol. MSS. contain the following extracts from corporation accounts of the first year of Mary's reign, the originals of which appear to be lost :

" 11 Dec: p<sup>d</sup> towards the rep<sup>r</sup> of the Chauncell and to make up the alter . 2 : 0 : 0 "

" for necessary things for Mass and oth<sup>r</sup> divine service of ye church . 2 : 10 : 0 "

" 9 Feb: p<sup>d</sup> Mr. Goad for his charges beinge Burgesse of Parliament for

60 dayes at 1s. per diem . . . . . 3 : 0 : 0

p<sup>d</sup> to Thomas Butler for his charges at ye s<sup>d</sup> parliament . . . . . 1 : 10 : 0 "

- It. p<sup>d</sup> to Wyll<sup>m</sup> Wyllysing in reward for to releff  
hym in hys sycknese . . . . . xx.s.”
- “It. p<sup>d</sup> to John Dayfyt in reward towerts the losse  
of hys howse burnyng . . . . . xij.s. iiij.d.
- Itm p<sup>d</sup> to Thom<sup>s</sup> Metcalf Goldsmyth of london for  
gyldyng of the mace and other charges ther  
abowt the mendyng . . . . . xxij.s. iiij.d.”
- “ ‘Underowre’ John Aldem Collecto<sup>r</sup>
- “It. allowed hym for the yeres rent p<sup>d</sup> to the Kyng  
and Queene . . . . . iiij.li. v.s. iij.d. qr.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to hym for hys ffee . . . . . iij.s. iiij.d.
- It. p<sup>d</sup> to hym for the ffees of tbaccoptant for hys  
charge in the xcheker . . . . . iij.s. iiij.d.”

Chamberlain’s account, 14th of October, 2 and 3 Philip and  
Mary (John Wescott, mayor):<sup>1</sup>

- “It. p<sup>d</sup> to Thom<sup>s</sup> Dedyll in recompense of repac<sup>o</sup>ns  
of hys howse . . . . . x.s.
- payd to Thom<sup>s</sup> Butler the seyde day & yere of  
acompte for the charge of the allowaunce of o<sup>r</sup>  
Charter in the Escheker . . . . . xl.s.
- p<sup>d</sup> also by Mr. Mayor to the Chambleyns the xxvij<sup>th</sup>  
daye of Octobre an<sup>o</sup> se<sup>o</sup> do and ter<sup>o</sup> for to doe  
repa<sup>o</sup>ns of the cage and other necessaryes . . . . . xl.
- pyd to Thom<sup>s</sup> Butler the iiij<sup>th</sup> day of June (the same  
year) for the charge of the allowaunce of o<sup>r</sup>  
Charter in the escheker w<sup>t</sup> iij.s. iiij.d. he leyde  
more then he last receyved<sup>2</sup> . . . . . xliij.s. iij.d.
- payd to Mr. Newton for iiij yardes of cloth . . . . . xlvij.s. viij.d.
- payd to my brother Readings for x badges for p<sup>o</sup>uer  
folk according to the statute of the realme . . . . . ix.s. iiij.d.”

In the “mayor’s account,” 14th of October, 3 and 4 Philip and  
Mary (Thomas Butler, mayor), there are payments of 31s. 3½d. and  
of 2s. for repairs of the church :

<sup>1</sup> In Ash MS., No. 1126, the following entry purports to be “extracted out of the Churchwardens account Booke of New Wyndesore.”

“2 and 3 Ph. and Mar. M<sup>d</sup> that the 2d of July the Churchwardens opened the Church box out of w<sup>ch</sup> was p<sup>d</sup> to Mr. Maior 13s. 4d. w<sup>ch</sup> he disbursed for the Rode.”

<sup>2</sup> In the original, this and the subsequent items printed in italics have been crossed out, apparently because they are included in the £13 3s. 1d. at the end of a subsequent year’s account.

- " Itm to Mr. Butler for charges by hym layd owte for sh̄aroles busynes<sup>1</sup> in the xchequer . . . . . iiij.s."
- " It. payd unto Mr. Ockeham late undershryeff for the allowance of the peticon and claime of our charter in thoffice of the pypes . . . . . xiiij.s. iiij.d.
- Itm delyveryd unto ye abovesaid Thomas and Jhon Pyle for to paye unto the prest . . . . . iiij.li.
- Itm delyveryd unto ye same Thom's Goad (?) the x<sup>th</sup> daye of Januari to paye the prest . . . . . xxxiiij.s. iiij.d.
- It. payd unto Mr. Wheately the vj<sup>th</sup> daye of Marche for ij dynn's bestowyd upon Mr. Ynglefeld and other the Kyng and Quenes m<sup>d</sup> comysseyoners . vj.li. xvj.s. xj.d."
- " Itm payed unto the colector for the subsedie . . . . . xx.s."

In " Undero<sup>r</sup>" account, dated 18th of January, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, the following entries occur :

- " It. payd unto Humfrye Dale in pte of reco<sup>p</sup>ence for his costs for the apphencyon of Hoge kyns . ix<sup>th</sup> of June x.s."
- " Itm paid the xi<sup>th</sup> of July unto Nedam for xx blacke Bylls for the sodyers . . . . . xx.s."

The following occurs in the " bridgemens" account, taken 14th of October, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary (Andrew Alley, mayor) :

- " John Aldem p<sup>d</sup> for clothe for Souldy<sup>r</sup>os . . . . . cv.s."
- " M<sup>d</sup> that Reynold Redyng ys to be charged w<sup>th</sup> v.li. v.s. before charged for clothe for Souldyers defrayd by the seyd John Aldem"

In the chamberlain's account of the same date, £21 9s. 9d. is received for repairs of the bridge, and £23 1s. 2d. paid for timber, stone, gravel, &c., for the bridge.

In the mayor's account of the same year the following items occur :

- " More by hym receyvyd of Phyllyp Stokwell for hys offence in gevyng of obprobrious words to Mr. Pyle . . . . . vj.s. viij.d."
- " More by hym receyvyd of Mr. Goswell for transgressyng on ye comon w<sup>t</sup> shepe . . . . . iiij.s. iiij.d."

<sup>1</sup> i. e., business of the hall.

The common on which Mr. Goswell's sheep trespassed was no doubt the "Mill Common," between the castle and the river, part of the manor of "Underour."

"More he ys to be allowyd dyv's somes by hym payd videl't to James Calke for hys reward helpyng us in ye Eschequer xix.s. to Okh'm Undersheref for ye allowaunce of o'r petycon & claym of o' lybtyes of o'r charter in ye offyce of ye pypes xiiij.s. iiij.d. to John Whetley for dynn's bestowed uppon Mr. Yngleyfild & other ye Kyngs and ye Qwenes maties Comysyson's vj.li. xvj.s. xi.d. to the seyd James Calke for hys ffee attendyng in ye Eschequer vj.s. viij.d. to the Collector for ye subysdye xx.s. for charges at Underowre accompte vj.s. to humfrey Dale for hys charge abowt ye app'hencion of Hokekyngs x.s. to Nedam Smyth for xx<sup>ti</sup> blackbylls xx.s. more to hym for ye concvacon (?) of xx souldyers to London xx.s. for prest and other charges abowt the same souldyers v.s. vj.d. to Edmond Playsden in reward for bryngyng of a buck iiij.s. iiij.d. more to hym allowyd for drynkyng at the admysyon of Mr. Kylbie ij.s. iiij.d. in ye hole . . . . . xiiij.li. iiij.s. j.d."

In the mayor's account, taken 20th of October, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary (Gabriel Hylle, mayor), are the following items:

"Itm more payde to iiij sowdio"	.	.	.	x.s.
Itm for a payer booke	.	.	.	xx.d."

In 1555, the labour of conveying water from Blackmore Park to the castle, commenced in the reign of Edward the Sixth, as before stated,<sup>1</sup> was partially completed. On the 9th of October in

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 591. The following details of the works are taken from Ashmole's MSS., No. 1125: "Extracted out of the 2<sup>d</sup> Booke of the Charges of making and build<sup>g</sup> of the Conduyte head to convey water to Windsor Castle, and brought from Blackmore in the parish of Wynkefeld in Wyndesore forest, w<sup>ch</sup> Conduyt head is 5 myles distante from the s<sup>d</sup> Castle, made and done by the appointm<sup>t</sup> of the K<sup>e</sup> and his Councell, John Puncherdon Serjant Plumer having the Charge thereof, John Norys Esq<sup>r</sup> Controller of y<sup>e</sup> said honor and

the above-mentioned year, the pipe was brought up into the middle of the upper court of the castle, "and there the water plenteously

Castle, and Rich: Woodward Clearke of the same having the oversight and paym<sup>t</sup> of the works. From 24 July 6 E. 6 to the 12 Nov: 1<sup>st</sup> Q. Mary.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Day wages . . . . .	416	2	5
Empeo <sup>n</sup> s and provisions . . . . .	152	12	4
Carriages . . . . .	35	11	0
The officers Expenses . . . . .	111	0	0
	<hr/>		
	715	5	9

*p<sup>r</sup> diem*

"Plum <sup>b</sup> s laying pypes from the top of the Hyll in Frith lane downe to Askote plaync . . . . .	13 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i>
Bricklayers work <sup>e</sup> at ye Conduit head upon the houses there . . . . .	14 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> and 11 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i>
Plumbers laying pipes in Askot plaine downe towards the pond at . . . . .	13 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i>
Plumbs altering the Sesterne at y <sup>e</sup> Conduct head and making a new Cesterne a receipt by the Serjant Plumers appointm <sup>t</sup> . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i>
Bricklayers making the new Conduct house at y <sup>e</sup> head where the Sesterne is made for the upp. receipt thereof . . . . .	14 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 7 <i>d.</i>
Plumers making the Cesterne of lead at the middle Receipt of water and laying pipes thereat . . . . .	13 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i>
Bricklayers making the said midle Conduct howse, where the upp <sup>r</sup> Receipt is . . . . .	14 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> and 9 <i>d.</i> and 7 <i>d.</i>
Plum <sup>b</sup> ers laying pipes in the upp Trench frō the midle house to the place where he is knitt to the Corner house . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i>
Plumers setting the Sesterne in Frith lane . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i>
Plum <sup>b</sup> ers laying pipes in Ascott plaine towards the wood syde . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i> and 10 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i>

The workemen gave ov<sup>er</sup> at Christmas a<sup>o</sup> 6. E. 6. and began againe the 16 of Apr. a<sup>o</sup> 7. E. 6.

Plum <sup>b</sup> ers for laying pipes from the hanging of the hill towards the Mote pke at . . . . .	13 <i>d.</i> and 12 <i>d.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>
Plum <sup>b</sup> ers laying the pipes in the Mote pke . . . . .	12 <i>d.</i> &c.
—— in the Mote pke in the new Ground . . . . .	
—— to the midle of the new ground in the s <sup>d</sup> pke.	

Plumes left worke 6 Aug: a<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup> Mar.

For carriage of 2 sheetes of lead to Askot plaine for the greate Cesterne that standeth for the receipt of the water at Kilby's Gate\* . . . . . 8*d.*

"\* in frith lane"

did rise 13 foot high." A reservoir, with a fountain "of curious workmanship," was formed here, from which the water was distributed to every part of the building.

The Expences of Rich: Woodward daily riding and attend<sup>e</sup> the s<sup>d</sup> worke himselfe w<sup>th</sup> 2 serv<sup>ts</sup> and 3 horses and paying wages and for the stuffe for 324. dayes at 5s. the day . . . . . 8i.li.

The Expences of John Norrys Esq attend<sup>e</sup> ov<sup>er</sup>see<sup>e</sup> and controll<sup>e</sup> the s<sup>d</sup> worke himself serv<sup>ts</sup> and horses for 120 dayes, after the same rate . . . 30li.

M<sup>d</sup> that the Lead was had at Oweburne, Wallingford and Abbingdon."

"Extracted out of the 3<sup>d</sup> Booke of Charges of the s<sup>d</sup> Condaynt from 23<sup>d</sup> of June a<sup>no</sup> 1 and 2 Phi. and Mar. to 22 Dec: foll

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Totall.	Dayes workes . . . . .	156	1	8
	Empeco <sup>n</sup> s and pvisions . . . . .	81	8	11
	Cariages . . . . .	13	8	4
	The officers Expenses . . . . .	62	6	8
		318	5	7

		p <sup>r</sup> diem
"Labourers tak <sup>e</sup> downe the leade at Wallingford Castle . . . . .		7d.
Plumers laying pipes in ye Mote pke and Browns (Bromes?) Close	13d. 12d. 10d. 9d.	
laying pipes in the way and so entring Rich: Galyes		
ground . . . . .	13d. &c.	
laying pipes in Rich: Galys ground next Cloware . . . . .	13d. &c.	
— in Clewere field . . . . .	13d. &c.	
laying pipes in Wyndesor field and so through the		
Vicaridge godes house the churchy <sup>d</sup> th' old hawes		
and into the Castle . . . . .	13d.	
Carpenters work <sup>e</sup> in a frame to carry ye pipes ov <sup>er</sup> the Castle		
Diche at Rubbes gate. . . . .	p <sup>r</sup> diem	
Labourers digging the Trench in Wyndesor field going through		
the Oley pitte Gods Archard, the Vycaradge, Gods yeat		
house, the Churchyard, the Gardens in the old haws ov <sup>er</sup>		
the dyche into the Castle and cov <sup>er</sup> ing the pipes in the same		
Trench . . . . .	7d.	
Carpenters working upon the frame at Rubbes gate for ye pype . . . . .	10d. and 9d.	
Masons making the vault at the Gate for the pipes . . . . .	11d.	
Plombers working upon the Greate Cesterne in y <sup>e</sup> wood . . . . .	13d. 12d. 10d. 9d. and 8d.	
Carpenters mak <sup>e</sup> the Greate mould in the plombery . . . . .	10d. and 9d.	
Carpenters work <sup>e</sup> upon the frame at Rubbers bridge . . . . .	10d. and 9d.	

M<sup>d</sup>: the on 8<sup>th</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> of Oct: was the pipe brought up into the middle of the Co<sup>rt</sup> where the Receipt of the water shal be and there the water plentifully did run 13 foote high.

The general design of the fountain is preserved in Norden's drawing,<sup>1</sup> and the details in the accounts of their cost. It con-

"In this Booke it app<sup>r</sup> lead was had from Wallingford Castle, Grafton, Lond. and 370<sup>l</sup> weight of old lead fro Maydston.

"Tymer had out of Cranborne wood and the mote pke.

"Pipes of lead carryed into the Mote pke, Spitle hill, Clewer feild and so to Wyndesor w<sup>th</sup> lead to burne and knit the same . . . . . 15s. 4d.

"The lead y<sup>e</sup> came from Grafton was 18 Soves weigh<sup>t</sup> 6<sup>ton</sup> 3<sup>qr</sup> and 18<sup>lb</sup>

from Wallingford . . . 10<sup>ton</sup> 15<sup>lb</sup>

fro London . . . 8 3<sup>qr</sup> 25<sup>l</sup>

Lead taken up from the Countinghouse Tower . 56<sup>ll</sup>  
and new carried thither.

"Carriage of Lead to Cranborne wood where the Cesterne is made . . . 3s. 4d.  
Carrying the greate Lead panne fro Lond. to Wyndesor . . . 1 4  
Rich: Woodwardes Expences for 156 dayes at 5s. p die<sup>l</sup> . . . 39<sup>l</sup>  
John Norrys Esq his Expences for 80 days at ye same Rate . . . 20."

[Ashmole has not made any extracts from the fourth book. He evidently intended to do so, and a page is left, with the words "Extracted out of the" at the top.]

"Extracted out of the 5<sup>th</sup> Booke of the Charges of the s<sup>d</sup> Conduyte, from 24 Jan: an<sup>o</sup> 3 and 4 Ph: and Mar. to the 19<sup>th</sup> of Dec: next foll<sup>l</sup> annis Regnor. d. Rs et Reginæ 4 and 5.

"Day wages . . . . .	312 : 12 : 5
Taske worke . . . . .	21 : 19 : 10
Empco <sup>n</sup> s and pvisions . . . . .	281 : 18 : 0 : q <sup>d</sup>
Carriages . . . . .	40 : 8 : 2 : q <sup>d</sup>
The officers expences . . . . .	106 : 16 : 8
	<hr/>
	763 : 15 : 1 ob. q <sup>d</sup>

p<sup>r</sup> diem

"Plumb's making Cesternes for the offices in y<sup>e</sup> Cor<sup>t</sup> and lay<sup>g</sup> pipes to y<sup>e</sup> . . . . . 12d. and 11d. and 8d. 7d.  
Carpenters making Cisterne caces and oth<sup>r</sup> necessities for ye fountaine . . . . . 12d. and 10d.  
Bricklayers paving the Cloyster to Cover the pipes . . . . . 10d.  
Carvers carving the Carthowges and Scouehions for the fountaine . . . . . 14d. 12d. and 11d.  
Masons hew<sup>g</sup> stone for the Sesspall [cesspool?] dore and sett<sup>g</sup> up the same . . . . . 12d. 11d. 10d. and 7d.  
Bricklayers mak<sup>g</sup> Se spall howses and oth<sup>r</sup> necessities for to convey the wast water into y<sup>e</sup> woodyard at Rubbish gate at the old house and other places . . . . . 12d. 11d. 10d.

<sup>1</sup> See the Frontispiece to the present volume.



sisted of a canopy raised upon columns, in a semi-gothic style, gorgeously decorated with heraldic ornaments coloured and gilt,

Labourers digg <sup>e</sup> the foundacon of the Sespall house by y <sup>e</sup> old hawes . . . . .	7d.
Carvers carving the Scutchions in wood and stone about the fountaine . . . . .	14d. 13d. and 12d.
Labourers scowring a hole at the Armery dore . . . . .	7d.
Founders casting paternes in metall to garnish the Cesterne and topp of the fountaine . . . . .	16d. 14d. 11d.
Masons hewing and setting hard stone pave about the fountaine . . . . .	12d. 11d. and 8d.
Carvers Carving Scouchions in wainscott to make paternes for the moulds of the Scotcheons and Badges to garnish the Cisterne and topp of the fountaine . . . . .	14d. 13. 12. 11 and 8d.
Plumbers soldering the Armes about the fountaine . . . . .	12: 11. 8: 7d.
Plum <sup>b</sup> leading the Lavatory about the fountaine . . . . .	12. 11. 8. and 7d.
for carry <sup>e</sup> 6 Beasts Royall, viz: the Eagle conteyn <sup>e</sup> 6 foote in length, the Lyon 5 foote 11 inches, The Antilop 5ft. 6in. di. the Greyhound 5ft. 5in. one q <sup>ter</sup> The Gryffith 5f. 4in. 3 q <sup>ter</sup> The Dragon w <sup>th</sup> his base 13ft. 4 Inch in all 41fo. di <sup>l</sup> 1 In. di. after the rate of 6s. 8d. the foote . . . . .	13l. : 17s. : 6d.
To the Nunns of Langley for lead of them bought by the Marques of Winchester being 10. fudder . . . . .	100£.
To Tho. Gower M <sup>r</sup> of the Hardstone Quarry in Kent for hardstone of him bought . . . . .	28£.
For taking downe the Leade of the South ile of the Blackfriars church of K <sup>ng</sup> Langley in Com <sup>ty</sup> Hertf: and casting the same into Soves, conteynyn <sup>e</sup> 6. fudder . . . . .	1£.
For taking downe the Lead of o <sup>r</sup> Lady Chappell there and the reuestry (?) and cast <sup>e</sup> the same into Soves conteyn <sup>e</sup> 7 fudder . . . . .	1l. 5s.
To Roger Amice Surveyor for view <sup>e</sup> and appoint <sup>e</sup> Stone at Read <sup>e</sup> for build <sup>e</sup> of the fountaine . . . . .	3£.
268 Loade carried thence to Windsor.	
for carry <sup>e</sup> Lead frō Grafton to Alesbury being 16. myle iv (?) Ton . . . . .	1. 6. 8
Tymer had out of Cranbourne and Mote Pke Elmyn Tymer out of Under ore grove	
The Expences of Rich: Woodward paymaster for 276 dayes . . . . .	69l. 0s.
The Expences of Jo: Norrys Esq Controller for 138 Dayes . . . . .	34 : 10s."

and a dragon, one of the supporters of the Tudor arms, casting the water into the basin underneath. Some of the particulars of the payments for the carving and painting are very curious.<sup>1</sup>

"Extracted out of the 6<sup>th</sup> Booke of the charges of the said Conduit from the 30: of Jan. an<sup>is</sup> 4 and 5 Ph. and Mar. to the 25: of Dec. a<sup>o</sup> j Eliz.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
"Total	{ Day wages . . . . .	152	14	5
	{ Taske worke . . . . .	61	00	00
	{ Empeo <sup>ns</sup> and pvisions . . . . .	199	6	1
	{ Carriages . . . . .	5	11	1d.
	{ The officers Expences . . . . .	103	16	8.
		522	8	3

"Plumbers sodering on the scutchieons and making the Cisterne

at the Kitchen dore at . . . . . 8*d.*

Carpenters making Rayles about the fountaine . . . . . 12*d.* and 11*d.* 10*d.* and 9*d.*

Laborer digging holes about the Fountaine . . . . . 7*d.*

To John Puncherdon S<sup>r</sup>jant Plumer and Henry Deacon for  
finish<sup>e</sup> the garnishing of the fountaine in greate, as it was  
agreed betweene the Lord Tre<sup>o</sup>r and them . . . . . 60*£.*

To the Nuns of Langley for 5 fudder of Lead bought of them . . . . . 50*£.*

To Nieh: Lyzard Serjant Painter for paint<sup>e</sup> and gild<sup>e</sup> one  
greate vane w<sup>th</sup> the K<sup>e</sup> and Queene's Armes w<sup>th</sup> a greate  
Impiall Crowne upon it all gilt w<sup>th</sup> fine Gold and painted  
w<sup>th</sup> fyne oyle Collours . . . . . 7*£.*

To the same for paynt<sup>e</sup> prymering stoping gild<sup>e</sup> and varnishing  
of a greate Lyon and one Eagle hold<sup>e</sup> up the s<sup>d</sup> vane first  
primed w<sup>th</sup> soden oyle, 2<sup>dy</sup> w<sup>th</sup> red lead and oyle sodden  
together, then stop<sup>td</sup> w<sup>th</sup> oyles and red lead, then prymered  
twise upon the sunne and after that wrought 3: tymes in  
their colours and so gilt w<sup>th</sup> fine gold in oyle and after  
vernisht . . . . . 13*£.* : 6*s.* : 8*d.*

To the same for prymering stoping gild<sup>e</sup> and vernishing of one  
Gryffon, a harte, a Greyhound and an Antilope hold<sup>e</sup> up  
four Comptym<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> 4 Badges Crowned w<sup>th</sup>in them,  
wrought primed stoped gilt and vernished as before at  
6*l.* : 13*s.* : 4*d.* ye peece . . . . . 26*l.* : 13*s.* : 4*d.*

To the same for paynt<sup>e</sup> prymering stoping and vernishing as  
afores<sup>d</sup> of the top of the s<sup>d</sup> fountaine w<sup>th</sup> all the Cartushes  
pedesthalls Armes beasts pendants Comptim<sup>e</sup> Pillers  
Cornishe Arquitraves and frises w<sup>th</sup>in and w<sup>th</sup>out under  
and above all painted w<sup>th</sup> the lead Collour in Oyle and  
vernished . . . . . 20*£.*

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay.' These particulars will be found in the preceding note.

In this reign, the will of Henry the Eighth with respect to the establishment of the Poor Knights was carried into effect, by the erection of dwellings for them on the south side of the lower ward of the castle, the expense of which was defrayed out of the proceeds of the £600 a year reserved out of the lands granted by Edward the Sixth to St. George's College, as already mentioned. "But it seems," says Ashmole, "this work was not begun till the last of February anno 3 and 4 Ph. and Mary and finished the 25 of September anno 5 and 6 of the same King and Queen the charge whereof came to £2747 7s. 6d."<sup>1</sup>

"The stone for building was brought from Reading, the timber from several places in the forest, and the lead and apparels for chimnies from Suffolk Place in Southwark."<sup>2</sup>

In recompence of charges and pviding and conveying of wainscot

from Southwarke to Brookes wharfe and so to Winds*	13s. - 4d.
The Expences of Rich: Woodward paymaster for 182 dayes	70l. : 10s.
The Expences of Jo: Norris Esq. for 120 dayes	30:
"Artificers" { Jo: Russell M <sup>r</sup> Carpenter	
Hen: Bullock, M <sup>r</sup> Mason."	

(Ash. MSS., No. 1125, f. 68—71.)

<sup>1</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' citing Lib. Compot. penes-Harris, nuper de Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The following details of the works are taken from the Ashmolean MSS. :

"Excerpted out of the first Booke of Accounts of ye Charges of building and Ereccion of the Almes Knights lodgings, wthin the honour and castle of Wyndesor. As well of the 7: upp Lodgings (whereof the Tower is one) as also the 6 nether Lodgings beneth the said Tower, and one Roome for the hall, the kitchen and the pastry, w<sup>ch</sup> said 6: upp Lodgings were wrought by the day, and the said 6 nether Lodgings the Hall kitchen and pastry were new built out of the ground and wrought to taske in greate. Made and done by the appointm<sup>t</sup> of the Queenes Matie and set forth by the right ho<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Lord Marquess of Wynchester Lord Treasurer of England into the charge of Rich: Woodward Clarke of the said Honor and Castle and Roger Amice Esq. Surveyor of the same.

"The Total of all Charges from the last of Febr: a<sup>o</sup> 3: and 4 Ph. and Mary to the 25: of Dec: next foll were as followeth.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Day wages	653	1	6
Taske worke	323	4	8
Exempecons and p <sup>r</sup> visions	557	11	5
Caryages	258	14	6½
Necessary expences	018	7	8
The officers expences	125	00	00
	1935	14	9 : ob.

At a chapter of the Order of the Garter held on the 1st of June, 1557, three houses being then nearly completed, a discussion took place as to placing poor knights in them by the following

“Some particulars, that are included in the former totall

“Reading.—The stones for the build <sup>e</sup> were fetched from Redding Abbey by water,	
Windsor.—Masons spoyling the windowes of the howses above	
the Tower by ye day . . . . .	10 <i>d</i> .
Reading.—Carpenters viewing the Roofes at Reading and	
Wallingford by the day . . . . .	12 <i>d</i> .
Windsor.—Labourers digg <sup>e</sup> the foundacon of the new howses	
beneath the square Tower by ye day . . . . .	6 <i>d</i> .
Windsor.—Labourers digg <sup>e</sup> the cellers in the old works above	
the square Tower by ye day . . . . .	7 <i>d</i> .
Reading.—Masons taking downe the greate Stones of the	
dores and windowes in the Chappell of o <sup>r</sup> Lady	
there by the day . . . . .	12 <i>d</i> . &c.
Windsor.—Labourers digging and scowring the sellers in the	
new worke beneath ye square Tower . . . . .	7 <i>d</i> .
Windsor	<div> <div>Masons hewing Stones for the old lodgings above</div> <div>the square Tower p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>12<i>d</i>. &amp;c.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>Labourers in the old howses digging and breaking</div> <div>the walls for roome for the chimneys and the</div> <div>Jaques p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>7<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>Carpenters framing the Tymber w<sup>th</sup>in the Castle for</div> <div>the floores of the old workes p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>12<i>d</i>. &amp;c.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>Masons hewing of Stones in the old worke for</div> <div>dores and windowes . . . . .</div> <div>12<i>d</i>. &amp;c.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>Labourers digging Stones out of the walls there</div> <div>p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>7<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
Reading	<div> <div>Masons Chusing of Stones there p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>10<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
Windsor	<div> <div>Labourers breaking of Walls in the old Lodgings</div> <div>p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>7<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>Plombers covering the new Lodgings p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>12<i>d</i>. 11<i>d</i>. and 8<i>d</i>. and 7<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
Reading.—Labourers digging of Canc Stone out of the win-	
dowes for ye Batlem <sup>e</sup> in the new Lodgings	
p <sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .	
7 <i>d</i> .	
Windsor	<div> <div>Carpenters working upon the partico<sup>n</sup>s in the upp</div> <div>lodgings and making of force Dores for the</div> <div>nether Lodgings p<sup>r</sup> diem . . . . .</div> <div>12<i>d</i>. and 11<i>d</i>. and 10<i>d</i>. and 8<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>for scowring the Seller of the upp Lodging next</div> <div>the Lieuten<sup>t</sup> tower . . . . .</div> <div>7<i>s</i>. 4<i>d</i>.</div> </div>
	<div> <div>for scowring the 2: 3: 4 and 5: Sellars from ye</div> <div>Licuetenants Tower . . . . .</div> <div>1 - 15 - 4</div> </div>
	<div> <div>for digging the Trench in the wall to carry up the</div> <div>chimney of the Kitchen and Hall up through</div> <div>the square Tower . . . . .</div> <div>1 - 2 - 0</div> </div>

Michaelmas. It was thereupon "ordered that the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, should assign Lands for their maintenance, that not anything might be wanting to finish so pious a

"Timber for the upp lodgings was brought out of the sevall places foll. Ashinge, Hurste, Bynfeild, Water Cheley, Sunning hill pke, Wokefeld.

"Timber feld and hewed out of Bagshot pke, Cranbourne Chase, More pke, for the same Lodgings.

"12: Fudders of old Lead in peeces bought at Suffolke place in Southwerke.

"20: old Apparrails for Chimneys bought at Suffolke place for the Almes Knights Lodgings . . . . . 6*l.* - 13*s.* - 4*d.*

to 6 Labourers for helping to take the s<sup>d</sup> 20: Apparrails downe . . . . . 0 - 14 - 0

Elmen Tymber carryed out of Underhoure grove to Wyndsor . . . . . 0 - 2 - 9

Itm for expences of Rich: Woodward in all the tyme daily riding and attending the s<sup>d</sup> workes himselfe w<sup>th</sup> 2 Servants 3 Horses alwaies riding and send<sup>e</sup> for necessaries and stuff to the workemen and paying for it, and also their wages, by the space of 258 dayes at 5*s.* the day . . . . . 64*l.* - 10*s.*

Itm for the Expences of Roger Amice Esq. Surveyor of the Queenes Lands in Com<sup>o</sup> Buck, assigned to survey view and ov<sup>e</sup> see the s<sup>d</sup> works for the Costs charges paines and travaile of himselfe 2 men and 3 horses attend<sup>e</sup> to view ov<sup>e</sup> see and survey the s<sup>d</sup> workemen by the space of 130 dayes at 7*s.* the day . . . . . 45*l.* - 10*s.*

"These p<sup>t</sup>iculars I extracted to observe whence the mat<sup>r</sup>ials were fetched, and what things may be taken notice of in sevall pts of the buildings.

"John Puncherdon SEiant plumer  
John Russell M<sup>r</sup> Carpenter  
Hen: Bullok M<sup>r</sup> Mason  
Patrick Kelley M<sup>r</sup> Plasterer" }

(Ash. MS., No. 1125, f. 66, 66 b.)

"Extracted out of the 2<sup>d</sup> Booke of the Charges of ye build<sup>e</sup> of the Almes K<sup>ts</sup> Lodgings w<sup>th</sup>in the honor and Castle of Wyndesor, from the 13th of March a<sup>o</sup> 4 and 5 Ph. and Mar. to the 25: of Sep<sup>r</sup> foll. viz<sup>t</sup> annis 5 and 6 d. R<sup>e</sup> and R<sup>o</sup>

	£	s.	d.
"Day wages . . . . .	242	9	0
Taske worke . . . . .	66	14	4 ob. q
Empeo <sup>n</sup> s and pvisions . . . . .	403	7	7 ob. q
Carreages . . . . .	35	11	0
The officers expences . . . . .	63	10	8
	<hr/>		
	811	12	8 ob.

"Some few p<sup>t</sup>iculars, w<sup>ch</sup> are included in the afores<sup>d</sup> account.

"Carpenters framing the upp floores and pulling downe  
the old p<sup>t</sup>icon p die . . . . . 1*s.* and 10*d.* and 9*d.*

work. And towards the completing of all, the Queen had nominated nine of the thirteen designed Alms-Knights, namely James Crane, Michael Whiting, Silvester Clessop, Hugh Johans, Robert Case, John Brighy, George Fothergill, George Thackwell, and William Berd: but she fell sick of a fever in August following, and so a stop was put to this business.”<sup>1</sup>

Masons hewing stone to cope the Batlem <sup>u</sup> of the old Lodg <sup>es</sup> p diem . . . . .	1s. and 11d.
Carpenters pulling downe the old Roof and framing a new for the old lodg <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	1s. 11d. 10d. 9d. 7d.
Bricklayers rearing the Tonnells of the Chimnyes in ye s <sup>d</sup> Lodg <sup>es</sup> p diem . . . . .	1s. 11d.
Plumbers taking the Lead from ye old rooffe and new cast <sup>e</sup> ye same p diem . . . . .	11d. and 9d.
Carpenters floor <sup>e</sup> the lofte and franing the upp Tower p diem . . . . .	10d.
Bricklayers rearing Chimneys in the Square Tower . . . . .	12d. and 11d. and 6d.
Carpent <sup>r</sup> framing the ptico <sup>ns</sup> of the square Tower and floor <sup>e</sup> the same p diem . . . . .	12d. and 11d. and 10d.
Masons rearing the vice in the square Tower p diem . . . . .	12d. and 11d.
Masons finishing and coping the vice of the square tower p diem . . . . .	12d. and 11d.
Plasterers finishing the sealing of the new Lodgings p diem . . . . .	12d. and 11d. and 9d. and 8d.
Plasterers seeling the upp lodgings p diem . . . . .	10d. and 8d.
Plumbers covering the vice and finish <sup>e</sup> the square Tower p diem . . . . .	11d. and 7d.
Masons hew <sup>e</sup> stone to cope the wall at ye nether gate p diem . . . . .	1s.
Bricklayers laying the foundacon <sup>n</sup> of the same wall p diem . . . . .	1s. and 11d.
Plasterers seeling the square Tower p diem . . . . .	12d. and 11d. and 10d. and 8d.
To Henry Carrant carver in Stone for sett <sup>e</sup> up and mak <sup>e</sup> the Armes of England and Spaine w <sup>th</sup> the treales to the same ov <sup>r</sup> the midle of the square Tower . . . . .	10li.
for digging and clensing one face of greate Stone in greate at the late Abbey of Redd <sup>e</sup> conteyn <sup>e</sup> 24: loads . . . . .	1l. - 1s. - 4d.
For hewing 87 foote of Ashler in greate for ye rear <sup>e</sup> of the Vice in the square Tower at 1d. v <sup>th</sup> the foote . . . . .	9s. ob qr (?)
Glasiers worke done aswell in and upon the Almes K <sup>u</sup> lodg <sup>es</sup> as the Exchequer . . . . .	21℥ - 6s. - 11d. ob
The Expences of Rich: Woodward paymaster for 168 dayes . . . . .	42℥ - 0s.
The Expences of Ro <sup>d</sup> Amyce Esq. Surveyor for 52 dayes . . . . .	18 - 4.”

(Ash. MSS., No. 1125, f. 67.)

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter.'

These buildings are situated on the inner side of the castle wall, between Henry the Eighth's Gateway and the Lieutenant's Tower, and are still inhabited by the knights. The square tower and some portion of the structure to the east of it were previously standing.<sup>1</sup> Ashmole describes them as containing "thirteen rooms, besides a hall, a kitchen, and pantry."

The following boundaries of the manor of "Clewer Brocas" appear in the survey taken by Roger Amys, the king's surveyor, in the second and third years of Philip and Mary :

"The Mannour of Clewer Brocas, beginneth at a Tenement called the Goate against the Bell Tower otherwise called Clewer Tower ; and boundeth upon the Towne of Windsor unto the Thames and then boundeth upon Windsor Water to a place called Beckes Crosse: And then boundeth on the County of Buck unto the Parish of Windsor called the Rey, Didworth Maunces<sup>2</sup> and Didworth Lowring and the Parish of Bray on the west, and the Parish of Wingfeild at a place called the three stakes on the south west, and the Mannour of the Moate on the east,<sup>3</sup> and so to the Burrowe of Windsor to a greate house now Robert Francklins where some times stood two Crosses for bounds betweene the Liberties of the Burrowe and the seven hundreds,<sup>4</sup> and payeth Lostfield silver<sup>5</sup> xvij. viij.d." <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poynter.

<sup>2</sup> Didworth Maunsell.

<sup>3</sup> See an account of the Moat Park, *post*, Vol. II, chapter i.

<sup>4</sup> The seven hundreds of Cookham and Bray.

<sup>5</sup> Lostfield or Lose field silver appears to have been a sum paid annually for some right of common. In the same MS. as that from which the text is taken there is the following—

"Note of the severall Annuall fines of diverse Townes paid for herbidge called Losefeild Silver, yearly.

"The Towneshipp of Clewer . . .	xvij.s. 8d.
The Ditching of Didworth Mansell . . .	vj.s. ij.d.
The Tithing of Didworth Loring . . .	vj.s. ij.d.
The Mannour of Underour within y <sup>e</sup> Parish of New Windsor . . .	xij.d.
The Towneshipp of ould Windsor . . .	ij.s.
The Towneshipp of Nuptan in Warfield . . .	xij.d.
The Towneshipp of Winckfeild . . .	xvij.d.
The Towneshipp of Ascott . . .	iiij.s.
The Towneshipp of Ingelfeild in Surrey . . .	ij.s.

"Summa totalis 41s. vj.d."

(Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 126 b.)

<sup>6</sup> Extracts from Day's Book, Ash. MS., No. 1126, f. 52 b.

The manor of Clewer Brocas acquired its name from the family of Brocas, as has been already observed in an earlier part of this work.<sup>1</sup> The foregoing boundary is of interest, as proving the identity of the Bell Tower with the Clure or Clewer Tower mentioned in a writ of the reign of Edward the Fourth.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 263, 264.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 72 and 372. It is evident that Ashmole and Mr. Poynter are in error in supposing the Clure Tower was destroyed by Edward the Fourth, and consequently that the statement adopted at p. 72 on their authority must be corrected.



Old House at the lower end of Peaseod Street



## CHAPTER XXII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

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#### CONSTABLES OF THE CASTLE.

A.D. 1562. LORD ROBERT DUDLEY (AFTERWARDS EARL OF LEICESTER).

A.D. 1590. CHARLES EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, K.G.

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#### DEANS OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

A.D. 1559. GEORGE CAREW.

A.D. 1595. ROBERT BENNETT, S.T.P.

A.D. 1572. WILLIAM DAY, B.D.

A.D. 1602. GILES THOMPSON, D.D.

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#### MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1558. THOMAS WELDEN AND ROGER AMYCE.

A.D. 1562. RICHARD GALLYS AND JOHN GRESHAM.

A.D. 1571. JOHN THOMPSON AND HUMFRIY MICHELL.

A.D. 1572. EDWARD DOCURA AND RICHARD GALLYS, SUCCEEDED BY  
HUMFRIY MICHELL.

A.D. 1584. HENRY NEVILL AND JOHN CROOKE, JUN.

A.D. 1585. HENRY NEVILL AND GEORGE WOODWARDE.

A.D. 1588. EDWARD NEVILL AND EDWARD HAKE.

A.D. 1592. HENRY NEVILL AND EDWARD NEVILL.

A.D. 1596. JULIUS CÆSAR AND JOHN NORRYS.

A.D. 1600. JULIUS CÆSAR AND JOHN NORRYS.

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#### PROVOSTS OF ETON.

A.D. 1559. WILLIAM BILL, D.D.

A.D. 1562. WILLIAM DAY, D.D.

A.D. 1561. RICHARD BRUERNE, B.D.

A.D. 1596. SIR HENRY SAVILE, KT.

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St. George's Feast—Corporation Accounts—The Queen visits Windsor—The Cross—Sale of Church Goods—Proclamation respecting Singers—Regulations respecting Trading in the borough—The Priests' Wives expelled from St. George's College—Revenues of the College—Poor Knights—Visitation of Eton College—Richard Gallys—Removal of the Queen to Windsor in consequence of the Plague—De Foix, the French Envoy, placed under restraint at Eton—The Queen's Studies and Amusements—Marriage of Lady Mary Gray—Installation of Charles the Ninth by proxy—Statute respecting the celebration of St. George's Feast—Degradation of the Duke of Norfolk—Members for Windsor—Resolution of the Corporation—Works in the Castle—St. George's Feast—The Queen's Illness at Windsor.

THE first recorded event connected with Windsor in the reign of Elizabeth is the Feast of St. George held there on the 6th of

June, 1559. "The Earl of Pembroke was the Queen's substitute. There were installed at that time the four noblemen that were lately elected into the Order. There was great feasting; and that day the communion and English service began to be celebrated there."<sup>1</sup>

The four recently elected knights were Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland; Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester; and William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, who, having been restored to the peerage by parliament, was re-elected into the Order.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Robert Dudley was soon afterwards appointed constable of Windsor Castle and Forest, and keeper of the Great Park, during life.

By the statute 1 Eliz., c. 4, s. 8, "the Deane and Canons of the Free Chappell of St. George the Martyr within the Castell of Windesoure, and all the possession and hereditamentes of the same free chappell Deanrye and Canons by whatsoever name or names they be incorporated or knowen," were exempted from tenths and first fruits; and by the same statute the similar exemption by Henry the Eighth, of Eton College, was confirmed.

Sir H. Nicolas observes that "it is remarkable that the motives which induced King Edward the Sixth to adapt the statutes of the Order of the Garter to the religion of the state did not cause Queen Elizabeth to revive her royal brother's code, or, at all events, to have divested them of such ordinances and ceremonials as were inconsistent with the Protestant faith."<sup>3</sup>

The propriety of altering the statutes of the Order, however, induced the queen, in a chapter on the 23d of April, 1560, to issue a commission to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of

<sup>1</sup> Strype's 'Annals;' Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i, p. 68. "Though the public prayers were by the late act of parliament to be said only in the vulgar tongue, that all the people might understand; yet upon the petition of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and the two Coll. of Winchester and Eaton, that for the farther improvements of their members in Latin they might use the same form of public prayer in Latin, the Queen, by her letters patents, dated at Westminster, the 6th of April, in the 2d year of her reign, granted the same." (Strype's 'Annals.')

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. i, pp. 186-7.

Arundel and Pembroke, and the Lord Howard of Effingham, empowering them "to read over and consider them, and to consider with a watchful care and diligence if any of them were disagreeable to the Religion, Laws, and Statutes of this Realm, and if any such were found, the same to be faithfully represented to the Sovereign, to the end that she, with the Knights Companions, might establish such Decree concerning them as she should think fit;" but nothing appears to have been done.<sup>1</sup>

The following are extracts from the account of Gabryell Hylle, mayor, dated the "Morrow of St. Edward 1 Elizabeth, for year ending at Michaelmas preceding:"

"Payments.

"The same doth accounte in allowance for Rent payed  
to Mr. Wodward for the Gravell Pyttes . . . . . iiiij.s."

Mr. Woodward is described elsewhere as "clerk of the Castell of Wyndesor."

"And payd to the sam Baylyffs for the rent of the water  
of the sev'all unto theym appoynted by the  
com'on counsell of the seyd town for the advaunce-  
ment of theyr offycys . . . . . xl.s.

And payed Redford for keping the legge of  
the brydge & gatheryng the barge money for  
hys fle thys yere vj.s. viij.d. and in Rewarde in  
consyderacon of hys paynes takne xij.s. iiij.d. . . . . xx.s. hys reward

And payd James Calk for hys fle being of counsell w<sup>th</sup>  
the seyd town in the exchequer by the yer<sup>pt</sup> x.s.  
and for off'ers in the sam Exchequer at Mihelm's  
Anno Regno nup D'ino n' Philippe R. & Marie  
Regine q'in & sexto vj.s. viij.d. . . . . xvj.s. viij.d."

"The Expence } And payd Mr. Hanley being Burges of  
of the burges } the plyament for hys expenses ther  
of plyament } being by the space of Syx days . . . . . vj.s."

William Hanley succeeded Richard Hoord in 1557, as before stated. He was an inhabitant of Windsor, and mayor of the town about this period. He sat in parliament for only one year, for in the first of Elizabeth, Thomas Welden and Roger Amyce were returned.

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' and Ashmole, p. 195.

“ And payd to the Collector for the subsidy  
 dew to the Quenes ma<sup>le</sup> . . . . . xxvj.s.viiij.d. } xlvij.s.viiij.d.”  
 And payd the Quenes Collector for the xv<sup>th</sup>  
 and tenth of the mann<sup>er</sup> of Underhowre . xxj.s. }

“ And payed Rychard Redford for Iron work for the legge  
 of the brydge ij.s. and for nayles vj.d. . . . . ij.s. vj.d.  
 And payd Nicholas Bartlett for a seaceryt Boke xiiij.d.  
 and for a Markett Busshell xvij.d. and for mending  
 the bords by the Grate dore in the prison iiij.d. . . . . iiij.s.”

“ And payd for byllets gevein Almes to the Almose  
 folkes xxiiij.s. . . . . xxiiij.s.  
 And payd the Goodwyff Reward for feedyng  
 of Swans . . . . . xvj.d. }  
 And payd John Whetly for ffeydyng of  
 Swannes ij.s. and for three busshells of  
 Otes iiij.s. . . . . v.s. } vj.s. iiij.d.”

“ And payd Nicholas Bartlet goyng to Mr. ffytzwylliams  
 w<sup>th</sup> Thom's Coks confessyon . . . . . iiij.d.”

“ And payd the same Nicholas goyng to ffyfeld w<sup>th</sup> the  
 news of the Quenes . . . . . iiij.d.  
 And payd the same Nicholas in Reward to be dylygent  
 in hys offys . . . . . iiij.s.  
 And payed the Constabulls in reward goyng w<sup>th</sup> the  
 Sowdyers to Mr. Bullok . . . . . iiij.s.  
 And payd Mr. Gabryell Hylle for an' Jurney to Readyng  
 for the dyscharge of the xv<sup>th</sup> of Underowre . . . . . xij.d.  
 And payed for Expences in sendyng to London for the  
 mace and the cups . . . . . ij.s.  
 And payed the baylyffe in Reward for makyng clene  
 the place of the cage . . . . . x.s. iiij.d.”

And payd at John Whetleys for a  
 drynkynge to the clerks when  
 Te deu<sup>m</sup> was songe at the quenes  
 comyng in and at the pclamacon xxvij.s.  
 And payed the xij<sup>th</sup> day of May for  
 the chargys of a dyn<sup>n</sup> at Whet-  
 leys xxvj.s. & Bestowyd uppō  
 Mr. Warde iiij.s. vj.d. . . . . xxix.s.vj.d.

"Expencc in Enterteynyng the quenes Ma <sup>te</sup> Comysysoners & others v <sup>3</sup>	And payed at Mr. Whetleys for a dynn <sup>n</sup> geven to Mr. Norrys & Mr. Amice xiiij.s.	xiiij.s.	} x.li. ix.s."
	And payed the sam <sup>n</sup> for a dynn <sup>n</sup> when Mr. Nevell & the comys- syon's wher her for the subside li.s.	li.s.	
	And payd Mr. Ally for a drynk- yng at Mr. Whetleys when Nevell was a nother tyme iiij.s. x.d.	iiij.s. x.d.	
	And payd at a nother tyme for the Expence att the eatyng of Venyson . . . . .	xxx.s.	
	And payed John Whetle for the rem- nat of a dynn <sup>n</sup> the last yere xvj.s.	xvj.s.	
"Swan- uppyng Expence.	And payd the same fo dynn <sup>n</sup> the compte day being the morrow after Seint Edwards day A <sup>o</sup> 1559 xxxvj.s. viij.d.	xxxvj.s. viij.d.	} xxxiiij.s. ij.d."
	And payd John Whetley for the charge and expence of the up- pyng of the Swans uppon Cowl- ney Strem as apperythe by hys byll iiij.s. v.d.	iiij.s. v.d.	
	And payd the sam John Whetley for hys expence uppyng the Swannes from London brydg upward a long the Temys as fare as Taplow myll as apperythe by hys byll xxviiij.s. ix.d.	xxviiij.s. ix.	
	Whyghte Game . . . . .	xvj.	
	Grey Game beinge x whereof there be vij markyd owte and three taken to ffat and remaynth . . . . .	vij.	
"The Stok of Swanns declaryd by Mr. Whetley uppon the allowance of his Expence.			xxiiij."

The account of William Hanley, mayor, from Michaelmas day, 1 Eliz., to the same day, 2 Eliz., follows, but contains no item of interest. This is the last account in the volume,<sup>1</sup> and the books

<sup>1</sup> With respect to the handwriting of the accounts in this volume, it may be observed that the best and neatest is that of the reign of Edward the Sixth and part of Mary's. The latter part of Mary's reign is the most careless, improving considerably, however, in the two years of Elizabeth.

containing the subsequent accounts down to the year 1635 are unfortunately lost. They were in existence when Ashmole collected materials for the History of Windsor, and some extracts made by him are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Those extracts are of a scanty nature, and only serve to make it evident that in the loss of these account-books we are deprived for a length of time of materials of great value to the local historian.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that Queen Elizabeth was at Windsor early in September 1559, hourly expecting the arrival of Eric King of Sweden to solicit her hand. The king came not, however, but sent his brother John, Duke of Finland, as his representative.<sup>2</sup> The duke was received with royal honours, and flattered with delusive hopes; but, making no progress, was supplanted by an ambassador. At length the King of Sweden's patience was exhausted; and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment.<sup>3</sup>

This was probably the first visit of Elizabeth to Windsor as queen.

In the accounts of "William Hanley late Maior made the morrow after St. Edwards day King and Martyre anno 2 Elizabeth," there is a charge of £8 10s. 6d. "for a cup double guilt for the Queene, being a present against her first coming to Wyndsor."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These intervening accounts were contained in two volumes marked B and C, for Ashmole entitles his extracts as from "out of a Booke of the Accounts of the Guild, the Chamberlains &c. Lib. B and C."

<sup>2</sup> Strype. A letter from Frances Alen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 3d of September, 1560, speaks of the King of Sweden being then daily expected at Windsor. (Lodge's 'Illustrations,' vol. i, p. 423, 2d edit.)

<sup>3</sup> Lingard.

<sup>4</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126. A proclamation was issued from Windsor at this time, to which Strype thus refers: "For the conclusion of this year" (A.D. 1559), says Strype, "I will take notice of two proclamations the queen issued out. The one bearing date Sept. 19 from Windsor, was against defacing monuments in churches, and taking away bells and lead. In which I do guess the archbishop had a great hand, being so great a lover of antiquity, and so sore an enemy against the spoil of the monuments of our forefathers and of the churches; and the proclamation itself being so excellently and fully expressed as though it were done by his pen or direction." (Strype's 'Annals.' See the proclamation in Fuller's 'Church History'.)

From the accounts of the second year of the queen's reign, Ashmole has extracted entries of the payment of £1 8s. 10d. "for 380 foote of Boards oakin quarters and other things about making of the Armory," and £2 6s. 10d. for workmanship about the cross, including 40s. for painting it.

This is the cross erected in 1380,<sup>1</sup> and of which future mention will be made in the reign of Charles the First. The Armory Chamber was taken down in the third year of the queen's reign, and 4s. received for the materials, which, Ashmole remarks, cost £1 8s. 10d. only a year before.

In the third year, John Wells, bridge-warden, "gave in his account of the issues and profits of the Bridge of New Windsor, for one whole year ending the morrow after St. Edwards day, before John Wheteley then Maior." "The issues and profits of the same bridge coming of the Toll received of Bargemen of the bridge for this year" came to £16 4s. 8d. The accomptant's fee "for gathering the same was £1." In the same year "the reparations of the Guildhall and Market house amounted to £11 8s. 0d."<sup>2</sup>

The account contains entries of the sums of £1 1s. paid for the fifteenth and tenth of the manor of Underower, and £2 16s. 11d. paid for the fifteenth and fourth of the town.<sup>3</sup>

In 1564 the rood loft was sold to Mr. Gallys for the sum of two pounds, and the pall to John Woodward for two shillings.<sup>4</sup>

The following "church goods" were delivered to Richard Woodward, Richard Bereman, and Christopher Bartlet, the newly elected churchwardens, in the first year of this reign :—"A chalice with a paten duple gilt ; a pall of purple velvet with Cross of Gold ;

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>3</sup> The following are the only extracts made by Ashmole between the fourth and eighteenth of Elizabeth :

Anno 4 Eliz.	"The Towne Clearks annuall fee . . .	0 13 4
	Allowed to the Maior for keep <sup>g</sup> of Swannes . . .	0 8 0
	Allowed to him for entertainments . . .	8 0 6"
„ 6 Eliz.	"Reparations done to the Bridge . . .	4 18 0"
„ 11 Eliz.	"The Bridgewarden his fee . . .	0 13 4"
„ 13 Eliz.	{ "Humphry Michell Clearke of the honor and Castle of Windsor for building and repairing five years of the bridge . . .	59 11 8"
and 15 Eliz.		

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from the Churchwardens' Account-book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

a white damaske cope bordered with gold; a vestment of blew damaske with Cross and brest plate of gold, with altar &c.; a vestment of blew satten of Bruges with altar &c.; 2 new Towells of 6 Ells a peece; 1 ould one of Mr<sup>e</sup> Lekins guift; 2 awlter clothes; a deske of Brass; a missall; 2 Antiphories; 2 processionalls; 2 Candlesticks; a Crismatory."

The "expences upon the Church" in the following year amounted to £4 8s. 7d.

The "stuff of the Church delivered to the Churchwardens at the account made 30 Nov: a<sup>o</sup> 4 Eliz." was as follows:

- "A chalice w<sup>th</sup> a paten duble gilt, and the Chalis Cloth.  
 A Chrismatory of Tynn *made a standish*  
 A Church box of Iron w<sup>th</sup> a key.  
 A pall of velvet w<sup>th</sup> a cross of gold.  
*sold* 2 Stooles of velvet 4d.  
 A cushion of Cloth of Gold.  
*sold* A holy water pot and a censer 2s. 6d.  
 4 Towells  
 A Cov<sup>r</sup> of the Comunion table of Blew Damaske  
 One oth<sup>r</sup> of red worsted,  
 A pulpet cloth of red worsted w<sup>th</sup> garters  
 Another of purple Damaske  
*sould* A Cross of Latyn w<sup>th</sup> Mary and John 3s. 4d.  
 A Comunion Table and the Cloth of lynnin for the same  
 A Deske of Latyn w<sup>th</sup> an angell upon him  
 A Bason for the Offering  
*sould* A lenten cloth for the Rode 1s.  
 2 Sirplices of lynin cloth  
 2 Homilies a new and old.  
 2 new Psalters  
 2 Comunion Bookes  
 A Bible and a paraphrasys."

Besides the articles marked in the margin, the following "stuff belonging to the Church" was sold this year:

	s.	d.
"Wainscot . . . .	5	0
Alter Stones (?) . . . .	2	4
Banners . . . .	5	0
Copes sold to Mr. Whetley . . . .	46	8
	<hr/> 2	<hr/> 19 0"



St. George's Chapel appears to have suffered further losses at this period. "In 1560," says Anthony Wood, "one Edmund Johnson, schoolmaster of St. Anthony's in London, became canon of Windsor, and then by little and little (as one [John Stow in his survey of London, Printed in fol. p. 191 *a*] observes) followed the spoil of St. Anthony's hospital. He first dissolved the choir, conveyed away the plate and ornaments, then the bells, and lastly put out the almesmen from their houses, allowing them portions of 12*d.* per week, which also in short time vanished away."<sup>1</sup>

The following proclamation occurs in March 1559-60 :<sup>2</sup>

"Elizabeth R.

"Whereas our Castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children. We, willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and increased, declare that no singing men or boys shall be taken out of the said Chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our Household Chapel; and we give power to the bearer of this to take any singing men or boys from any Chapel, our own Household and St. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster the 8th day of March, in the 2d year of our Reign.

"ELIZABETH R."

Very curious illustrations are afforded at this time of the great power exercised by corporations with regard to carrying on trades in a borough.

On the 12th of April, 1560 (2 Eliz.), "at a common speech," the shoemakers of Windsor petitioned "W<sup>m</sup> Henley Maior, ye Bailiffs and Burges, yt forasmuch as they among oth' Artyficers wthin the Towne are charged w<sup>th</sup> Taxes paym<sup>t</sup> watch and ward yet forrainge Shoemakers, resort<sup>s</sup> to the Towne on the m<sup>k</sup>et dayes make open sayle of their wares, to their greate hinderance, and therefore pray they may be avoyded. Whereupon it was debated whether it was for the Comon weale of the s<sup>d</sup> Towne to have the

<sup>1</sup> Wood's 'Fasti Oxoniensis,' ed. Bliss, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Donation MSS., No. 4847, f. 117, Brit. Mus.; Ash. MSS., No. 1113, f. 252; inserted in Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i, p. 81, with this reference: "Ashm. MSS. 1113. The original in the Chapter-house at Windsor. In the same MSS. (1124) is a confirmation (16 Sept. 1 Edw. VI) of a similar privilege of King Henry VIII. In another (1124) the like Privilege confirmed, and in the very words of Queen Elizabeth."

s<sup>d</sup> forrainers avoyded on market dayes and weeke dayes, and concluded and decreed it was, faires only excepted, upon paine of forfeiture of 20*s*." At "a consultation" on the 30th of January, 1566-7, it was "ordered and decreed that no person shal be admitted into the liberties unless skilful in his trade and of honest report, and that by the Maior and six aldermen or the more [major] parte of them at their Common Speech or Consultation upon advice for such reasonable fyne as shall be expressed by them, to the best profit of the Common chest;" and "upon information then given by the Shoemakers that Henry Dale exercising the same occupation was not skilful in the same, and upon examination being found true, the Maior, &c., decreed that he should not exercise the said occupation there longer than the morrow after Ash-wednesday following."<sup>1</sup>

Nor were the regular traders of the borough exempt from the liability of being deprived of the right to carry on business, as a penalty for offences. On the 3d of June, 1560, Philip Stockwell, draper, was "expelled the fellowship and cleerely disfranchised not to open shop windowes, but be taken as a forrainer upon paine of 5*£* for slanderous Reports and false surmises ag<sup>t</sup> the Maior and others; He being an unquiet man, and hav<sup>e</sup> had 2 form<sup>e</sup> admonishions for his misdemeanors and unquiet lyfe towards the Maior Company and others, and once expelled the Company for the same."

Reynold Reading was "then also expeld the Company and fellowship of the same towne, for concealing the s<sup>d</sup> slander, sav<sup>e</sup> yt he may occupy as a franchised man in the s<sup>d</sup> Towne, because he hath formerly lived as a quiet man, and not knowne otherwise to behave himselfe."

On the 25th of June "the s<sup>d</sup> Philip did contumeliously [contumaciously] open his shop, wherefore he hath forfeited 5*l*. besyed by 2 wollen Clothes."

On the 4th of August following, however, "the s<sup>d</sup> Readd<sup>e</sup> upon his humble submission is restored by the Maior Bailifs and Bur-

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126, "Excerpted out of the Booke called the Maiors Booke of New Wyndsor beginning a<sup>o</sup> 1559."

gesses into the fellowship and Corporacon;" and on the 6th of March, 1560-1, "upon the s<sup>d</sup> Stockwells submission, and paym<sup>t</sup> a fine of 40s. he is restored to the libte<sup>a</sup> of the Burrough."

"At the before mentioned speech of the 3d of June 1560 Christopher Bust (<sup>2</sup>) one of the Aldermen for that he is daily attendant upon the Queens household, is tolerated not to be elected Mayor during life, unless he be content to take on him the said office; so that at his being at home in Wyndsor, he be henceforth assistant to the Maior, and keepe his place both in Church and hall."<sup>1</sup>

The following orders occur at subsequent periods:

"2 July 18 Eliz. A<sup>o</sup> 1571 Ordered yt Edmund Harris shall have during lyfe the sett<sup>a</sup> and placing of the Hall stand<sup>en</sup> and boohs betweene the Corne m<sup>ke</sup>t and the George Inn w<sup>ch</sup> is granted to him in considera<sup>o</sup>n of 12<sup>d</sup> a weeke before pd to him out of the hall, And yt no forrainer shall have any shop or stall wthin the limits afores<sup>d</sup> but only of him, and in the place appointed for that purpose among the rest of his occupa<sup>o</sup>n."

"Ult Apr. 1571. Jo. Wells one of the Brothers and Burgesses of the Towne for his manifest contempt and disobedience ag<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Maior and the good statutes and ordere of the Towne and guild hall, and for refusing to come before the Maior &c. when sent for, and after p mise to be conformable, is expelled out of the Brotherhood in corpora<sup>o</sup>n fellowship and Company of the s<sup>d</sup> Towne."<sup>2</sup>

Windsor appears to have had a good corn-market at this period. In the statute 18 Eliz., c. 6, "for the Maintenance of the Colledges in the Universities, and of Winchester and Eaton," directing that on leases of lands of those places one third at least of the rent should be reserved in corn, to be delivered or the value paid, such value, so far as related to the rent to be paid at Eton, was directed to be ascertained by the price of the best wheat and malt in the market of Windsor; and it continues to be so ascertained to the present day.

On the 20th of September, 1561, "a commandment came from the Queen unto the College of Windsor, that the priests belonging thereunto that had wives should put them out of the

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from the Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

College; and for time to come to lie no more within that place. And the same to be observed in all Colleges and Cathedral Churches; and likewise in both the Universities.”<sup>1</sup>

Regulations were made for the disposition of the revenues of St. George’s College, particularly with regard to the “new lands” granted by Edward the Sixth in pursuance of his father’s will.<sup>2</sup>

By an indenture bearing date the 30th of August in the first year of Elizabeth, made between the queen of the one part and the dean and canons of the other part, the dean and canons covenanted for themselves and their successors to distribute and employ the rents and profits of their lands in the manner set down in a book, signed with the queen’s sign-manual and annexed to the deed. In this book the total revenue is reckoned at the ancient value of £661 6s. 8d.; and the annual charges and disbursements by the college amount to £430 19s. 6d. The balance of £230 7s. 2d. is assigned for the payment of tenths to the crown, vicars’ and curates’ annual stipends, officers’ fees, reparation of the premises, and for the relief of the dean and canons and their successors in maintenance and defence of the said lands.<sup>3</sup>

The accounts were ordered to be investigated yearly, at St. George’s Feast, by the queen’s lieutenant and the knights companions of the Order of the Garter, “and that one of the officers of the Order should from time to time yearly put her lieutenant in mind thereof.”<sup>4</sup>

Elizabeth also confirmed the appointments by her sister, Queen Mary, of the nine alms knights,<sup>5</sup> and made up the number of thir-

<sup>1</sup> Strype’s ‘Annals;’ Nichols’ ‘Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,’ vol. i, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> See the ‘Antient Kal. and Invent. of the Exchequer,’ edited by Sir F. Palgrave, vol. ii, p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole’s ‘Order of the Garter.’ “Which order,” says Ashmole, “was renewed in a Chapter of the Garter held April 24 ann. Jac. Reg. 21, and the Chancellor of the Order appointed to be the Remembrancer: and in obedience thereunto, the Account of these new Lands (which begins annually at Lady-day, as that of the Old Lands doth at Michaelmas) was afterwards exhibited in Chapter, and in particular that account, presented by the Dean of Windsor, and submitted to the Sovereign and Knights-Companions consideration, (the 6. of November anno 9 Car. 1.) was referr’d to the perusal and inspection of the Knights-Commissioners, appointed at the same Chapter to consult the affairs of the Order.” (*Ibid.*, p. 174.)

<sup>5</sup> See *ante*, p. 608.

teen, according to their father's will, by adding to them four other persons, viz., Thomas Kemp, William Barret, William Cowper, and John Acton.

The queen also, in the deed of the 30th of August, made rules for the maintenance and governance of the alms knights, and these rules are in force to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

The annual allowance to each of these knights upon this new establishment was £18 5s., to be paid by the Dean of Windsor, besides a gown or coat of red cloth, and a blue or purple cloth mantle, with the badge of St. George embroidered on the left sleeve. The governor of the knights was allowed, in addition, £3 6s. 8d. a year.

James the First doubled the income of the knights, by granting them each a pension of £18 5s., payable quarterly out of the Exchequer.

Eton College did not escape the scrutiny exercised over all similar institutions at this period.

Under the visitation of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559 (to enforce certain articles and injunctions, and to inquire into the doctrine and forms of worship used in dioceses, &c.), commissioners were appointed to visit "Eton College and the University of Cambridge, and to take their oath of allegiance to the Queen and of her supremacy. These were Sir Will. Cecyl, chancellor of the s<sup>d</sup> University, Matthew Parker, S.T.P. Will. Bill, S.T.P. and the queen's great almoner, Walter Haddon, Esq. master of the requests, Will. May, LL.D. and dean of St. Paul's, Tho. Wendy esq. physician to the Queen, Rob. Horne, S.Th.P. and James Pilkinton, S.Th.P. This commission bore date at Westminster the 20 of June, in the first year of the queen [A.D. 1559]." <sup>2</sup>

It appears to have been under this commission that Dr. Cole, the Provost of Eton, was deprived of his provostship, on the 5th of July, 1559. Dr. Bill, Dean of Westminster, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the queen's chief almoner, and moreover one of the commissioners on this very inquiry, was on the same day appointed to the vacant office. Dying, however, on the 15th

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's 'Annals.'

of July, 1561,<sup>1</sup> he was succeeded on the 25th of the same month by Richard Bruerne, who held the provostship only a few weeks, for he was ejected by the visitors upon a royal visitation, 9th of September, 1561. Dr. Day, then Mr. Day, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was elected on the 5th of January, 1562, and held the office until his preferment, a period of thirty-three years.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after his appointment as provost, namely, on the 13th of January, 1562, Mr. Day preached at St. Paul's before the convocation of the clergy in which the Thirty-nine Articles were framed and agreed upon.<sup>3</sup>

In the third year of her reign, Eton College obtained a grant from the queen of a pipe of red Gascoin wine annually; Henry the Sixth having made a grant of two pipes annually.<sup>4</sup> In 1566, Elizabeth, by a letter of dispensation, granted permission to the fellows to hold, in addition to their fellowships, one living each, not exceeding forty marks in yearly value.<sup>5</sup>

In 1562 Richard Gallys and John Gresham were returned as members for Windsor. The first named was mayor of Windsor, and he appears to have been not altogether a silent member in the ensuing parliament, which met in January 1563.

"The very first thing they set about in the house of Commons," says Strype, "was the succession to the crown; and (in order to that) the queen's marriage with some fit person, for heirs of her

<sup>1</sup> According to Strype, he died on the 20th of July.

<sup>2</sup> Cheney, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, was desirous of this appointment on the vacancy in 1561. Strype, in his 'Annals' of that year, speaking of Richard Cheney, "a learned man," "incumbent of a parish called Halford, in Warwickshire," says—"The same year Eaton College wanting a provost (the former having been deprived at a visitation) the archbishop put the secretary (Cecil) in mind to recommend him to the Queen for that preferment, styling him 'a good, grave, priestly man.' But failing of that, he was preferred the next year to the bishopric of Gloucester."

<sup>3</sup> Strype's 'Annals,' vol. i, part i, p. 316. Mr. Day also signed certain requests concerning points upon which the lower house were not agreed; amongst others, "that the sign of the Cross used in baptism might be left off, as likewise the use of copes and surplices and the abolition of all saints feasts and holy days." (Ibid., p. 335.)

<sup>4</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4843, f. 10. See also Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 5755. Another grant of the queen was perpetuated by this inscription, indelibly cut in capital letters on the wainscot near the west end of the north side of the chapel: "Queen Elizabeth ad nos gave October x 2 Loves in a mess 1562." (Ibid., No. 4843, f. 95.)

<sup>5</sup> Sloane MS., No. 4843, f. 10.

body to inherit her kingdoms: for January the 16th which was but the next day after the speaker was chosen and accepted, a burgess (viz. the mayor of Windsor) moved for the succession.”<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the plague appearing in London and elsewhere, the queen removed to Windsor. On her way she appears to have been addressed by the Eton boys.<sup>2</sup>

On the 23d of September, 1563, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England, writes thus to Sir William Cecil, who was with the queen at Windsor, “whence, for the danger of infection, he advised that she removed not:”<sup>3</sup>

“I thinke no howse of the Queene’s about London within twelve myles meet for her Grace’s accesse to, before the feast of All Saints. Then I note you theis howses after wrytten to serve if need require.

“Hatfeld.

“Graftone.

“The Moore.

“Woodstock.

<sup>1</sup> Strype’s ‘Annals.’ Ashmole, describing the monuments and inscriptions in the old parish church of Windsor, says (‘Antiquities of Berkshire,’ vol. ii, p. 70)—“In the middle of the [south] Ile lyes a gravestone, whereon (in Brass plates) are the figures of a man in a gown, and a woman in the habit of the Tymes, veiled; beneath their feet this inscription:

“Here lyeth vnder this the body of Richard Gallis gentleman who was learned and liv’d a godly lyfe, and was thrice Maior of this Towne of Newe Windsor which office he commendably executed, and worthily purchased praise by his discrete Government. He did many charitable Deedes and at his death he gave to the Poore of this Town four nobles yearly to continew for ever. Heare also resteth Alicce his wife by whome he had 10 sons and 2 daughters. He dyed on St Andrews Day An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1574. in ye sixty and nyth Yeare of his age. And she deceasd the 24<sup>th</sup> of January An<sup>o</sup> 1580, when she had liv’d 57 Years.”

In the vestry room of the parish church of Windsor, hanging against the wall, is a wooden frame, containing a coat of arms and nearly the same inscription on a pannel. (See the arms of Richard Gallis, inserted at the end of this chapter.) The absence of any allusion to his having twice represented Windsor in parliament seems to show that it was considered rather a burden than an honour.

John Gallis, one of his sons, who was a citizen and goldsmith of London, made an addition to his father’s bequest to the poor of Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> See the Latin oration, followed by seventy-two epigrams in the same language, by the “Grege Etonensius,” in a tract in the King’s MSS., 12 A xxx, Brit. Mus., referred to in Nichols’ ‘Progresses,’ vol. i, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Note by Strype in the margin of the original letter.

"Langley, no good wynter howse, and yet my Lady's of Warwycke for tearme of life. Homewards from Langley I cannot bryng the Queene but by Reding and by Newberie, where they die. Wherin may be great perill, more than I wish shold be.

"I think her Majestie's best waye, where her Highnes now is in Wyndsore, if health there continewe: though the howse be colde, which may be holpen with good fyres. And if her Hignes shal be forced to remove, as God forbid, I think then best the houshold be put to boarde wages, and certayne of the counsell appointed to wayt, and herselfe to repayre to Otland,<sup>1</sup> where her Majestie may remayne well, if no great resort be made to the howse, and by this doing the perill of all removes shall be taken away, and the great charge that thereof followeth; and there is at hand Hampton Court, Richmond, and Eltone, large houses for rooms, and good ayre. And nowe colde wether and frosts will bringe helthe, with God's helpe. The rest of the houses the Surveyor can name you.

"Your frend,

"WINCHESTER."<sup>2</sup>

The queen followed the advice contained in this letter, and remained at Windsor during the winter.

The plague continued to rage in London for some time.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was despatched by Elizabeth to France, to present, in union with Sir Thomas Smith, the resident ambassador there, a project respecting the restoration of Calais to her and the relinquishment of Havre, having been arrested and thrown into prison, in July 1563, the English queen, by way of retaliation and to obtain his liberty, placed De Foix, the French envoy, under restraint at Eton.

Sir William Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith, from Windsor, 20th of August, 1563, says<sup>3</sup>—

"Sir, sence Barloo's<sup>4</sup> arryvall here, the 23 of this month, we can here of no manner of letters or message brought to the French Ambassador, who lyeth here at Eaton, better lodged than ever he was in

<sup>1</sup> Oatlands.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Harl., No. 6990, f. 15; Wright's 'Queen Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Lans., No. 102, f. 41; Wright's 'Queen Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Barlow, Sir T. Smith's servant.



England, at liberty to walk and ryde wher he will, and so he useth to ryde much abrode. And therfor if he do not make very good report, he doth not deserve so good handlyng. He percasse thynketh that somebody regardeth him, but he is not thereof sure.

"My Lord of Hertford and my Lady Catharine, because of the plague, are thus delyvered: he with his mother, as prisoner, she with her uncle my Lord John Grey."<sup>1</sup>

Some hostages, given by the French for the delivery of Calais, were at this time at Windsor.

They were afraid of the plague, and it was intended to remove them, as appears from a passage in the letter of Sir William Cecil just cited:

"The hostages, also being afraid of the plague, shall be put to some custody abrode, but not as prisoners. I thynk two of them to Sir Richard Blunt's howse, nere Reddyng, the other to Mr. Kenelm Throgmorton and Mr. Caroo.<sup>2</sup> All our determinations depend upon such matter as we shall here from this French Ambassador, who semeth much to muse that he can here nothyng."

These hostages, however, do not appear to have been removed as intended, for they were liberated at Windsor on the 23d of April following.<sup>3</sup>

During their captivity, they had on the 19th of June, 1563, attempted to escape, and "were taken, going away with John Ribald."<sup>4</sup>

John Ribald or Rybault was a Frenchman, who seems to have been taken prisoner on his return from Florida. He was a man of "experience and knowledge," and was favorably treated by Queen Elizabeth, and became her pensioner at Windsor; but in consequence of his attempt there to get the hostages off, he was placed in confinement.<sup>5</sup>

Other prisoners were lodged at Windsor about the same time.

<sup>1</sup> In whose custody she died no long time after, and then the Earl of Hertford was set at liberty. (Wright.)

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps one of the family of the Carews of Beddington in Surrey. (Wright.)

<sup>3</sup> See *post*, p. 631.

<sup>4</sup> Wright's 'Queen Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Letter of Sir Henry Norris to Sir William Cecil, cited in the next page.

On the 27th of November, 1563, Thomas Stukeley,<sup>1</sup> having made a voyage to Florida, came to the court at Windsor "with certen French captayns whom he tooke coming from Florida. They wer the Frenchmen whom John Rybault left last yere in Terra Florida, which perceaving that Rybault cam not, thought best to come from thence in a vessell made by themselves."<sup>2</sup>

The French ambassador was still at Eton. On the 16th of December, 1563, Sir William Cecil writes to Sir Thomas Smith as follows :

"The French ambassador desyring audience on Mondaye, was differed<sup>3</sup> *ad incertum diem*, which he taketh greevously. But I thynk he shall be herd this daye or tomorrow. Of late he hath conceived some offence to me uppon this occasion. Stuckley staying uppon his voyadg into Florida, and sendyng some of his shippes to the sea, to aventure agaynst Frenchmen, took certen Frenchmen that wer out of Florida, being of the nombre which Rybault left there. And being here at the court with the chieffest, he putt hym to liberty uppon his fayth, conditionally, that he shuld speake with no Frenchman. But yet the prisoner stole to Eaton to speke with the ambassador, and Stuckley hearyng therof, sent for hym, and beat him; wherwith the

<sup>1</sup> "Stukeley," says Fuller, "having prodigally misspent his patrimony, he entered on several projects, (the issue general of all decayed estates,) and first pitched on the peopling of Florida, then newly found out in the West Indies. So confident his ambition, that he blushed not to tell Queen Elizabeth, that he preferred rather to be a sovereign of a mole-hill, than the highest subject to the greatest king in Christendom; adding, moreover, that he was assured he should be a prince before his death:—I hope (said Elizabeth) I shall hear from you, when you are instated in your principality.—I will write unto you, (quoth Stukeley.)—In what language? (saith the Queen).—He returned: In the stile of princes: To our dearest sister."

Haynes has printed an order of the queen to the Earl of Sussex, then in Ireland, dated June 30th, 1563, stating that "our servant Thomas Stuckly, associated with sondry of our subjects, hath prepared a number of good shippes well armed and mann'd, to pass to discover certen lands in the west towards Terra Florida, and by our licence hath taken the same voyadg," and ordering that he should be received in Ireland, if driven there by stress of weather, "which, if he shall, he hath agreed to doo any manner of service ther, that shall be thought agreeable by you for our purpose." It appears that a part of Stukeley's commission was to take French ships, which were to be held until the intentions of the French king were better seen. According to Fuller, his Florida project failed for want of money. (Wright's 'Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 150, note, where see further particulars as to Stukeley.)

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, MS. Lans., No. 102, f. 44; Wright, vol. i, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Deferred.

ambassador being offended sent to me to complayne, and I rebuked Stuckly therfor roundly, although he did reasonably justify it, &c. The daye following the ambassador's secretary cam to know what I had done. I told hym how I had rebuked Stuckly, and what his answer was. 'Well,' quoth the Secretary, 'my master will advertise the Kyng, who will revenge it.' 'What,' quoth I, 'Monsieur, ye are too hoote, ye speke herin but foolishly,' using the word *sollement*. 'Why,' quoth he, 'call ye me a foole?' 'No,' quoth I, 'but I tell you what I thynk of your words.' Hereuppon he departed furiously, and so the ambassador conceaveth much offence agaynst me; but I must wear it away."<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that the "audience on Mondaye" desired by the French ambassador was on occasion of a brawl he had had with the Provost of Eton College,<sup>2</sup> the amusing particulars of which are thus narrated by Strype :

"The French ambassador lodged in Eaton College, near the Court at Windsor; where it happened that he and the provost of the said College had a great falling out. The provost was a little before commanded to keep his gates shut, according to the order of the house. Malvisier,<sup>3</sup> an agent from France, being with the ambassador half an hour after eight, and the gates shut, the ambassador sent to the provost for the keys: who answered, that he would not break the orders of the house. But after a multiplication of language on both sides, Malvisier departed to the back gate and climbed over, to go to his lodgings. Two or three others, disposed to do the like, came back to the provost's door with the ambassador's servants, and brake open his door upon him perforce with a form; and the ambassador, with a sword in his hand, though not drawn out of the scabbard, was the first that entered, and Du Bois, his secretary with another sword; and took the provost violently out of his chamber, having but one young scholar in his company, and took the keys, and opened the gates at their pleasure.

"In the morning the ambassador sent two of his servants unto

<sup>1</sup> MS. Lans., No. 102, f. 46; Wright's 'Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Wright *ut supra*, note.

<sup>3</sup> Mauvissière.

the secretary, to complain of the provost, fashioning a tale of the provost's refusal: with a remembrance, by the way, that they were forced to break open the door. The secretary answered, that he would send for the provost, and hear him also; and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him, he should bear the blame. Which speech of his they liked not; but said, he was partial to the provost, and suddenly departed. Being scarcely gone from the chamber, they met the provost coming to the secretary to complain, as he had cause. And the Frenchmen passing out of the castle [of Windsor] met with two of the provost's men, whose hearts, as it seems, did rise against them for misusing their master; and so they fell to some quarrelling, and drawing of their swords. But there was no hurt on either part. Upon this the Frenchmen came back to the Secretary's chamber with another cry; and finding the provost with him, who knew nothing of the matter, the secretary sent for the knight marshal, to examine the matter; and if he saw cause, to commit the provost's men to prison: which though the marshal found no great cause, yet it was ordered so to be. After this fray, the ambassador sent to have audience, alleging that he desired to speak with the Queen before Malvisier should depart: and perceiving that it was but about that brabbling matter, he was deferred until Monday, considering the festival days of Christmas. Wherewith he was nettled, and sent Malvisier away.

"Upon this it was meant, that the ambassador should be removed from Eton, and be taught to provide his lodgings with his own money, as the English ambassador did in France."<sup>1</sup>

The French ambassador appears to have been set at large some time before the treaty with France entered into in April 1564.<sup>2</sup>

Sir William Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith, from Westminster, on the 27th of April, says—

"Mr. Somer and Malvaser<sup>3</sup> came to Wyndsor the 20<sup>th</sup> of this month and the treaty<sup>4</sup> must take place the 23<sup>rd</sup> which was a very short

<sup>1</sup> Strype's 'Annals.'

<sup>2</sup> He appears to have been at liberty at the time of his dispute with the Provost of Eton, December 1563. Lingard gives the date of De Foix's release, in the margin, as August 30th, 1563.

<sup>3</sup> Maurissière.

<sup>4</sup> With France.

tyme to procure knowledg to our western sea coasts, or to Ireland, but what could be done in such a case was expedited. It was proclaymed in London the 22<sup>nd</sup>, and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> a notable good sermon made at Pooles,<sup>1</sup> with *Te Deum* and all incident solemnities. The same daye it was published at Wyndsor,<sup>2</sup> in the Quene's Majestie's presence going to the church, having with her Majesty the French Ambassador, so as nothyng wanted to shew contentation, and yet her Majesty, inwardly to me and other her counsellors, showed much mislyking, specially, as I guess, because the money was no more, for honor's sake.

"On that daye the French Kyng was chosen of the Order,<sup>3</sup> and so was the Erle of Bedford, and Sir Henry Sydney. I thynk my Lord of Hunsdon shall bryng the order into France, and so shall have commission to require the oathe joyntly with you.

"The treaties are in new wrytyng and engrossyng to be here ratified. Wherin all the hast is made that can be, because Mr. Throgmorton's return dependeth theruppon.

"The hostages wer put to liberty the 23<sup>rd</sup> at Wyndsor, where her Majesty challenged Nantoillet, for his practices in Oxford, provokynge evill subjects to be worse in Popery. But her Majesty concluded that she wold wrapp up all such with oblivion because of peace. As soon as I can possibly, I will procure the ratification to be sent thither, for I trust to have it sygned and sealed before to-morrow at night.

"Malvasyr hath a chayne wayng three score and . . . . ounces of gold: he hath bene well used here."<sup>4</sup>

John Rybault was liberated about the same time with the hostages, at the special request of the King of France, who, six years afterwards, was appealed to by the English minister, to release English prisoners, in consideration of Rybault's former release.<sup>5</sup>

Elizabeth, meanwhile, during the past winter, "still followed," says Strype, "her studies in a constant course with her school-master Ascham, who was so extremely taken with his royal mis-

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's.

<sup>2</sup> "This year (1564) the 13th of April, an honorable and joyful peace was concluded, betwixt the Queen's Majesty and the French King; their realms dominions and subjects: and the same peace was proclaimed with sound of trumpet, before her Majesty in her Castle of Windsor; then being present the French Ambassadors." (Holinshed; Stowe.)

<sup>3</sup> Of the Garter.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Lans., No. 102, f. 49; Wright's 'Queen Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. i, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Sir Henry Norris to Cecil. (Calig., c. vi, p. 31; Wright, vol. i, p. 305.)

tress's diligence and advancement in learning, that once he brake out, in an address to the young gentlemen of England, 'That it was their shame, that one maid should go beyond them all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth (as he made the challenge), six of the best given gentlemen of this court; and all they together shew not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's majesty herself.'"<sup>1</sup> "I believe," says Ascham, "that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsore more Greek every day, than some Prebendarie of this church doth read Latin in a whole weeke. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her Privie-chamber she hath obteyned that excellence of learning, to understand, speak and write, both wittily with head and faire with hand, as scarce one or two rare wittes in both the universities have in many years reached unto.""<sup>2</sup>

The following letter, written from Windsor about this period, by Lord Robert Dudley to Archbishop Parker, presents Elizabeth in a different aspect, and illustrates the out-of-door amusements of the queen, and the manners of the age :

"To the right honorable, and my singular good Lorde, my L. of Cantbries Grace, geve these.

"My L. The Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> being abroad hunting yesterday in the Forrest, and having hadd vearly good Happ, beside great Sport, she hath thought good to remember yo<sup>r</sup> Grace, with P<sup>t</sup> of her pray, and so comaunded me to send yo<sup>n</sup> from her Highnes a great and fatt Stagge killed with her owen Hand. Which because the wether was woght, and the Dere somewhat chafed, and daungerous to be caryed so farre, wovt some Helpe, I caused him to be p<sup>b</sup>oyled in this sort, for the better p<sup>s</sup>ervacon of him, w<sup>ch</sup> I doubt not but shall cause him to come unto yo<sup>n</sup> as I wold be glad he shuld. So having no other matter at this psent to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> Grace w<sup>al</sup>, I wyll comytt yo<sup>n</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Strype's 'Annals.'

<sup>2</sup> Roger Ascham's 'Schoolmaster's Epistle to Sir G. Cheke,' p. 70, cited in Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i, Preface, p. ix, note, edit. 1823.)

th'almighty, and w<sup>t</sup> my most hartly comendacyons take my Leave in Hast.

“ At Wyndsor this iii<sup>i</sup><sup>th</sup> of September

“ Yo<sup>r</sup>e G assured

“ R. DUDLEY.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th of September, 1563, Lord Robert Dudley, master of the horse, and constable of the castle, and keeper of the Forest of Windsor, was appointed by the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, chief seneschal of the borough.<sup>2</sup>

In August 1565, Lady Mary Gray, the third and youngest daughter of Henry Duke of Suffolk, by marrying Henry Keys, the queen's gentleman porter, created a sensation in the court at Windsor.

Sir William Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith, from Windsor, the 21st of August, says—“ Here is a unhappy chance and mon-struooos. The Serjeant Porter, being the biggest gentillman in this Court, hath married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the lest of all the Court. They are committed to severall [separate] prisons. The offence is very great.”<sup>3</sup>

The lady, it appears, was deformed, and died without issue.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1565-6, Holinshed tells us—“ Monsieur Rambulet, a Knight of the Order of France, was sent over into England, by the French King Charles, the ninth of that name, with the Order: who at Windsores was stalled in the behalfe of the said French King, with the Knighthood of the most honorable Order of the Garter. And the four and twentieth of January, in the chapple of her majesty's palace of Whitehall, the said Monsieur Rambulet invested Thomas duke of Norfolk, and Robert earl of Leicester, with the said Order of S. Michael.”<sup>5</sup>

A statute of the Order of the Garter was made in 1567 which in effect abolished the annual feast at Windsor, and, in the words

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the ‘Antiquarian Repertory,’ vol. iii, p. 179, from the original in the Library of Bennet College, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis' ‘Letters,’ 2d series, vol. ii, p. 299; where see letters from Lady Mary Gray to Sir William Cecil on the subject, written from Chekers.

<sup>4</sup> Sandford.

<sup>5</sup> Holinshed.

of Ashmole, "gave the greatest and almost fatal blow to the growing honour of this no less famous than ancient Castle of Windsor, and severed the Patron's Festival from the Place;"<sup>1</sup> for during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign only one anniversary of Saint George was kept there with the ancient solemnities. "At a Chapter, in the 9th year of Queen Elizabeth, the day of Saint George, for certain great causes, it was ordained, that if the Feast was not celebrated at Windsor, the day and even of St. George, as hath been accustomed, it should suffice, that the observation thereof should be kept in what place that the Sovereign were at that present, whereat the rest of the Knights and Companions should be holden no less to be present, as though the Feast were to be celebrated at Windsor. And further, that no other Celebration in the name of the Feast of St. George, should from henceforth, be solemnized and kept at Windsor, except the Installation of some noble personage, at the commandment of the Sovereign."<sup>2</sup>

On the 24th of June, 1567, the following order was made by the corporation :

"Decreed yt as the Maior before this tyme for the tyme being hath ben yearely allowed £10 for all his allowances and no more, In consideracon whereof it is at this speech considered yt the Maior shall beare and pay for the charges of all Com<sup>rs</sup> and other bankets and entertainments of gentleme<sup>n</sup> and rewards Queenes serv<sup>ts</sup>, and such like at the only cost and charg of the s<sup>d</sup> Maior and shall have no other allowance, other than pesents to the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> and noblemen and costs in the law only excepted to be at the Costs and charges of the Common chest.

"Decreed then that all psons yt refuse to watch or to pay for the same shall pay for the first offence 3s. 4d. the 2<sup>d</sup> 6s. 8d. and the 3<sup>d</sup> 10s. to be distrained upon their goods and chattells, and pay the charges of him yt shall watch for them."<sup>3</sup>

In August 1567 we find the queen at Windsor, from whence she removed to Oatlands, where she was on the 18th. On the

<sup>1</sup> 'Order of the Garter,' p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Existing Statutes, p. 51; Sir H. Nicolas' 'Orders of Knighthood,' vol. i, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.



21st she was at Guildford; on the 25th at Farnham; and on the 9th of September she was again at Windsor.<sup>1</sup>

The arrest of the Duke of Norfolk, for his supposed traitorous alliance with Mary Queen of Scots and her adherents, took place at Burnham, three miles from Windsor, on the 11th of October, 1569.<sup>2</sup> The duke was then, against the advice of his friends, on his way to the court at Windsor, in compliance with the peremptory order of Elizabeth, to whom his intrigues were known.<sup>3</sup>

The open insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westminster a few days later, in the same unfortunate cause, led to the proclamation for the degradation of the former earl as a Companion of the Garter, which was issued from Windsor in November of this year. He was there proclaimed a traitor by the sound of trumpet and the voice of the heralds; and the next day, the sentence of degradation being publicly read, his achievements were taken down, and spurned out of the west door of the chapel into the castle ditch.<sup>4</sup>

Elizabeth appears to have held her court at Windsor the whole of the autumn. The despatches of Secretary Cecil in October and November, are dated from the castle.<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of the queen's residence at Windsor in 1570, Strype again tells us that, "besides the public and weighty affairs of the state, she customarily set apart some hours every day in her privy chamber in learned studies; as in reading Greek, in conversing with ancient authors of philosophy and divinity, and in fair writing,

<sup>1</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i, p. 252, citing Lord Burghley's Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's 'Annals.'

<sup>3</sup> See Lingard.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, p. 621, cited by Sir H. Nicolas, p. 193. In striking contradistinction to the degradation of this Earl of Northumberland was the installation of his successor in the same reign, celebrated by a poem of George Peele with the following title:—"The Honour of the Garter displayed in a poem gratulatorie. Entitled to the worthie and renowned Earle of Northumberland, created Knight of that Order, and installed at Windsore anno Regni Elizabethæ 35, die Junii 26 By Geo. Peele, Maister of Arts, in Oxenford, London: Printed by the Widow Charlewood, 1593"

<sup>5</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. i, p. 263. Another proclamation against the Earl of Northumberland is dated at Windsor, 24th of November. (See Strype's 'Annals,' vol. i, p. 586.)

and indicting letters and discourses in divers languages. Wherein she used the conduct of the learned and ingenious Roger Ascham: which he looked upon as one of the greatest felicities of his life. And reproached the young gentry of the nation, nay, and many of the elderly divines, by her example. And with what words he addressed himself to them upon occasion of the Queen's studies, to excite them to learning, is set down elsewhere."<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th of March, 1570-1, John Thompson and Humfry Michell, Esqrs., were chosen burgesses of parliament for Windsor; succeeded in the following year (12th of April, 1572) by Edmund Dockwra, Esq., and Richard Gallys, who had sat before.<sup>2</sup> Richard Gallys dying in 1574, was succeeded by the former member, Humfry Michell.

Mr. Dockwra, or Docura, was recommended to the burgesses by a letter from the Earl of Leicester; and either this or some similar attempt to interfere with the free choice of the electors, called forth a resolution, at a meeting of the corporation on the 12th of February, 1574-5, "that when the Burgesses of the parliament be chosen, a Townesman shall be chosen for one."<sup>3</sup>

Although various orders were issued in 1562 to the surveyor of the queen's works at Windsor,<sup>4</sup> the earliest report upon the works of the castle during this reign, occurs in 1570, when a thorough repair of the chapel (probably, as Mr. Poynter suggests, the private chapel within the castle adjoining St. George's Hall) was undertaken, the ultimate cost of which amounted to £1900, including

<sup>1</sup> Strype. See *ante*, *sub anno* 1563. Sir William Cecil, writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dates "from Windsor, the 26th of October 1570." (See Lodge's 'Illustrations,' vol. i, p. 519.) The privy council was also held there in that month (see letter to Mr. More, in Kempe's *Loselly MS.*, p. 233)—evidence, of course, of the queen's residence in the castle at that period.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 624.

<sup>3</sup> Ash. MS., No. 1126, extracted from the Mayor's Book. The previous subserviency of the corporation to the court is shown by the language of the entry in the Mayor's Book:—"18 July 12 Eliz. Mr. Edmund Docura Esq<sup>r</sup> at the request of the said Maior Bailiffs and Burgesses was contented to be elected as one of the Burgesses and being so elected was sworn to the liberties of the Towne." (Ash. MS., No. 1126.)

<sup>4</sup> See "Orders concerning the Queen's works at Windsor to be observed by the Surveyor of the same, March 1 and 2, with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Cecil's remarks; also the Surveyor's charges for work done, 1562 and 1563." (Lansdowne MSS., No. 6, art. 4.)

the addition of a vestry and a closet for the queen. One of "the four great turrets" was this year taken down and rebuilt, a large new window and staircase made to the great chamber, and some ordinary repairs done to the apartments and alterations to the offices. The report from which these particulars are extracted concludes with a statement of the works to be done in 1571, the most important of which is the repair of a tower near the keep, facing the queen's apartments. This probably refers to the building now containing the housekeeper's apartments, adjoining the entrance to the keep and communicating with the south tower of the upper gateway, which still retains its original architecture, in a style fixing it to this date. In the following year, the Garter Tower, the Winchester Tower, the keep, and the tennis-court are all reported in want of considerable repair, and a survey is ordered to be made of the apartments, particularly the constable's lodging, which, "standing against the Queen's bedchamber, is evil favoured and in great decay." In aid of these repairs 20,000 bricks are ordered to be made. In 1573 the sum of £698 1s. 8d. was expended on the ordinary repairs, among which appears the stopping up of all the holes and broken places "to keep out the choughes and piggins, that doe muche hurte to the Castle."<sup>1</sup>

The small gateway on the castle hill, toward the town, taken down by George the Fourth, was built by Elizabeth, and bore the inscription—"Elizabethæ Reginæ XIII. 1572."<sup>2</sup>

On the 18th of June, 1572, the Feast of St. George, says Stow, "was holden at Windsor, where the French Ambassadors were royally feasted, and Francis duke of Montmorenci was stalled knight of the most honourable order of the Garter."<sup>3</sup>

The other ambassadors were Paul de Foix, a privy councillor of the French king, and Bertrand de Saligners, Lord de Mothefenalon. They came over to procure the confirmation of a treaty of peace between Elizabeth and the King of France, which was done at Whitehall on the 15th of June.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poynter's 'Essay on Windsor Castle.'

<sup>2</sup> Pote, p. 46; Poynter.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's 'Annals,' p. 673, edit. 1631; Holinshed.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

The Duke de Montmorency had been on the 24th of April elected a Knight of the Garter, together with Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford (afterwards Earl of Essex); William Cecil, Lord Burghley, first minister of the crown; Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, and Edmund Brydges, Lord Chandos; and at the investiture, the queen, as a mark of her special grace and favour, adorned Lord Burghley with the garter with her own hands.<sup>1</sup>

On the 28th of June the ambassadors left London for France.<sup>2</sup>

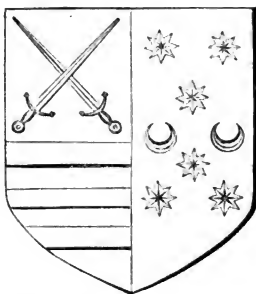
The queen, after her visit this year to Warwick, Kenilworth, and Compton, ended her progress on the 22d of September at Windsor,<sup>3</sup> where she was soon after unwell. Her illness showed symptoms of the smallpox, which she described in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, written at Windsor on the 22d of October, 1572.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Nicolas' 'History of the Orders of Knighthood.'

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. i, p. 321. Strype says the 24th of September. ('Annals,' vol. ii, p. 214.)

<sup>4</sup> See the letter, *ibid.*, p. 322, and Lodge's 'Illustrations,' vol. i, p. 552.



Arms of Richard Gallis of Windsor

(See *ante*, p. 625, note 1.)





1 celeberrimum Angliæ castrum  
significa: Artificiosa Region sepe  
equitum Societas memorabili red

Winchester Castr

J. From Hoefnagle

10.

H. FROM HOEFNAGLE

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### WINDSOR IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

(Continued.)

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Formation of the North Terrace—Other Works in the Castle—The Plague at Windsor—Proceedings of the Corporation with reference to “Foreigners”—Jurisdiction of the Corporation—Visits of Dr. Dee to the Queen at Windsor—Works in the Castle—Apartments of the Maids of Honour—Members for Windsor—Statutes, &c., of the Guild—Renewal of the Charter—Act of Parliament for Paving the Town—Erection of a Market-house—Restraints on Trade—Regulation of the Standard Measures—Appointment of Bridge-keeper—Address of the Corporation to the Queen, and Celebration of Her Majesty’s Birthday—Members for Windsor—Entertainment of the Viscount Turenne—Compulsory Support of the Poor—Festivities on the Anniversary of the Queen’s Coronation—Apprehensions of the Queen on account of the Plague—Her Translation of Boethius—Appointment of Steward and Deputy-Steward of the Borough—Visit of the Queen to Sir Edward Coke at Stoke Pogis—Appointment of Sir Henry Savile to the Provostship of Eton—Salaries, &c., of Officers connected with the Castle—Churchwardens’ Accounts—Parish Registers—Earliest Descriptions and Representations of the Castle.

“A TASTE for architecture,” observes Mr. Poynter, “was too expensive to suit a sovereign so calculating and economical as Queen Elizabeth, and few have done less to encourage it. Windsor Castle nevertheless owes to her one of its most striking, peculiar, and magnificent features—the Terrace.”<sup>1</sup> Previously to the formation of the terrace as a walk, and its support by a wall, there appears to have been a wooden railing and fence to keep up the bank. Hoefnagle’s view of this side of the castle, engraved in Bruin’s ‘*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*,’ published about 1575 (and probably the oldest existing view<sup>2</sup>), doubtless represents this old fence, as the

<sup>1</sup> “On the north side, next the river, Queen Elizabeth added a very pleasant terrace.” (Camden’s ‘*Britannia*.’)

<sup>2</sup> Gough’s ‘*British Topography*.’

new terrace could scarcely have been formed so early in Elizabeth's reign. A report from the clerk of the works in 1572 states the terrace to be in a very bad condition, the timber being so much decayed that it would not last another year.<sup>1</sup> Very shortly after this period the terrace was carried on the north side of the castle to its present extent, a plan of the improvements and alterations made by Queen Elizabeth, dated in 1576, being extant, in which the north terrace is laid down, and described as "the new walk not yet finished." The terrace at this time was carried out beyond the wall facing the scarp of the hill, upon cantalivers of timber, and protected by a wooden rail.<sup>2</sup>

From an abstract drawn up in 1575, it appears that the sums expended upon the castle during six years amounted to £6600. In the letter accompanying this document, addressed to Lord Burghley, Humfry Michell, the clerk of the works, asks leave to resign his office, on account of the difficulties and opposition he meets with in discharging his duties, and the delays in procuring money and passing his accounts. The effect of this remonstrance appears to have been his appointment as superintendent of all payments for repairs done to the castle, under a warrant from the constable, the Earl of Leicester, which at the same time nominates Henry Hawthorne to be surveyor of the works. The salary of each of these officers was two shillings per day.

In 1576 a new gallery and banquetting-house were in contemplation, and were erected shortly after. The latter was placed at the eastern extremity of the terrace. It is shown in Norden's drawing as an octagon building with a cupola, and the plan of the terrace before mentioned proves it to have been a sort of pavilion, with windows all round, twenty-two feet in diameter. Queen Elizabeth's gallery, occupying the space between Henry the Seventh's building and the upper gate, has had the singular good fortune to escape the alterations which nearly obliterated everything original

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Poynter does not seem to have been aware of this print, and thinks the new terrace may have been commenced in a former reign, so as to admit of the decay of the timber as early as 1772. But it is certainly more probable that the report in question refers to the old railing seen in Hocfnagle's view.

<sup>2</sup> Poynter.



about the castle after the restoration of Charles the Second. In the late improvements it has not only been respected, but its decorations have been restored with scrupulous fidelity, and it remains (says Mr. Poynter) a perfect and highly ornamented specimen of the Anglo-Italian architecture of the sixteenth century. It now forms a portion of the Library.

By a report in 1577, the works during the preceding seven years amounted to £7800, of which £1800 had been laid out upon the terrace. By a subsequent account it appears that every ten feet of the terrace wall, twenty feet in height, and six feet thick at the base, gradually sloping in to three feet at the top, cost £125 16s. 8d. In the same year a letter from the surveyor to Lord Burghley suggests an alteration at the end of the terrace next the college, "to prevent persons in the dean's orchard seeing into the queen's walk."<sup>1</sup>

Another work projected by Queen Elizabeth was a new garden, 1500 feet in length, for which the estimate, including the inclosure wall and planting, or, as it is termed, "makinge the garden perfecte with hearbes growing," amounted to £418 14s. 8d.<sup>2</sup>

During the residence of the queen at Windsor in November 1575 it seems the Earl of Essex paid her a visit.<sup>3</sup>

Windsor was visited with the plague in 1576, as appears by a proclamation of the corporation, published 21st of July, 18 Eliz.,

<sup>1</sup> Poynter. Several arched chambers, remains of Queen Elizabeth's works, were discovered under the north terrace in 1843. (See the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xx, new series, p. 303.) Harrison, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, says, speaking of castles—"For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the chiefe, a castell builded in time past by King Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diverse of his successours have bestowed exceeding charges upon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quenes majestic now living who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed upon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for plasure than for either profit or safeguard." (Holinshed, vol. i, p. 329, edit. 1807.)

<sup>2</sup> Poynter. Nichols speaks of the "meanders and labyrinths" of this garden as "still faintly discernible;" but this must be an error: it is Queen Anne's garden, of which traces may occasionally be seen in the Home Park. (See *post*, Vol. II.)

<sup>3</sup> A letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Burghley, dated at Windsor, 18th of November, 1575, speaks of the earl as being then expected at Windsor. (Wright's 'Elizabeth,' vol. ii, p. 27.)

directing "that all persons dwelling nere any howses which are, or for a moneth past, have been infected, and being now in Windsor do dep<sup>t</sup> hence, and that all such persons do forbear to come thither until further notice be published to the contrary. And that Inn-keepers &c. forbear to harbour any such upon paine of Imprisonment."<sup>1</sup>

In the following year the town appears to have been free from the disease, although it prevailed in London, for in the summer of 1577 the queen was advised not to remain nearer London than Windsor, on account of the plague.

The Earl of Leicester, writing to the Earl of Sussex, in July in that year, in answer to an invitation by Sussex to the queen, says—

"My good Lord, I have shewed your letter to her Majesty, who did take your great care to have her welcome to your house in most kind and gracious part, thanking your Lordship many times: albeit, she saith very earnestly, that she wil by no meanes come this time to Newhal, saying it were no reason, and less good manners, having so short warning this year to trouble you; and was very loth to have come into these parts at al, but to fly the further from the infected places, and charged me so to let your Lordship know; that by no means she would have you prepare for her this time. Nevertheless, my Lord, for mine own opinion, I believe she will hunt and visit your house, coming so neer. Herein you may use the matter accordingly, since she would have you not look for her.

"And now my Lord, we all do what we can to persuade from any progress at all, only to remain at Winsor, and therabouts. But it much misliketh her not to go somewher to have change of air. So what will fal out yet, I know not, but most like to go forward, since she fancieth it so greatly herself."<sup>2</sup>

The efforts made early in this reign to prohibit "forreigners" from selling their wares in the town were again renewed.

On the 19th of February, 1576-7, "upon Informacon" of the Mercers Draps Haberdashers Grocers and oth<sup>r</sup> Retaylers of the greate decay and poverty already growen, by reason that forraine Retaylers are permitted upon m<sup>r</sup>ket dayes, It is ordained for a law that

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from the Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Laus. MS., No. 25, f. 28; Ellis' 'Letters,' 1st series, vol. ii, p. 272; Wright's 'Queen Elizabeth and her Times,' vol. ii, p. 61.

from henceforth no Draper Mercer Haberdasher Hatseller, Grocer, petty Chapman or oth<sup>r</sup> Retailer and Victualler of all sorts (the like whereof are not made or traded in this Towne only excepted) shall shew or sell upon the market and weeke day (except faire dayes) any of the before menconed wares upon forfeiture (after reasonable admonition) [of] all such wares &c. The one halfe to the Bayliffs and the other halfe to the inhabitants as shall trade and sell such wares &c. and by the Bailiffs or inhabitants to be seised from tyme to tyme. Provided that if the Maior shall for any first offence (after reasonable admonicon) appoint any corporall punishm<sup>t</sup> or fine to be sustained or paid by the p<sup>r</sup> offending, then the forfeiture to be pardoned."

Again, on the 23d of November, 1582, it was "moved and concluded" that "fforrainers should be kept out upon market days;" but it is stated that this order "took no effect," "because the Mercers being required to contribute something to the Bailiffs for the loss of their Stalls, refused."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from the Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126. The following additional orders of about the same period, from the same source, are not devoid of interest:

"16 Sept: 18 Eliz. Whereas the ordinary Courts called the Towne Corts have been heretofore uncertainly kept and w<sup>th</sup> very long adjourn<sup>ts</sup> continued frō day to day namely sometymes monthly sometymes 5 weekes frō the last continuance, to the greate hinderance and delay of Justice. It is therefore ordeyned and for a law made that the s<sup>d</sup> Cor<sup>t</sup> shall from henceforth be kept and continued from fortnight to fortnight, unless in case of urgent necessity, w<sup>ch</sup> nev<sup>er</sup>theless shall not alter or abridge this ordinance, but yt it may and shall abyde ppetuall any Interupcion so occasioned upon necessity notwithstanding. And yt the Bailiffs dinners shal be kept from moneth to moneth as they have been lawdably used and accustomed heretofore.

"And that no Bailife henceforth make intermission of the usuall feasts or dinners by him during the tyme of his office to be kept upon paine to forfeit not only the moiety of all his proffitts casualties and Emolum<sup>ts</sup> of the office of Bailiff from the tyme of his intermission unto the end of the yeare But also 20 nobles for a fyne, to be levyed at the discrecion of the Maior and Bench, and shall nev<sup>er</sup>theless stand charged as Bailiff to the end of his yeare.

"Also whereas there is a decent place built in the parish Church for the Maior Aldren<sup>s</sup> and Burgesses to sit in comely order, whereby their necessary p<sup>r</sup>esence may be knowne to the good example of others, and from whence they may behold the behaviours of disordered persons, It is enacted and ordained yt if any Alderma<sup>n</sup> or Beneher (shall at any preach<sup>ing</sup> obstinately absent himselve from the s<sup>d</sup> place, or refuse to sitt orderly therein, shall forfeit 12d. for evy offence, to be levyed and employed at the discrecion of the Maior or his Deputy. And evy oth<sup>r</sup> Broth<sup>r</sup> offend<sup>er</sup> in forme afores<sup>d</sup> shall forfeit for evy offence 6d.

"Mr. Ed. Hake then supplying the place of Recorder, and Jo: Aughton one of the

At a "consultation" in the guildhall, held the 16th of June, 1578, "this following precept was shewed forth to R. Redford Maior's deputy the Aldermen Bailiffs and Burgesses :"

"These are to will you and in her Majesties name to comand you to warne to appe before us at Windsore Castle wthin the Cort house there on Tuesday next by 8: of the Clock in the forenoone these men whose names are under written, which faile you not to doe and also they to be there upon perill which may hereafter ensue. Dated this 15th of June 1578.

" HENRY NEVELL. W. PAGE. H. WESTFALINGE."

The persons' names followed ; and the directions were "to the Constables of the Towne of New Wyndesor and to every of them and in their absence to their Deputies there geve this."

"Which pecept being read and considered, all the psons under-named, in the name of the Maior Bailiffs and Burgesses &c., ordered,

"First because the persons were warned to appear out of the precincts of the Burrow contrary to the auncient priviledges thereof, therefore the Constables &c. to be restrained to execute the precept. And that if they or the inhabitants named in the precept should be molested fined or sued for their defaulte, of not executing or not

Bailiffs being reproved by the Maior &c. for not continuing his Bailiffs feasts as had been accustomed, made a speech shew<sup>e</sup> the reasons, conveniency and comendableness why they were and ought to be kept.

"The next day the s<sup>d</sup> Jo: Aughton hav<sup>e</sup> submitted for his said offence, p<sup>d</sup> 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. for his fyne."

"20 Sept: In consideration yt by buid<sup>e</sup> the poarch at the Staires foote of the Guild-hall the light of Rich: Needhams house is stopped, therefore the peell of ground ly<sup>e</sup> betweene the new porch of the hall and the back yard of the s<sup>d</sup> house is gr<sup>at</sup> to the s<sup>d</sup> R. Needham frō Mich: next, for 99 yeares, Rend<sup>e</sup> 1*d*. p ann<sup>e</sup> rent."

"13 Dec. 19 Eliz. Rich: Mellish one of the Bretheren for his manifold misdemeanors and contempts towards the Maior, and abusing the Steward w<sup>th</sup> contumelious words and taunts in open Co<sup>rt</sup>, and for his greate stubbornnes and unseemely behaviour towards the whole Bench, Is adiudged to pay 10*s*. fyne or oth<sup>r</sup>wise to make his humble submission the next Cou. day, else to be expelled frō the brotherhood and fellowship."

"10 Jan: 19 Eliz. The Chamblaines fee being before this tyme but 1*s*. 8*d*. a yeere is now increased to 3*s*. 4*d*. a yeere, and the account day for ex<sup>ch</sup> hereafter appointed to be Thursday after All Soules day."

"Ult. Febr. 19 Eliz. Ordained that no Inhabitants receive any Inmate upon paine to forfeit for evy offence 20*s*. and the Inmates to be removed by Midsom<sup>e</sup> next upon like paine." (Extracts from the Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.)

app<sup>e</sup>, Then they should be saved harmeles by the Maior Bailiffs and Burgesses, and their successors, and their charges and expences allowed them, yt should be thereupon occasioned. [Signed] Rich: Radford, W<sup>m</sup> Gwyn, Ric: Needham, Jo: Martingley, Ed: Hake (Bailiffs) W<sup>m</sup> Jacob, Nich: Slade, Jo: Wyght, Edmond Ludway, Tho: Heele, Tho: Clyftone, Walter Jones."

The corporation was extremely jealous of all its privileges, but of none more so than its exclusive jurisdiction. About twelve years later, namely, on the 27th of February, 1589-90, we find "Thomas Gabrell alias Hills, one of the brethren of the Guildhall, expelled, for that contrary to his oath of a Brother and duty of a Townsman, he had refused to be ordered by authority of the Maior and had sought to [maintain] the authority of the Justices of peace at large directly against the liberties, and for refusing to yield himselfe faulty and so to regaine favor of the Maior."<sup>1</sup> In 1586 there is a payment of 12*s*. "for a dinner on [to?] the water bailiff and Justice for relinquishing his Jurisdiction to the Mayor of this Towne notwithstanding the appearance of the Country before them."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Dee, the philosopher and astrologer of Mortlake, visited Windsor, and had interviews with Queen Elizabeth. The following entries occur in his diary for 1577:

"Nov. 22nd. I rod to Windsor to the Q. Majestie. Nov. 25th. I spake with the Quene hora quinta. Nov. 28th. I spake with the Quene hora quinta; I spake with Mr. Secretary Walsingham. I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland and Friseland.

"Dec. 1st. I spake with Sir Christopher Hatton; he was made knight that day. Dec. 1st. I went from the Cowrte at Wyndore."<sup>3</sup>

Queen Elizabeth had many interviews with Dr. Dee, calling on him at Mortlake in her rides on horseback from Richmond.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. This justice "sat also by authority of a commission under the great seal to inquire of divers statutes."

<sup>3</sup> The 'Private Diary of Dr. John Dee,' &c., edited by Halliwell, 4to, printed for the Camden Society, 1842, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 9, &c.

Certain of the items in the report upon the works at the castle for 1580, illustrate in a curious manner the state of some parts of the building, and the indifferent manner in which the decent comfort of the attendants was cared for in the court of Queen Elizabeth. One relates to the apartments of the maids of honour, who "desire to have their chamber ceiled, and the partition that is of boards there to be made higher, for that the servants look over." In another, "Sir Edmund Carey desires to have a part of the chamber being appointed for the Squires of the body to be ceiled overhead, and boarded under foot, for that it is so ruinous and cold." The former of these requisitions was at least partially granted, although the most urgent repairs seem about this time to have been impeded for want of money. In 1588 all the works had been suspended for three years on this account, but, £500 being then in hand, it is proposed to finish the Constable's lodgings, and to appropriate the remainder for the repairs of the conduit pipes, and the roofs of the castle, "where the rain beateth in."<sup>1</sup>

On the 25th of November, 1584, Henry Neville, Esq., and John Croke, jun., Esq. (being previously admitted burgesses), were elected members of parliament for Windsor. On the 26th of September in the following year Henry Neville was again elected, with Mr. George Woodward, "though" (as a minute in the Mayor's Book says) "the statute of 1 Hen. 5, and an act of their

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Poynter, citing a series of reports on the works at Windsor Castle in the State Paper Office. There is a tradition that Queen Elizabeth complained of the dinners at the castle being served up cold, and that she was told the reason was that the meat had to be brought all the way from the bakehouse in Peascod Street. (On the information of Mr. Snowden, of Windsor. The anecdote is also given by Mr. Stoughton, in his 'Windsor in the Olden Time,' p. 141.) The remains of what is called the "Royal Oven" still exist in Peascod Street, as shown in the woodcut at the end of this chapter. The fees of the bakehouse occur in the Household Book of Queen Elizabeth. (See 'Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household,' 4to, 1790, p. 282.) It may be observed that the bakehouse of the Palace of Sheen (Richmond) appears to have been at some distance from the Palace. (See "Account of the Old Palace of Richmond in Surrey," 'Vetusta Monumenta,' vol. ii.) It is more probable, however, that the bakehouse in Peascod Street was a public one, which the inhabitants of the manor were accustomed and obliged to make use of, in the same way as they were to grind their corn at the lord's mill. (See a reference to a bakehouse of this kind in Sir George Farmer's case, cited in 8 Coke's Reports, 127; 3 Modern Reports, p. 128.)

owne for appointing a Bencher to be one of the Burgesses, was read to the Company.”<sup>1</sup>

“Edward Fines, Lord Clinton, Earle of Lincoln, and Lord Admiral of England, Knight of the Garter, and one of her Majesty’s privy council, a man of great years and service as well by Sea as by Land, was buried at Windsor in January 1585.”<sup>2</sup>

In the twenty-second year of this reign the “Statutes and Ordinances” of the guildhall were collected and amended. They are, however, too long to be inserted here.<sup>3</sup>

Steps were also taken about this time to have the charter renewed, and also to obtain an act for paving the streets of the town. The following minute occurs in the entry in the mayor’s book of proceedings on the 23d of November, 1582 :

“The renewing of our Charter was moved and the pavyng of the Towne, it was concluded that Mr. Bagshaw should first obteyne a copy of a supplication which Mr. Temple made to be exhibited to the Queen, and is now remaining with Sir Henry Neville ; and touching paving of the Towne it is thought good that Sir Henry Neville and other our worthy friends be first moved therein, as well for the obteyning of it.”<sup>4</sup>

From the following items in the corporation accounts of this period, as extracted from the Ashmolean Manuscripts, it seems that as early as 1578, the town expected the renewal of their charter :

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126. (See *ante*, p. 636.)

<sup>2</sup> Stow’s ‘Annals,’ p. 700, edit. 1631 ; Holinshed.

<sup>3</sup> See Ash. MSS., No. 1126. The following was the form of “the oath of any gentleman or other brother that shall be admitted into the corporation” at this period :

“Ye shall be true liege man unto our Sov’aigne Ladye the Quenes Maicstie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of Englande France and Ireland defender of the faith &c. and to her heires and successors Kings and Princes of this Realme renouncing all forren powre and Jurisdiccon : Ye shalbe ayding and assisting unto the Maior of this Towne and Borrough of New Wyndesor for the tyme being and to his successors Maiors, the Cowncell of the Guildhall, ye shall truly keepe and reveale and declare the same to none other but to the Brethren of the same. And in all Causes that may sownde to the Comon weale and profit of the said Guild ye shalbe truly aiding and assisting and helping both wth yo<sup>r</sup> owne pson and goods to yo<sup>r</sup> powre. The good ordinances and auncient Statuts heretofore made for the good ordre and Regiment of the saide Towne ye shall uphold maintaine and pforme to yo<sup>r</sup> good wyll and understand<sup>e</sup>, so helpe ye God and as ye trust to be saved by the merritts of o<sup>r</sup> Lord and Saviour Jhs Christ. And as for yo<sup>r</sup> (yne to pay it accordingly.” (Ash. MSS., No. 1126.)

<sup>4</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

"A<sup>o</sup> 20 Eliz. For drawing the new Charter being 81 sheetes,  
searching in the Rolls and Abstracts of Records of  
divers Charters there to frame the booke by, and  
other incident charges . . . . . 9 6 8  
Reparations of the bridge . . . . . 8 0 0  
To Mr. Atorneyes Clearke for engrossing the Charter . 4 5 0"

"There are in this yeares account," says Ashmole, "many other expenses touching the charter as Intertainem<sup>t</sup> Rewards &c." And in the accounts of the twenty-third year of Elizabeth there is a charge of £1 paid to Mr. Richard Temple, the mayor, "for his riding divers tymes to Court to my Lord of Leicester about the charter," and in the following year a payment of sixteen shillings to Mr. Hake "for drawing a Booke of Statutes and orders for this Towne."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding these efforts, no charter was granted to the town until the commencement of the reign of James the First. There is evidence nevertheless that the corporation tried every means to procure it at an earlier period. There is an entry of a payment of 16s. 8d. to "Mr. Coade," in 1602, "to follow the suite about the charter;" and, also in the same year, the large sums of £59 8s. 6d. and £12 16s. 4d. were expended in "Rewards, entertainments, and other charges about renewing the Charter."<sup>2</sup>

"The book of Statutes and Orders, with additions partly by imitation of the Statutes of the Town of Reading and partly by other advice and direction," was presented at the Berkshire assizes, in 1592, to Mr. Justice Wyndham, by Sir Henry Neville, knight, the high steward, for confirmation and allowance.

In the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign an act was passed for paving the town. As it is an unprinted statute, it is given here at length.<sup>3</sup>

"An Act for the paving of the Towne of New Windesor in the County of Berks.

"Whereas the Streetes of the Queenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> Towne and Burrough of New Windsor in the County of Berks are yearly ympaired and

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> The copy is taken from the extracts from Matthew Day's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.



made noysome and foule by reason of the greate and daily carriages and recariages that are made to her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Castle there as well at such tymes as her Ma<sup>tie</sup> doth make her abode ther as also during all the time of hir Highnes Workes, to ye greate annoyance as well of the honorable and others attendant upon her Highnes person as also of the inhabitants and others frequenting the same Towne. For reforma<sup>cion</sup> whereof Bee it enacted by our said Sovereigne Lady the Queene's Ma<sup>tie</sup> the Lords spirituall and temporall and the Commons in this psent parliam<sup>t</sup> assembled and by aucthority of the same that all and every pson and psons bodies polatique and corporate their heires and successors which now bee or which hereafter shall bee immediate owners Land Lordes or terretenants of any Howses, Lands or tennauntes in any wise adjoyning to any of the streets within the said Towne or Burrough, bee yt on the one side or on the other, of any estate or estates in fee simple, fee taylor for terme of life or yeares, shall by such tymes and dayes as shall be lymited and appoynted by the Maior of the said Borough with the advise and consent of the Constable or Licuettennante of her Majesties honour and Castle of Windsor for the tyme being so that the sayd appoyntment bee openly published within the said Towne eight mounthes at the least before the said daies and times in forme aforesaid to be lymitted; well and sufficiently pave or cause to bee paved with good paving Stones every person along from and against his or their houses, lands and tenements adjoining to any of the streets ther so much of the sayd streets in length as his or their sayd Housses Lands or Tenements so adjoyning, extendith unto; And in breadeth during all the said length foure yardes of full measure upon payne to loose and forfeit for every yard square not sufficiently paved by the said tymes so to bee lymitted and appointed in forme aforesaid, the same being presented before the Maior Bayliffes and Burgesses of the said Towne for the time being by the oathes of twelve honest and substantiall men of the said Towne or Burrough being sworne for that purpose, twelve pence of lawfull money of England, and shall also from and after the said daies and times so to bee lymitted and appointed as aforesaid the same being published in manner and forme aforesaid well and sufficiently from tyme to tyme repayre and mayntaine the same as often as it shall bee needfull with like stone in such and like manner as above is declared upon paine to forfeit for every yard square not sufficiently repaired and amended as often as any such default shall bee the same being presented before the Major Bayleffs and Burgesses of the said Towne for the time being in manner and forme aforesaid, eight pence of like money all which defaultes shall and may bee enquired of and presented at the Leetes to bee holden within the said Burrough and the forfeitures for every such default there presented

shall and may bee levied by the Major Bayliffes and Burgesses of the said Towne for the time being and ther ministers as Fynes and amerstments in Leetes are by the Law to bee levied and shall bee Employed from tyme to tyme upon the paving of the said Towne ; provided alwaies that if the Lessees for yeares or Tennants at will of the said howsses Lands or Tenements, or if any of them doe sufficiently pave or repaire before their mansions or dwelling places the streets and wayes aforesaid or any part thereof, that then they and every of them shall and may defalke abate and retaine in his or their hands so much of the Rents due to the Lessors or others to whom the ymediate Reversion of their said housses Lands or Tenements doe belonge as they can duely prove to have bine expended by them upon the same paving. And so much defalked shall bee to all intentes accompted as paid to their Lessors or others to whome the ymediate reversion of their said housses Lands or Tenementes doe belong in such forme as by their Leases or graunts is appoynted to be paid, and the said Lessors, or they to whom such Rents shall bee due [not ?] to have an Accord or Tytle of re-entrie for or by reason of the non payment of so much of the same Rent as shall bee so employed except the said Lessors [Lessees ?] or Tennants have otherwise covenanted and shall hereafter covenante to make the said pavement at their owne Costes and Charges or to beare or save harmlesse ther Lessors of all charges payments or duties issuing out of or to bee imposed upon such their housses lands or Tenements."

These vigorous measures for the improvement of Windsor did not rest here. The next step was to erect a new market-house. Mr. Hake, the mayor, seems to have been an active person in promoting the welfare of the town. At a meeting on the 7th of January, 1585-6, "the mayor renewed the motion for the market house, earnestly calling upon the company for the same, and whereas the difference of opinions about the place where it should stand, seemed to be the hinderance of the going forward thereof, at the breaking up of this meeting Mr. Maior went to view the same."<sup>1</sup>

The usual feasts of the corporation were curtailed, and the sums allowed for them were appropriated to the building. The following entry occurs in the mayor's book under the date of 21st December, a<sup>o</sup> 29 Eliz. : "Decreed that the Bailifs yt now be

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from the Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

shall bring £5 a yeere to be discharged of their Cort day dinners except the Dinners upon the 2 law dayes And yt Mr. Bagshaw the p̄sent maior be discharged from his p̄sent Christmas dinner if he pay 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* towards build<sup>s</sup> of the market house." And again, on the 20th of September, a° 30 Eliz., "In consideration that Mr. Maior allowes 8*l.* towards building the market house the whole company agree to discharge him of his charges on St. Edwards Day, Christmas Day, and Midsom Eve. The 2 Bailyes pay £10 to Mr. Maior to be discharged of their dinners except 2 law dayes and 2 oth<sup>r</sup> Cort dayes w<sup>ch</sup> the maior shall appoint."<sup>1</sup>

On the 3d of January, 1586, "Mr. Gwyn delivered to Mr. Bagshaw maior £5 which he received of Mr. H. Vust (?) in parte of payment of £40 which Mr. Dollin did bequeath unto the Towne of New Wyndsor towards building of the market howse;" and the year following, Richard Needham, chamberlain, paid £10 more to Mr. Gwyne, then mayor, for the same purpose.<sup>2</sup>

We find the following "freē guifts towards build<sup>s</sup> of the m̄ket house" in the thirtieth year of the queen's reign :

"Earle of Leic: . . . 40 <i>s.</i>	Sr. Hen: Nevill . . . 40 <i>s.</i>
Mr. Belamy . . . 40	Mr. Jenys . . . 40 <i>s.</i>
Mr. Maslyn . . . 20 <i>s.</i>	Reginald Thornbury . 20 <i>s.</i>
Mr. Wyndesor . . . 10 <i>s.</i>	Mr. Brooke . . . 10 <i>s.</i>
Mr. Brightridge . . . 10 <i>s.</i>	Mr. Hall (?) and others 3 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> " <sup>3</sup>

The building was not finished for several years, for on the 30th of September, 1591, it was "determined and agreed that the two Chamberlains with Mr. Masselyn and Mr. Alden shall see the bestowing of the moneys for finishing the market house;"<sup>4</sup> and on the 13th of October, 1594, it was "decreed that Mr. Maior shal be discharged of Entertainments of the Company at Christmas, and during his tyme, and in considera<sup>c</sup>on thereof he to allow 8*l.* of his fee towards finishing the m̄ket house and the bridge;"<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Mayor's Book, Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

at the same time "the Bailiffs to be discharged of all Court Dinners except the two law days, they allowing £10 towards finishing the market house and 6s. 8d. every Court day towards Mr. Mayors and his Companys dinner, and Mr. Maior to allow 12d., every one of the Bench 6d., and every other Brother 4d., whether present or absent;" and a similar regulation was adopted in the following year.<sup>1</sup>

In 1588 the charges and expenses for timber, lead, carpenters', masons', and plumbers' work, &c., for the market house, amounted to £79 11s. 11d.; and in 1596 there is a charge of £77 16s. 4d. for the same purposes. There were doubtless various intermediate sums paid, which have not been noticed by Ashmole.

At the meeting of the corporation on the 7th of January, 1585-6, at which the question of the site of the market place was discussed, "sundry Commoners made complaint to the Maior that Maidenhead market newly crected was a great hinderance to the market of this Towne, whereupon he offered to seeke lawfull redress."<sup>2</sup>

Measures were again adopted for the purpose of restraining the trade of the town to the residents. On the 4th of August, 1588, it was "decreed that six persons, Taylors and Drapers, should have agreement by Indenture under the Towne seale that no forrainer of that occupation shall be admitted into the freedome of the Towne hereafter, without their consente, they paying yearely to the Maiors owne use ten shillings." A similar resolution was adopted with regard to all trades, for on the 13th of October, 1581, there is an entry in the mayor's book of "an Indenture sealed between the Maior and three of the mercers or salesmen that no forrainer of yt occupation shal be admitted without their consent, they paying ten shillings per annum to the Maior. And this was done by force of a general agreement heretofore made by the Maior and Company for all Trades whatsoever within this Towne."<sup>3</sup>

Similar indentures of agreement were entered into with the glovers on the 2d of March, 1589-90; and on the 27th of July

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

following, indentures were sealed "to two of the Barber Surgeons Company that no forreigner be admitted without their consents, they paying five shillings per annum to the Mayor." On the 3d of September in the same year, "Symon Stokes of Westminster Apothecary is admitted into the liberties, to use his Trade at the princes being here only," upon payment of a fine; and the same permission was given to John Stokes, merchant tailor, "during the princes stay." On the 14th of January, 1591-2, the restraint on the trading was by the usual agreement extended to the cordwainers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1586, "at the pitifull Complaint of divers of the Commonalty of this Towne for the redress of the smalnes of the market bushell, Edward Hake gentleman, then Maior, travailed to Grenewich and thence to Westminster divers Journies till he found the Clarke of the Market, carrying with him the brazen Gallon, and obteyned the amending of the Bushell."<sup>2</sup>

The following curious appointment to "the office of keeping of the Key of the Legg of Windsor Bridge" was made in 1586:

"Edw: Hake gentleman Maior of the Burrough To all &c. Whereas W<sup>m</sup> Jacob late one of the Aldermen of this Burrough had and enjoyed the office of keep<sup>r</sup> of the Key of the legg of Windsor Bridge and the oversight of the same bridge, together with ye receipt of the toll or custome thereof as well by land as by water, answering to the Maior Bailifs and Burgesses by the yeare, 12*l*.: or otherwise the s<sup>d</sup> W<sup>m</sup> to have been accomptable to the Guild haule for the s<sup>d</sup> Receipt as to the s<sup>d</sup> Maior &c. should have been thought expedient. Now forasmuch as he being de<sup>c</sup>ed, the keep<sup>r</sup> of the key w<sup>th</sup> the oversight of the bridge, ye receipt of the toll and custome thereof is w<sup>th</sup>out delay to be committed and conferd, as being an office of such daily and continuall attendance as y<sup>t</sup> may not for any time be unsupplied, Therefore the said Maior to whome of right the guift and disposicon of the s<sup>d</sup> office doth ap<sup>t</sup>eine in regard of the speciall trust and fitnes w<sup>ch</sup> he knoweth to be in Mathew Alley one of the Burgesses of the guild hall by his right and authority in y<sup>t</sup> behalfe hath comitted conferd and given, and by these p<sup>a</sup>ts doth comitt confer and give to the s<sup>d</sup> Math. Alley the said office w<sup>th</sup> all p<sup>f</sup>its comodities and advantages belonging

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126. The term "prince" appears to be used here as synonymous with "sovereign."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

thereunto To have and exercise the same by himselfe or his serv<sup>ts</sup> only from the day of the date hereof during his sev<sup>al</sup> lyfe if he shall so long be continually residing and dwelling wthin the said Burrough. Yeilding &c. 12l. p ann<sup>n</sup>, or otherwise yearly rendering to the Maior &c. a true and iust account of the same, as to the s<sup>d</sup> Maior &c. shalbe thought expedient. Dat. i Aug. 28 Eliz:”<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of August, 1586, the queen, being at Windsor, was received there in state by the corporation of that town, and was thus addressed by Edward Hake, of Gray’s Inn, gentleman, at that time mayor of Windsor, who presented his official mace :

“With that sincere and faithfull obedience (most renowned Quene) not which law hath commaunded, but whiche love hath procured, wee,

<sup>1</sup> “Extracts out of the Maiors Booke beginning 1559,” Ash. MSS., No. 1126. The following are some other entries in the same book about this period :

“23d Nov<sup>r</sup> anno 25 Eliz: Ordered and Concluded yt John Matingley shalbe removed from his place upon the Bench untill it shall seeme good to the Maior and Company to call him thereunto againe. The Considerac<sup>on</sup> whereof was for that he had failed of his purgacon in the cryme whereof he was accused. M<sup>d</sup> that this order extendeth not to the making of any president [precedent] for the remov<sup>e</sup> of any Alderman for any such cause, for yt heretofore they have been in these cases exempt.”

“27 Sept. a<sup>o</sup> 25 Eliz: S<sup>r</sup> Hen. Nevill and D<sup>r</sup> Day hav<sup>e</sup> written to the Maior &c. on the behalfe of olde Rob<sup>t</sup> Dale sometymes a Brother, whoe now was very olde, fallen into decay and poore, to make the rent of a certaine water (w<sup>ch</sup> was 13s. 4d. p ann) up 40s. p ann du<sup>e</sup> his lyfe,

“They agreed the Maior Aldern<sup>n</sup> Burgesses and Bayliffs should give unto him 4d. q<sup>ter</sup>ly. That ev<sup>ry</sup> Broth<sup>r</sup> should give him 3d. q<sup>ter</sup>ly, and if any refused their names to be presented to the Maior and the Bench.”

“7 Jan: 28 Eliz. Ordered that the fecs of the Co<sup>r</sup> should be considered of rated and set downe in writing by Rich Temple and Hen. Harris betweene this and the next day.

“Ordered that another mace should be made for another Serjant to serve for the Towne, to Joyne w<sup>th</sup> Tho: Redford, in arrests only.

John Wescot, subbailly sworne, to se yt all psons yt shal be sutors at any Cort, shall behave themselves re<sup>v</sup>ently in the Cort during their continuance there: and if they be not reformed to bring them to y<sup>e</sup> Maior.”

“14 Sept. 28 Eliz. Decreed that M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Bagshaw shall not be brought downe, nor be in elecon of Maior for the yeare coming, because matters layd to his charge by M<sup>r</sup> Math: Alley are not yet cleared, of his unbrotherly misbehaviour and misdemeanor contrary to the lawes and ordinances of the Towne.”

Notwithstanding this, the young company brought down Mr. Bagshaw and Mr. Clifton, and Mr. Clifton being chosen mayor, he gave £4 to Mr. Bagshaw, and by that means he was made mayor for the year following.

“15 Jan. a<sup>o</sup> 29 Eliz. John Yorke expulsed out of the company and brotherhood for slanderous words spoken ag<sup>t</sup> the Maior.”

“30 Aug. 1587. John Mattingly upon his sute rec<sup>d</sup> to the Bench againe, yet so as to be youngest, and not to claime any oth<sup>r</sup> seniority.”

your poore townesmen, inhabiting this your auntient burrow of Windsor, doe here present ourselves before your Highnes; offering up unto the same, not only this small peece of Government which we sustaine and exercise under your Majestie, but ourselves also, and all that we have, freely, not coerctedly, joyfullie, not grudgingly, to be for ever at your gracious disposing; wishing, and from our harts praieng the King of Kinges, that your Majestie may long live a Quene to enjoy the same, and that wee, your subjectes, may never live a people to denye the same.”<sup>1</sup>

The mayor, at the conclusion of this address, presented her majesty with a petition in writing on behalf of the town.<sup>2</sup>

On the 7th of September following, being the queen's birthday, the mayor delivered a long oration in the guildhall, “conteyning an expostulation, as well with the Quenes Highnesse faithful subjects, for their want of due consideration of God's blessings enjoyed by means of Her Majestie; as also with the unnatural English, for their disloyaltie and unkindnesse towards the same their Soveraygne.”

The oration was printed soon afterwards, but it is too prolix for insertion here.<sup>3</sup> The queen, at her departure from Windsor some weeks afterwards, sent the mayor her gracious thanks for the two speeches.

Mr. Hake was two years afterwards elected a member for Windsor to the parliament summoned for the 12th of November, 1588.

The queen was at Windsor in October 1586; for a proclamation against the Queen of Scots, dated at Richmond, 4th of December that year, recites a commission under the Great Seal, dated at Windsor Castle the 6th of October previously.<sup>4</sup>

On the 20th of September, 1588, Sir Henry Neville, knight, was appointed chief seneschal or high steward of the borough.<sup>5</sup> On the 10th of October, Henry Neville, Esq., and Mr. Edward Hake were elected as members of parliament for Windsor; but the former being subsequently returned for Sussex, Edward Neville,

<sup>1</sup> See Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. ii, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in 1587. See a reprint in Nichols' 'Progresses of Elizabeth,' vol. ii, p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> Holinshead, vol. iv, p. 941, edit. 1808.

<sup>5</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

Esq., son and heir of Lord Abergavenny, was elected in his stead at Windsor on the 24th of October, but, his father dying and he succeeding to the peerage before the meeting of parliament, he did not take his seat.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth was at Windsor in October and November 1590.<sup>2</sup> In the latter month she there entertained the Viscount Turenne (afterwards Duke of Bouillon).

"The Queen for health," says John Stanhope, writing to Lord Talbot, "is wondrous well, God be thanked, this day coming from Windsor, where on Sunday last she entertained the Viscount of Turenne openly, though he had access to her in her gallery overnight, divers Lords and Ladies being by. He is very welcome, in all open shows, and if his errand do not too much importune a present supply of money, I think his entertainment shall be the better; though in Truth her Majesty be not without good telling how she and her estate be interested in the French king's prosperity or fall."<sup>3</sup>

The object of the viscount's visit was, as the writer surmised, to obtain a loan for the French king, Henry the Fourth. The attention paid to the French peer, and the uncertainty which prevailed as to his real object, caused some jealousy. "The great honour done to this nobleman," however, "was in respect of his long and constant profession in religion, as well as for his place and calling, and the love he beareth to this estate, which deserveth no less than he hath."<sup>4</sup>

On the 23d of December, 1591, "Mr. Lister of the Little parke

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> "Her Majesty is at Windsor. Of her coming hither no word, Marry it is thought to Westminster or St. James, the remove will be against the 7th of November and not before." (Thomas King to Lord Talbot, writing from London, 23d of October, 1590, Talbot Papers, vol. H, f. 115, Lodge's 'Illustrations,' vol. ii, p. 415, 2d edit.)

<sup>3</sup> See the letter (which is without date), Talbot Papers, vol. K, f. 208, Lodge's 'Illustrations,' vol. ii, p. 421, 2d edit. See also letter from Richard Brakinbury to Lord Talbot, November 20th, 1590. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Francis Needham to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Speaking of the application for the loan, the writer says it "will be an unseasonable motion, though it be most needful; but considering how things stand, we could rather like to maintain our own people than to be at so great expense upon so faint and faithless a warring people," &c. (See Lodge's 'Illustrations.')



sent downe by Mr. Cleyton ten shillings to the use of the poore with this message that he would pay nothing by way of Taxation being no householder, but as he gave this of free will, soe would he hereafter give at his pleasure, otherwise not, which money was accepted by Mr. Cleyton and reported the matter as aforesaid.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1592, Henry Neville, Esq., and Edward Neville, Esq., were chosen members of parliament for Windsor. In 1596, Julius Cæsar, LL.D.,<sup>2</sup> and John Norrys, Esq., were returned, and were again elected in 1600.

In 1591 we find the first allusion to the compulsory support of the poor of Windsor. A minute in the mayor's book, under the date of the 20th of February, 33 Eliz. (A.D. 1590-1), directs “that all the Bretheren of the hall and all other Inhabitants shall be assessed according to their ability by the subsidie after the rate of 12*d.* in the pound, towards levyng of a stock to set the poore on worke, and Mr. Gwyn and Mr. Harris appointed Gov'nours of the poore for the first yeare. And Mr. Massy and Mr. Alden Collectors of the Money to be levyed.”<sup>3</sup>

Although the memorable statute (43 Eliz., c. 2), which is the foundation of our present system of poor-laws, was not passed until ten years subsequently, yet by an act passed in the fourteenth year of this reign, power was first given to Justices to make a general assessment; and it was doubtless under this enactment that the above provision for the poor of Windsor was raised.

The following is an extract from the ‘Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth:’<sup>4</sup>

“My Father wrote to me from Windsor, (1592) that the Queene meant to have a great Triumph there on her Coronation-day, and that there was great preparation making for the course of the Field and Tourney. Hee gave me notice of the Queens anger for my marriage, and said it may bee I being so neere, (at St. Alban's) and to retourne

<sup>1</sup> Lodge's ‘Illustrations.’

<sup>2</sup> Dr. (afterwards Sir) Julius Cæsar, an eminent civilian and a friend of Bacon, was the eldest son of Cæsar Dalmainos, a Venetian, and physician to the Queens Mary and Elizabeth.

<sup>3</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in Nichols' ‘Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,’ vol. iii, p. 214.

(to Carlisle) without honouring her day, as I ever before had done, might be a cause of her further dislike; but left it to myself to do what I thought best. My businesse of Law therefore being ended, I came to Court, and lodged there very privately; only I made myself known to my Father and some few friends besides. I here tooke order and sent to London to provide mee things necessary for the Triumph. I prepared a present for her Majestie, which, with my comparisons, cost me above four hundred pounds. I came in to the Triumph unknown of any. I was the forsaken Knight, that had vowed solitarinesse; but hearing of this great Triumph, thought to honour my Mistresse with my best service, and then to retourne to pay my wonted mourning. The Triumph ended, and all things well passed over to the Queene's liking, I then made myself knowne in Court; and for the time I stayed there was daily conversant with my old companions and friends; but I made no long stay."

On the 1st of August, 1593, the queen, with her court, was at Windsor, and continued there till November, on the 21st of which month Mr. Standen informs Mr. Bacon "that the death of a Page of Lady Scroop (so near the Quene's person as of her bedchamber) of the Sickness the last night, and that in the Keep within the Castle, had caused a great alteration there; so that it was not to be doubted but that her Majesty would remove within a day or two at the farthest, though it was not resolved whither, but the Earl of Essex thought to Hampton Court." Two days after, he adds, from Windsor, "that the Lords and Ladies, who were accommodated so well to their likings, had persuaded the Queen to suspend her removal from thence, till she should see some other effect; so that, though carts were warned to be ready for the Monday following, yet it was constantly believed that her Majesty would not remove till after Christmas."<sup>1</sup>

The queen fulfilled the expectation, and remained at Windsor, occupying her time in the translation of Boethius.

"The Quens Majestie being at Windsor, in the 35th yeere of her Raigne, upon the 10th of October, 1593, began her translation of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophie, and ended it upon the eight of

<sup>1</sup> Birch's 'Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i, pp. 153-4, cited by Nichols, 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. iii, p. 277.

November then next following, which were 30 dayes. Of which tyme there are to be accompted 13 dayes, parte in Sondayes and other holy dayes, and parte in her Majestie ryding abrode, upon which her Majestie did forbear to translate. So that 13 dayes being deducted from 30 remaynith 17 dayes, in which tyme her Majestie finished her translation. And in those 17 dayes her Majestie did not excede one houer and a half at a tyme in following her translating. Whereby it apperith, that in 26 houers, or thereabout, her Majestie performed the whole translation."

A second account is given by Mr. Bowyer, keeper of the records in the Tower :

"The computation of the dayes and houres in which your Majestie began and finished the translation of Boethius: Your Majestie began your translation of Boethius the tenth day of October 1593, and ended it the fifth of November then next immediately following, which were fyve-and-twenty dayes in all. Out of which 25 dayes are to be taken, fowre Sondayes, three other holly dayes, and six dayes on which your Majestie ryd abrode to take the ayre; and on those dayes did forbear to translate, amounting together to thirtene dayes. Which 13 being deducted from 25 remaynith then but twelve dayes. And then accompting twoo houres only bestowed every day one with another in the translating, the computation fallith out, that in fowre-and-twenty houres your Majestie began and ended your translation."<sup>1</sup>

On the 15th of January in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign (A.D. 1592-3), "Charles Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the Garter, Lord High Admiral, Constable of the honour and Castle of Windsor and Keeper of the Forest," was appointed chief seneschal of Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

On the 7th of December, 1595, it was "decreed that a petition shall be made to the Lord Admirall for his favour and good liking that we may take some learned man to keepe our Courts and assist the Mayor and Incorporation in the place of Mr. Redish who

<sup>1</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. iii, p. 564, note.

<sup>2</sup> This grant contains the following clause, which Ashmole observes "was not in the former patents:" "*Sciatis &c. insup. nos prefatos Maior Balivus et Burgenses unanimi assensu et concensu nostri dedidisse ac pp̄tes Confirmasse p̄fat. Carolo offic̄m sen̄ et senescalcie cur. manerij de Underover infra Burgū predict. existē et jacent. infra villa de Nova Wyndesore p̄ed in dict. comitat. Berk.*" (Ash. MSS., No. 1126.)

(beside his continual absenting himself) is not thought to be a man meet and sufficient for the place."

Mr. Redish or Reddish was the deputy steward, whose duties had for many years been discharged by Mr. Edward Hake before mentioned; and the corporation appears to have made various efforts by a friendly arrangement to get Mr. Reddish superseded. The appointment, however, being, as it appears, for life, those efforts seem to have been unsuccessful, although at one time he had actually surrendered his patents.<sup>1</sup>

On the 13th of August, 1601, the queen came to Windsor.<sup>2</sup>

During her visit on this occasion "she made a step to Mr. Attorney's at Stoke (Sir Edward Coke's), where she was most sumptuously entertained, and presented with jewels and other gifts, to the amount of a thousand or twelve hundred pounds."<sup>3</sup>

Stoke Pogis, in Buckinghamshire, about three miles north of Windsor, appears to have been held by Coke under the crown for many years. About the year 1621 King James granted the manor in fee to him, he being then chief justice. In 1625 this celebrated

<sup>1</sup> On the 10th of August, 26 Eliz., John Reddish, gent., "understeward and Town Clerk of all Acts and Decrees," had licence to appoint "Mr. Temple his deputy of both offices."

10th of September, 26 Eliz. Decreed that Mr. Edward Hake "shall have the reversion and next avoidance of the office of Under Steward<sup>p</sup> of this towne after the decease or surrender of Jo. Reddish gen. during his life, and shall serve the same for £1 6s. 8d. p<sup>a</sup> ann<sup>u</sup>;" with a covenant by Hake to serve the "office of Understewardship during the life of the s<sup>d</sup> Reddish (or till he surrender) without fee." "The like grant in Reversion of the Towne Clerkship with the like fee Condicōns and Covenant's was made to Ric. Temple."

"19 Sept. a<sup>o</sup> 26 Eliz. That the Maior &c. should be bound to Jo. Reddish gent in £30 to pay yearly to him his Ex<sup>r</sup> or ass £4 untill £28 be fully p<sup>d</sup> in consōn of 2 offices vizt. Understeward<sup>p</sup> and Townecleark<sup>p</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he hath surrendered into their hands to the use of Ed. Hake and Ric. Temple. Edw: cov<sup>te</sup> to serve the office of Understeward<sup>p</sup> for 7: yeares without fee, and after to have £1 6s. 8d. p<sup>a</sup> ann<sup>u</sup> and Rich: Temple to exercise the Towne Clerks place for 20s. for 7 years and after to have £1 : 6 : 8 dur<sup>g</sup> lyfe.

"M<sup>d</sup> that then the s<sup>d</sup> Jo: Reddish surrendered both his patents and the others were admitted into the s<sup>d</sup> offices."

Previous appointments of Edward Hake to the understewardship had been made on the 21st of May, 18 Eliz., and on the 20th of September, 21 Eliz.; but probably they were not carried out at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. iii, p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 568.

lawyer, having quitted his high station, and being out of favour with the court, was obliged, much against his will, to serve the office of sheriff for the county; and it was thought by his friends a great degradation, that he who had filled one of the highest situations on the bench should attend on the judges at the assizes. Coke died at Stoke in 1634. Sir John Villiers, elder brother of the Duke of Buckingham, married Sir Edward Coke's only daughter; and, this manor (then held by lease) having been settled on him at the time of his marriage, he was in 1619 created a peer by the title of Baron Villiers, of Stoke Pogis, and Viscount Purbeck. He succeeded to the estate on the death of his father-in-law. The house appears, however, to have been settled on Lady Coke, who was relict of Sir William Hatton. There was little harmony between the chief justice and his lady. During the latter part of his life they lived separately; and so eager was she to take possession of Stoke, that upon a premature report of his death she hastened down, with her brother, Lord Wimbledon, for that purpose, but meeting his physician near Colnbrook, and learning from him tidings of her husband's amendment, she returned disappointed to London.<sup>1</sup>

The manor-house in which Coke resided was pulled down in 1789, when the modern house was erected. It stood about a quarter of a mile north-east of the present house, and a few yards north of Stoke Church. The windows were filled with arms of the family of Hastings and its alliances, those of Sir Edward Coke, and many of his great contemporaries in the law.<sup>2</sup>

In the park there is a colossal statue of Sir Edward Coke (by Rossi), on a fluted pedestal sixty-eight feet in height.<sup>3</sup>

The Earl of Leicester also appears to have had a residence in

<sup>1</sup> Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 636. Soon after the death of Lord Purbeck, the manor of Stoke was sold by his heirs to John Gayer, Esq., whose elder brother, Sir Robert Gayer, K.B., afterwards possessed it. It was purchased of the Gayers in 1724 by Edward Halsey, Esq., one of the representatives of the town of Buckingham, whose daughter Anne married Lord Cobham. Stoke House and the manor were sold by her heirs to Thomas Penn, the son of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. (*Ibid.*, and Lipscombe's 'Buckinghamshire,' vol. iv, p. 554.) It is now the property of the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere.

<sup>2</sup> Lysons.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

the neighbourhood of Windsor. A letter from him to the Earl of Shrewsbury bears date "From Sonning Hill, near Windsor."<sup>1</sup>

In the following month of September (1601) Elizabeth left Windsor, and went as far as Basing, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester. The queen's first remove from Windsor on this occasion was to Mr. Warder's, and then to Reading.<sup>2</sup>

She appears to have been at Windsor again in the autumn of 1602, for there is evidence of her being at Burnham on a visit to Sir William Clarke. Her progress was in the first place from London to Sir William Russell's at Chiswick, thence to "Ambrose Copinger's," thence to the lord keeper's at Harefield, and so to Burnham. We are told that "Sir William Clarke so behaved himself that he pleased nobody, but gave occasion to have his misery and vanity spread far and wide."<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Day, Provost of Eton, having been made Bishop of Winchester in 1595, Queen Elizabeth, on the 3d of June, 1596, nominated her preceptor, Henry (afterwards Sir Henry) Savile, to the vacant post.<sup>4</sup> He held the provostship for a period of twenty-six years, and established a printing press at Eton for the publication of his renowned edition of St. Chrysostom. An account of this performance will be found in a subsequent part of this work.

The annual expense and salaries of the officers connected with the Castle of Windsor in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was as follows:<sup>5</sup>

"WINDSORE, COM. BARKS.

	£	s.	d.
"Constable of the castle; fee . . .	20	0	0
Lieutenant of the castle and forrest; fee . . .	10	0	0
Keeper of the castle keys; fee . . .	9	2	6
Keeper of the great park; fee . . .	12	2	6

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Lodge's 'Illustrations,' 2d edit., vol. ii, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols' 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. iii, pp. 566-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, citing letter of the chamberlain, dated October 2d, 1602.

<sup>4</sup> See a letter from "Mr. Hen. Savile to the lady Russel, praying her interest with the lord treasurer for the provostship of Eton," in Strype's 'Annals,' vol. iv, p. 228. See also Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 6177; and Sloane MSS., No. 4840, f. 235, 236, and No. 4841, f. 217.

<sup>5</sup> Queen Elizabeth's Annual Expense, Civil and Military. ('Ordnances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, 4to, 1799, p. 216; see also Peck's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' part i, book ii.

Porter of the utter gate; fee	.	.	.	4	11	4
Keeper of the leads; fee	.	.	.	3	0	10
Clark of the castle; fee	.	.	.	9	2	6
Keeper of the little park under the castle; fee	.	.	.	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>
Master plumber of all the works in the castle; fee	.	.	.	9	2	6
Keeper of the garden under the castle; fee	.	.	.	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Keeper of the woods; fee	.	.	.	3	0	10
Keeper of the butts; fee	.	.	.	3	0	10
Rainger of the florest; fee	.	.	.	9	2	6
Poor knights of Windsore, 10; fee apeece	.	.	.	6	13	4
and their howses rent-free."						

Among the extracts made by Ashmole from the churchwardens' accounts of this reign, and not hitherto mentioned, are the following :

"A <sup>o</sup> 4 Eliz. p <sup>d</sup> this yeare by the Churchwardens for Smock						
farthings <sup>1</sup>	.	.	.	<u>3</u>	<u>:</u>	<u>8</u>
for smock pence at Michaelmas last	.	.	.	<u>3</u>	<u>:</u>	<u>8</u>
for the Homilie booke	.	.	.	<u>1</u>	<u>:</u>	<u>0</u> "
"19 Eliz. Rec <sup>d</sup> in money gathered by the wives upon Hop-						
mondaye <sup>2</sup>	.	.	.	12	:	10"
"22 Eliz. Given to Mr. Vicar out of the Pascall money of						
benevolence towards his better releife	.	.	.	13	:	4"
"24 Eliz. To the viccar of benevolence out of the pascall						
money	.	.	.	<u>1</u>	<u>:</u>	<u>6</u> : <u>8</u>
mending the church wyndowes this yeare	.	.	.	<u>2</u>	<u>:</u>	<u>4</u> : <u>6</u> "
"A <sup>o</sup> 1583. Rec <sup>d</sup> for our organ pypes.						
The Churchwardens charge themselves as	.	.	.	1	:	14 : 7
gained cleare by their pastime at Whit-	.	.	.			
sonyde all things discharged <sup>3</sup>	.	.	.	17	:	4 : 7
for reparacon of the Steeple, Bells &c. this	.	.	.			
yeare	.	.	.	21	:	11 : 6
p <sup>d</sup> for smock farthings	.	.	.	0	:	5 : 0
given to the Vicar for benevolence	.	.	.	1	:	8 : 4" <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to smoke silver and smoke penny, see Blount's 'Law Dictionary,' title "Smoke Silver." See also 'Brand's Popular Antiquities,' by Ellis, vol. i, p. 46 and p. 210. "Smock money," however, was a name applied at a subsequent period to a bequest by Henry Franklyn, in this reign, of 6s. 8d. to two of the poorest couples married in Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Brand's Popular Antiquities,' by Ellis, vol. ii, pp. 1-15.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. i, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Ash MSS., No. 1126.

The existing registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials commence with the year 1559, but the entries down to the end of the sixteenth century appear to be merely transcripts, being all in one text hand.<sup>1</sup> Down to 1590 the yearly christenings averaged about 50, and an equal number of burials. The marriages varied: in 1563-4 there were 8, in the next year 5, and in the next 24, while in 1580-1 there were only 9.<sup>2</sup>

Among the burials in September 1594 there is the following entry:

"Sept. 18	Mr. Nicoles	} Drowned at Datchett Ferrye."
18	Mr. Goodluck	
18	Ric. Aldridge	
19	Captayne Power	
19	Mr. Meade	
19	Mr. Smarte	

On one side of a leaf between the entries for the year 1600 there are memoranda of licences by the vicar, George Bard, to inhabitants of Windsor, to eat flesh in Lent. About this time a general licence for the same purpose was granted to St. George's College.<sup>3</sup>

In this reign we meet with the earliest existing representation of the castle, in Hoefnagle's curious drawing in Bruin's 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum,' already mentioned, an exact copy of which has been engraved for this work.<sup>4</sup> The woodcuts in the early editions of Fox's 'Martyrs' have been also already alluded to.

The first detailed description of the castle is probably that attributed to Stowe, and which will be found at the end of the first chapter of the second volume of this work. Some further notice of Windsor and Eton occur in the description of the Duke

<sup>1</sup> The first volume brings the entries down to June 1696. The first few pages of this volume are (1854) imperfect, apparently eaten by rats. A few loose leaves of parchment continue the entries to July 1702. From 1702 to 1792 they are contained in a bound folio volume in good preservation.

<sup>2</sup> The number of inhabitants at Windsor in 1555, according to an account taken by order of Cardinal Pole, was only 1000. (See Lysons' 'Magna Brit.,' vol. i, p. 435.)

<sup>3</sup> MS. Sloane, No. 4840, f. 318.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante*, p. 639. See some observations on the dress of the figures in the foreground of this view, in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxi, p. 470. An original pencil drawing of apparently the same age, and from nearly the same point of view, was in the possession of the late Mr. Ralph Bernal, and sold at the sale of his collections in 1855.



of Wurtemberg, who visited Windsor in 1592,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the travels of Paul Hentzner, a German, six years later.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This work (in German) was printed at Tübingen in 1602, and extracts from it were first given in English by Mr. Charles Knight, in his 'Pictorial Shakspeare.' The entire narrative, so far as relates to Windsor, has been since supplied by Mr. Halliwell, in the second volume of his folio edition of Shakespeare.

<sup>2</sup> 'A Journey into England by Paul Hentzner in the year 1598,' 8vo, Strawberry Hill, 1757, and reprinted in Dodsley's 'Fugitive Pieces.'



Remains of the Royal Bakehouse, in Peascod Street.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S 'MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.'

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Origin and Date of the Play—The Garter Inn and "Mine Host of the Garter"—Ford's House—Names of Page and Ford in the Parish Registers—The "Contrary Places" for the meeting of Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh Evans—"The Fields"—"Pittie Ward"—Sir John Falstaff's "o'er reaching" in Datchet Meade—"Hog Hole"—Herne's Oak—The Fairy Pit.

THE termination of the reign of Elizabeth seems to be the proper place to introduce some notice of Shakespeare's play of 'The Merry Wives of Windsor.'<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the minute investigation, as well by way of illustration as of criticism, to which almost every line of the English bard has been subjected, it will be found that the Local Illustrations of this play have been very deficient, simply in consequence of the materials for such a task remaining either concealed or so scattered as to elude observation. Mr. Charles Knight, one of the most able of Shakespeare's commentators—a native of Windsor, and possessed of a perfect knowledge of the localities—has been forced, for this reason, to substitute conjecture for positive statement with reference to some of the most striking local allusions. Herne's Oak is the only subject that has hitherto elicited diligent research, but even that has been left, until very recently, in a state of uncertainty.

Before entering upon these local illustrations, it is necessary to

<sup>1</sup> The principal part of the present chapter was written before the issue of the second volume of Mr. Halliwell's magnificent folio edition of Shakespeare, and I had much pleasure in placing my materials at that gentleman's disposal. This will account for the identity of a few of the illustrations employed in both works. [J. E. D.]

give a concise account of the play. The first sketch of it (which differs considerably from the present text) was printed, it is conjectured piratically, in 1602; and the play is stated in the title-page to have been "divers times acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines servants, Both before her Majestie and elsewhere."<sup>1</sup>

It has been said that this comedy was written by command of Queen Elizabeth, and that "she was so eager to see it acted that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days; and was afterwards, as tradition tells us, very well pleas'd at the representation."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Knight, on account of certain allusions in the play, which will be noticed hereafter, thinks that it was written subsequently to September 1592 and before 1596; and Mr. Halliwell adopts that notion, and has suggested January 1593, when the queen had masques and tournaments at Windsor Castle, as the probable period of the first production of the play. Shakespeare was then in his twenty-ninth year.

The play, in its present shape, was first printed in the folio edition of Shakespeare's plays published in 1623, after his death. There is some internal evidence that the amended play received its final touches after the accession of James the First in 1603; and if Mr. Halliwell's conjecture be correct, that the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' which was acted before the king in November 1604 was the amended play, its date is closely ascertained. This is an important point with reference to the "local illustrations," for it is evident, from the distinction between the original sketch and the play in its present shape, that Shakespeare in that interval obtained

<sup>1</sup> The following is a copy of the title-page: "A most pleasaunt and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr John Falstaffe, and the Merrie Wives of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene divers times acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines servants. Both before her Majestie, and else-where. London Printed by T. C. for Arthur Johnson, and are to be sold at his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the Flower de Leuse and the Crowne. 1602."

<sup>2</sup> Dedicatory epistle, by John Dennis, to the 'Comical Gallant,' published in 1702.

that "perfect knowledge of the localities of Windsor" which, Mr. Charles Knight observes, he possessed.

The more difficult task of considering this comedy in connexion with the historical plays of Shakespeare in which the same characters are introduced forms no part of the present labour; for although the incidents of the play are undoubtedly supposed to belong to the early part of the fifteenth century, the manners and language throughout are properly stated to be those of the time of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> It is to Windsor as existing in the time of Shakespeare and as known by him, and not to Windsor in the age of Sir John Falstaff, that enquiries and observations must be directed, in order to obtain the illustrations we are in search of.

Of the general state and condition of the town, the 'Annals' during the reign of Elizabeth and in the early part of the reign of James the First will afford abundant illustrations, and further particulars will be found collected in the Description of Norden's Bird's-eye View of the Castle.<sup>2</sup> We shall therefore proceed at once to notice the local allusions in the play in the order in which they occur.

The Garter Inn and the Host of the Garter form the first points for comment and illustration.

"Mine host of the Garter" is introduced in the third scene of the first act; but in the first scene of the amended play allusion is made to him as one of the "three umpires" who Sir Hugh Evans describes as having been selected to hear and end the charge made against Falstaff and his followers of "picking Master Slenders purse."

"Now let us understand: There is three umpires in this matter, as I understand: that is—master Page, *fidelicet*, master Page; and there is myself, *fidelicet*, myself; and the three party is, lastly and finally, mine host of the Garter."

When the host himself appears in the third scene, he is represented as talking very freely with Falstaff, his guest, who lived at an expenditure of ten pounds a week.

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell.

<sup>2</sup> See the next volume.

With regard to the Garter Inn, although there is no longer any inn at Windsor bearing that sign, there is the most satisfactory evidence, not only of its existence, but of its precise position in the days of Shakespeare.

In a table or schedule of "The Rents Resolutes &c. belonging to the corporation in the Burrough of Wyndesor payd out of ye lands and Tenements in the seide Burrough Renewed and Regestred the 21st of July an<sup>o</sup> Dm<sup>i</sup> 1561 by Richard Galys then Maior there according to right and as they were then paid," there is the following entry:

"Et de Ric <sup>us</sup> Galys p uno Mess: sive Hospicis vocat <sup>i</sup> le			
Garter	.	.	1s. 0d.
Et p le Sygne et Stulpis ibm	.	.	0 2" <sup>1</sup>

The loss of the corporation accounts from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth until 1635, and of the churchwardens' accounts until 1615 (with the exception of some extracts preserved in Ashmole's manuscripts), deprive us of the means of acquiring many particulars on this and other interesting subjects connected with Windsor. It is not until 1633 that any further mention of the Garter Inn is to be found in existing documents. In the churchwardens' accounts for that year this sum is charged:

"Pd for wyne and beere w <sup>th</sup> doctor Tooker at the garter	
twyce	. 5s. .. d." <sup>2</sup>

And again, in the same accounts for 1636:

"Paid for a breakfast for Doctor Tooker at the	
Garter, Mr. Maior and others of the Com-	
p <sup>y</sup> beinge there about busines concerninge	
the Church	0 - 10 - 0"

In the chamberlain's accounts from Michaelmas 1662 to Michaelmas 1663 the following entries occur:

"Pd for 12 quarts of Renish Wyne and a Sugar	
Loafe given to the Lord Maior of London	
and p <sup>d</sup> at ye Garter	1 - 3 - 0"

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126.

<sup>2</sup> See, as to Dr. Tooker and this payment, *post*, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Members of the corporation.

“P<sup>d</sup> for 12 bottells of Sacke and 12 bottells of  
 Renish wyne and a sugar loafe waying  
 6 pound given to Sir Ric. Braham . 2 - 6 - 0”

Again, in 1674 :

“P<sup>d</sup> at ye Garter upon Mr. Mayor’s Return from  
 London . . . . . 00 - 08 - 00”

Having thus established the existence of a Garter Inn at Windsor during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, let us see what evidence there is of its precise situation.

In the accounts of Theodore Randue, chamberlain of Windsor, for the year ending the 2d of January, 1687-8, the following items occur among the sums received :

“Of Mrs. Starkey one half years rent for three  
 Tenements over against ye old Garter . 001 - 06 - 00”

“Of Mr. Isaac Clerke two years and a halfe Rent  
 for ye White Hart Inn . . . . . 002 - 10 - 00”

“Of Mr. Isaac Clerk the fine of his Lease for  
 those two Houses where the old Garter Inn  
 stood the sume of two pounds and one  
 years rent for ye said Houses, one pound  
 in all . . . . . 003 - 00 - 00”

And in the following year :

“Of Mr. Isaac Clark one years Rent for ye  
 White-Hart Inn and likewise one years  
 Rent for those 2 houses where the old  
 Garter stood . . . . . 002 - 00 - 00”

The same entry is thus divided in the accounts for 1689 :

“Clarke, Isaac for the front of the White harte . 01 - 00 - 00  
 More for the ffront of the two next houses  
 anciently the Garter Inne . . . . . 01 - 00 - 00”

Thus it is clearly shown that the Garter Inn stood in High Street, nearly facing the “Castle Hill,” and that it adjoined the present White Hart Inn ; for there is no doubt that the latter inn

has occupied the same spot from the period of these entries down to the present time. On referring to Norden's Bird's-eye View of the Castle, made in 1607 (forming the frontispiece to the present volume, and a small part of which is repeated below), it will be seen that two inns are represented by the sign-posts and cross-beams in the precise position that we should expect to find them from the above entries. It is clear that they denote the Garter and White Hart Inns, and that the former is the identical house known to Shakespeare. The Garter was that nearest Peascod Street, and the furthest from the spectator looking at Norden's view. It had a massive porch, with a courtyard in the rear, and was probably one of those Elizabethan structures of which there is scarcely a trace remaining in Windsor.



So much for the inn itself; now for a few words on "Mine Host."

The absence of the corporation accounts, as already mentioned, deprives us of all knowledge of the landlord of the inn in Shakespeare's time; but of Richard Gallis, the landlord some thirty years before, a few particulars will be found by referring to the last chapter, under the year 1562. Richard Gallys, or Gallis, it will be seen, was in that year elected one of the members of parliament for Windsor. At that time it was the laudable custom of the inhabitants to elect a townsman as one of their representatives, and on this occasion Mr. Gallys, the mayor, was chosen with John

Gresham. He seems to have occupied a high position among his fellow-townsmen, being thrice chosen as mayor. He is described in his monument in the parish church as "learned;" and as he took an active part in parliament it may be fairly assumed that he had some education. He died in 1672, leaving, apparently, considerable property, with a portion of which he founded one of the charities of his town.<sup>1</sup> His son, John Gallis, became a citizen and goldsmith of London.<sup>2</sup>

That Richard Gallis was the occupier, and consequently the host of the Garter in 1561, appears clear from the rent roll already cited, the names in all cases referring to the tenant or occupier. The landlord of the principal inn is indeed just the person who would be chosen mayor; and in subsequent years, and down to the present day, the landlords for the time being of the White Hart and Castle Hotels are found in the list of mayors of Windsor.

The proof of the character and position of the host of the Garter among his fellow-townsmen has an important bearing on the play; for assume "mine host" of Shakespeare's acquaintance to have been in an equally good position with Richard Gallis, and, instead of there being anything extraordinary in his talking freely to his guests, it is precisely the course he would adopt.

Mr. Charles Knight thinks that when the host, addressing himself to Falstaff, enquires "What says my bully-rook?" he could not by that term, mean, as Mr. Douce says, "a hectoring cheating sharper," because a host would not apply such terms to Falstaff, who sat "at ten pounds a week," and in his expense was "an emperor;" but, even assuming that the term bore the meaning attributed to it, would a wealthy, independent man, like Richard Gallis, be so very careful to treat his guest with deference? Is it not much more characteristic of the age and of such a man to speak freely without giving or intending to give offence, and, being himself "learned," to admonish his guest to speak "scholarly and wisely?" Mr. Halliwell, however, has shown that the term "bully-rook" was not the offensive expression it has been heretofore considered.

<sup>1</sup> See the 32d Report of the Charity Commissioners (A.D. 1837), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See also *ante*, p. 625.



The next subject in the way of "local illustration" of this play involves more of mere conjecture than the question of the identity of the Garter Inn. There is a tradition that Ford's house was situated in the upper end of Thames Street, on the castle side, and opposite the White Hart, and consequently nearly opposite the Garter Inn. Previously to the recent removal of all the houses on the castle side of the street, there was a modern brick house occupied by Mr. Woolridge the chemist, and that house was assigned as standing on the site of Ford's house.<sup>1</sup> Such a tradition of course involves the assumption that the characters of Ford and his wife were intended to represent real personages; apparently a most improbable notion, as it is difficult to conceive how the selection from actual life of the characters of Mrs. Ford and her husband, or of Mr. and Mrs. Page, could be otherwise than invidious and calculated to give offence, even in the age of Elizabeth. The natural supposition certainly is that these characters could not have had any foundation in real life—at least, not in the town of Windsor—and that Shakespeare would be particularly careful to prevent the possibility of any identification, by using names unknown at Windsor. Recollecting, however, the customs and manners of the time, it may be doubted whether there is anything, except the suspicious nature of Ford's character, that would have given offence to the actual persons represented by Ford and his wife. One thing seems quite certain—namely, that Shakespeare did not use a name unknown at Windsor, for there was at least one family in the town, of the name of Ford, at the end of the sixteenth century.

On examining the parish registers of Windsor, we find among the christenings in January 1597-8 the name of "Elizabeth fforde;" and in December following, "Margaret fforde." In November 1600 there is the burial of "Henry fforde."

The churchwardens' accounts now in existence commence with

<sup>1</sup> This tradition is given on the authority of Mr. Snowdon, one of the most respected inhabitants of Windsor. I attach greater weight to it, because Mr. Snowdon correctly pointed out to me the precise situation of the Garter Inn long before I had an opportunity of verifying it by the more satisfactory evidence stated in the text. It is to be observed that Norden's Bird's-eye View proves that houses did exist at this period opposite the Garter Inn, and on the spot to which tradition points. [J. E. D.]

the year 1616 ; and among the sums received for burials in that year is two shillings for the burial of "John fford." In 1619 there is the sum of one shilling received for the burial of "Henry Ford;" and the name occurs in subsequent years.

Nor are other names of the characters in the play altogether wanting. The name of Page, although not to be found in the registers at the close of the sixteenth century, is met with in 1623. The churchwardens' accounts for that year contain the names of Ford and Page, fees being entered for the burials of "Richard Page" and "Anne Ford."

The next subject which particularly challenges the notice of a local illustrator, is connected with the "contrary places" appointed by the merry host of the Garter for the meeting of Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh Evans. From the spot where Dr. Caius waited for Sir Hugh, the host directs Shallow, Page, and Slender to go through the town to Frogmore, he himself saying he would "bring the doctor about by the fields," and following this up by saying to the doctor, as soon as Page, Shallow, and Slender have departed, "Go about the fields with me through Frogmore; I will bring thee where Mistress Ann Page is at a farm house, a feasting: and thou shalt woo her."

"The fields," by which they were to arrive at Frogmore, seem to refer to fields in the vicinity of Windsor, over which, about this period, the inhabitants of Windsor exercised rights of common at certain periods of the year. These common fields were familiarly known as "the Fields." For instance, certain regulations respecting the depasturing of cattle on them, made on the 2d of January, 1610, are thus headed: "Orders and By Lawes concerning the fieldes."<sup>1</sup> If the position of these fields could be ascertained with precision, we should possess an important datum connected with the present inquiry. The places where these rights of common were exercised, comprised the Mill Mead or common lying between the north terrace and the river Thames, and so called from adjoining the town mills, and also Datchet Mead, lower down the river. On the west or Clewar side of the town there is no evidence of the

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, p. 592.

existence of common rights; but at some distance to the south there were rights of common on "Spital Hill" and "Hog Common," the latter situated near Norris' Lodge, afterwards Lester's Lodge, which in the age of Elizabeth was the northern entrance into the Great Park. Both "Spital Hill" and "Hog Common" were, however, too far removed from Windsor and Frogmore to form an element in the present investigation. At Frogmore, common fields existed, known as "Frogmore Fields." For example, in "a particular of all the Lease Rents" belonging to the corporation in 1613, the sum of two shillings is entered "for a yeares rent for three rods of land in Frogmore fields lett by Lease to Mr. Gwinn."

From a map of Frogmore and Shaw, "taken in the year 1697 by Robert Hewitt,"<sup>1</sup> it appears that these common fields lay beyond Frogmore House on the Old Windsor road, and included the ground now occupied by the royal gardens. This locality corresponds with the description of the spot where Sir Hugh Evans was waiting for Dr. Caius; for although the host, after directing Shallow, Page, and Slender to go through the town to Frogmore, says, in reply to Page's question, that Sir Hugh is there, it is evident from the subsequent scene (the first scene of the third act) that Evans and Simple have taken up their position, not immediately at Frogmore, but further from Windsor than the houses called Frogmore. This plainly appears from Simple's exclamation, "There comes my master, master Shallow, and another gentleman from Frogmore, over the stile, this way." Now we know, from the instructions given by the host of the Garter, that Shallow and Page proceeded through the town of Windsor to Frogmore. The then road from Windsor to Frogmore was identical with the road which was in existence down to the year 1851, as may be seen at once by reference to Norden's plan of the Little Park. The road is there shown dividing the "Little Park" from "Creswells walke," the ground of which was then divided into fields, and has so continued until very recently, when the hedges were removed in order to add the land to the park. It may be well to observe here that this part of "Creswells walke," although

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of John Secker, Esq., clerk of the peace for Windsor.

forming part of that extensive district called Windsor Forest, had none of the popular attributes of a forest. The ground or soil belonged to various persons, but over it the king exercised forestal rights. It differed from the parks within the forest, such as the Little Park, the Great Park, the Moat Park, and various others described in Norden's map of the Forest, which were enclosed by park paling.

Returning to the description of the Frogmore road, it is to be observed that down to the year 1851 this road was also the road to Old Windsor and Staines; but, by the recent alterations in the neighbourhood of the castle, the public road to Old Windsor has been diverted, and now lies along Sheet Street and across the Long Walk south of the castle, and for the former road to Frogmore, a private way to Frogmore House and the royal gardens has been substituted. The old road, however, is still familiar to every one acquainted with Windsor. The street leading to it from the town, now called Park Street, was known as Moor Street until the close of the seventeenth century—a name apparently derived from its leading to Frog Moor. It was then changed to Pound Street, because a pound stood where the road makes a slight turn to the right. After the Long Walk was formed, Pound Street became the approach to it, and consequently also to the "Great Park," and so gradually acquired the present name of Park Street. In Collier's map, however, published in 1742, it is still called Pound Street.

Assuming, therefore, that Sir Hugh Evans waited for Dr. Caius beyond Frogmore, and consequently in or near "Frogmore fields," the spot we feel inclined to assign as the "contrary place" appointed for the doctor is "the Mill Common," or at least somewhere on the north side of the castle: and that from there the host of the Garter, instead of going through the town, took him along Datchet Mead and the meadows lying between the Little Park and the river, and so reached Frogmore fields by almost as near a way as the road through the town taken by Page, Shallow, and Slender.

That the way by "the fields" was somewhat further than through the town seems to be implied by the host's saying "I will bring the doctor *about* by the fields." To say that a road "is a

great way about" is frequently used to mean that it is an indirect line from one place to another.

Mr. Knight, however, truly observes that it is not easy to define the spot where Dr. Caius waited for Sir Hugh Evans. He is inclined to place it in the meadows near the Thames on the west side of Windsor, apparently, merely because he supposes from that spot mine host and Dr. Caius might have made their way by fields to Frogmore while Shallow and Page went through the town; and certainly, unless the expression of "the fields" was intended to signify "the common fields," that position might do very well. One thing seems certain—namely, that the former stage direction of "Windsor Park," with reference to the third scene of the second act, is inaccurate; for, as Mr. Knight says, "had Caius waited in Windsor Park he would have been near Frogmore, and it would not have been necessary to go through the town or through the fields."

At the commencement of the third act there is a local allusion, which does not at present admit of satisfactory solution. Sir Hugh Evans (waiting, as has been shown, in the vicinity of Frogmore) says to Simple, "I pray you now, good Master Slender's serving-man, and friend Simple by your name, which way have you looked for Master Caius, that calls himself Doctor of Physic?" Simple, in reply, says, "Marry, Sir, the pittie-ward, the park ward, every way; Old Windsor way, and every way but the town way." As Dr. Caius was expected from the town, it seems evident that the point of the reply is to show the folly of Simple in looking every way but in the most obvious and natural direction; but what is meant by "the pittie ward?" Capell proposed *City ward*; and Stevens, unable to explain it as it stood, adopted that alteration, and thought it meant "towards London," as if Windsor, as Mr. Charles Knight observes, were as near the city as Whitechapel. Mr. Knight says—"Pittie-ward is undoubtedly right, and is of the same import as *petty ward*. A part of Windsor Castle is still called the *lower ward*, and in the same way another part might have been known as *park-ward*." Mr. Halliwell says—"Petty, little, is so very common in the names of localities, there can be little doubt of its correctness."

A Latin deed of the reign of Henry the Eighth appears to throw some light on the point. Margaret Olyver, by indenture bearing date 1st of May, 30 Hen. VIII, granted to Robert Robinson and Cecilia, his wife, a certain close of meadow, lying in the parish of New Windsor, abutting on a close of William Symonds', on the east and west parts, on the king's highway, called "Puckks" Lane, leading from New Windsor to the Great Park of the king on the south, and a certain footpath, in an open field there, called the Warde, on the north, to hold after the death of the said Margaret, to the said Robert Robynson and his wife, and the heirs of the said Robert, upon condition that the said Robert and Cecilia, and the heirs of the said Robert, shall freely give or cause to be given to the poor, viz., "the almous folks," dwelling or thereafter to dwell in the said lane, called Puckk's Lane, on every Friday weekly, 1*d.* in money, or the value of 1*d.* in bread, or in four cart-loads of wood, to be delivered in Puckk's Lane aforesaid, for ever, at the Feast of St. Michael, or within seven days before or after the said feast; and if default should, at any time thereafter, be made by the said Robert and Cecilia, or the heirs of the said Robert, in the donation, either in delivery of the said 1*d.*, or the value thereof in bread, or the aforesaid four cart-loads of wood, in form aforesaid to be delivered, then it should be lawful for the mayor and bailiffs of the said town, for the time being, to enter upon the said close, and the same, to them and their successors for ever, to hold and possess, paying the aforesaid penny, or the value of the same, or the said four cart-loads of wood, in manner and form aforesaid, annually and weekly, to the poor and their successors inhabiting the same lane for the future.<sup>1</sup>

The Commissioners of Charities, in 1837, could not obtain any information respecting this charity; and Mr. Eglestone, a gentleman then more than seventy years of age, and who was for thirty years chamberlain of the corporation, stated that he never heard of the land above given, nor of the donation, and that he was unable to trace the premises. It is evident, however, that the footpath through the "Warde" might very well have been an indirect way

<sup>1</sup> See the 32d Report of the Charity Commissioners, p. 99.

of reaching the spot where Sir Hugh Evans was waiting. If "pittie" were used in the sense of petty, that name might have been given it to distinguish it from other fields and places called Wards. "Ward" was not an unfrequent term; a part of Eton, for instance, was known as "Le Warde."

Another local reference to which we shall call attention is connected with the ridiculous position in which Falstaff was placed by the contrivance of the "merry wives," prior to his final "o'er reaching" at Herne's Oak. We allude to his being carried in the basket of clothes from Ford's house to Datchet Mead, and there thrown into the Thames.

In the original sketch the account of this transaction is not so circumstantial as in the amended play. Mistress Ford merely directs the men to tell her husband that they are carrying the basket to the "launderers;" and Falstaff subsequently complains of being "throwne into the Thames like a barrow of Butcher's offal."

In the amended play, Mrs. Ford directs her servants to trudge with the basket in all haste, "and carry it among the whitsters in Datchet Mead, and there empty it in the muddy ditch close by the Thames side."

Datchet Mead was the tract of land occupying the low ground lying between Windsor Little Park and the river Thames, and consequently on the opposite side of the river to the village of Datchet. Frequent reference is made to Datchet Mead in the local records of Windsor, and its exact position is laid down in the "map of Frogmoor and Shaw" made in 1697 by Robert Hewitt. It was at that time divided into fields; but on referring to Norden's map of the Little Park, in which the ground opposite Datchet and adjoining the ferry is shown, it appears that Datchet Mead was in Shakespeare's time an open field or meadow. The inhabitants of Windsor "bearing Lott and Scott" within the town, and holders of land, had certain rights of common in Datchet Mead, as appears by the following bye-law and order made (amongst others) at the Guildhall on the 2d of January, 1610, "touching the common fields, meadows pastures and lands within the said parish and Burrowe:" "Item that no person at any time hereafter shall putt

any sheepe to depasture in Datchet Meade, before the feast of St. Michael the Archangell yearly," &c.<sup>1</sup>

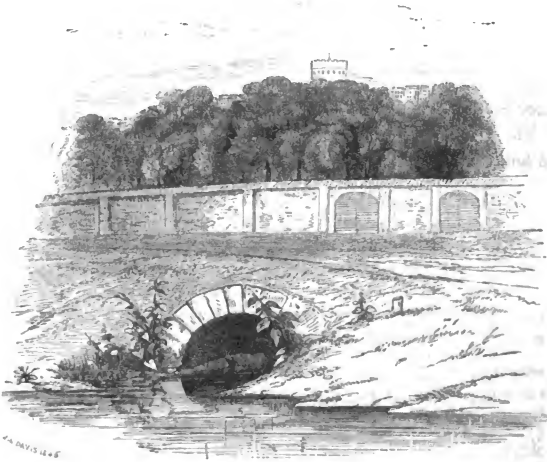
The road from Windsor to Datchet is shown in Norden's map. Branching out of Thames Street, it proceeded easterly, separating the royal domain from common fields adjoining the river. The road then gradually inclined towards "Datchet Ferrye." Datchet Bridge was not erected until the reign of Queen Anne. The road, or at least that part of it nearest the town of Windsor, was (as it is to the present day) called "Datchet Lane;" and hence it is that Falstaff, in describing the incident to Ford, says—"Being thus crammed in the basket, a couple of Ford's knaves, his hinds, were called forth by their mistress, to carry me in the name of foul clothes to *Datchet lane*."

Mr. Knight, with reference to Mrs. Ford's instructions to empty the basket "in the muddy ditch, close by the Thames side," says that probably some creek flowed into the river, which she so denominated. This supposition is certainly borne out by fact. Precisely such a ditch or creek existed in Datchet Mead previously to the reign of Queen Anne, and was known by the name of "Hog hole." This ditch was situated close to the river side, and about four hundred yards above Datchet Ferry. When Queen Anne, in carrying out the alterations made by William the Third, created a bridge in lieu of the ferry at Datchet, compensation was claimed by and allowed to the corporation of Windsor for the loss of toll at Windsor Bridge, and the sum of twenty pounds was granted to Thomas Bryer, one of their undertenants, "who had mended the way at Hog hole before *unpassable*," and effected other improvements. The "way" here alluded to is the road close to the bank of the river between Datchet Bridge and Windsor, and lying outside the wall built by William the Third to inclose the Home Park. The bridge recently erected over the Thames above old Datchet Bridge is close to "Hog hole," and the embankment raised to form the approach to the bridge, destroyed the last vestige of the hole, together with the small brick arch erected over it. It may be objected

<sup>1</sup> Ash. MSS., No. 1126, "Excerpted out of a folio Booke written by the hand of Mr. Mathew Day, of Windsor."



that the spot in question is further from Windsor than would be naturally sought for by the "Whitsters," as they could reach the river at a point higher up and nearer the town. Norden's plan of the Little Park, however, seems to show that there was no open way from Datchet Lane to the river near the town, a number of inclosed fields intervening. But whether this was the case or not, it is clear that the scene of Falstaff's immersion was in Datchet mead. Now, Datchet Mead did not, as Mr. Knight seems to suppose, occupy the whole of the flat ground lying under the north terrace, and now known as the "Home Park;" Datchet Mead was, as already stated, the part in the vicinity of the ferry, and was separated, at least in name, and perhaps, even at that period, by an actual boundary, from the "mill common" lying near the old town mills, which stood where the engine was subsequently erected for the supply of water to the castle. The nearest point of the river in Datchet Mead to the town of Windsor may, and indeed must, have been the vicinity of Hoghole. There is, moreover, an observation



of Falstaff's which, it is conceived, shows that the spot to which he was carried, was near Datchet Ferry. When Mrs. Quickly announces herself as come to his worship from Mistress Ford, he exclaims—"Mistress Ford! I have had ford enough: I was thrown into the ford," &c. Is not this a reference to the ford or ferry of Datchet?

An original drawing of Datchet Ferry, made in 1686, showing the mead on the Windsor side, is preserved in the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library. The woodcut in the preceding page is from a sketch of Hoghole, with its almost buried arch, taken a short time before its obliteration by the erection of the new Victoria bridge.

There are few subjects connected with Windsor which have excited greater interest than the question of the position and identity of "Herne's Oak." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the interest attached to the point is founded on a certain tradition, and the allusion to and employment of that tradition in this play, viz., that Herne, one of the keepers of the forest, was to be seen after his death, with horns on his head, walking by night "round about an oak" in the vicinity of the castle. It is said that, having committed some great offence, for which he feared to lose his situation and fall into disgrace, he hung himself upon the oak, which his ghost afterwards haunted.<sup>1</sup>

The first reference to the tradition occurs in the fourth scene of the fourth act. Mrs. Page says—

"There is an old tale goes, that Herne the hunter,  
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor Forest,  
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,  
Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns;  
And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle,  
And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain  
In a most hideous and dreadful manner:  
You have heard of such a spirit; and well you know,  
The superstitious idle-headed eld  
Received, and did deliver to our age,  
This tale of Herne the hunter for a truth.

<sup>1</sup> Ireland's 'Views on the Thames,' vol. ii, pp. 16, 17.

*Page.* Why, yet there want not many that do fear  
In deep of night to walk by this Herne's oak;  
But what of this?

*Mrs. Ford.* Marry, this is our desire  
That Falstaff at that oak shall meet with us."

In the first sketch of the play the tradition is more briefly narrated, and without any mention of the tree in connection with it. Mistress Page says—

"Oft have you heard since Horne the hunter dyed,  
That women to affright their litle children  
Ses that he walkes in shape of a great stagge."

The indefinite allusion to "Horne the hunter" was the mere tradition as it had reached the ears of the dramatist. The details were the result of inquiries and observations on the spot.

No allusion to the legend has ever been discovered in any other writer of the time, and the period when Herne or Horne lived is unknown.<sup>1</sup> In a manuscript, however, of the time of Henry the Eighth, in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> the industry of Mr. Halliwell has discovered "Rycharde Horne, yeoman," among the names of the "*hunters* whiche be examyned and have confessed" for hunting in his Majesty's forests; and he suggests that this may have been the person to whom the tale related by Mistress Page alludes, observing that "it is only convicting our great dramatist of an additional anachronism to those already well known of a similar character, in attributing to him the introduction of a tale of the time of Henry the Eighth into a play supposed to belong to the commencement of the fifteenth century."<sup>3</sup>

The name in the MS. certainly agrees with that in the original

<sup>1</sup> 'The first sketch of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*,' edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., 8vo, London, printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, *Introd.*, p. xxxi. Ireland says that Herne "was keeper of the forest in the time of Elizabeth." ('*Views on the Thames*.' ) The authority for this statement does not appear. A writer of the present day (Mr. Harrison Ainsworth) has employed the tradition of Herne the Hunter, and made that personage play an important part in the romance of '*Windsor Castle*,' a curious combination of fiction with distorted fact.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Bib. Reg., 17 C, xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Introduction, cited above.

sketch of the play; and, as Mr. Halliwell observes, Shakespeare there makes Mistress Page speak of Horne as no very ancient personage.

“Oft have you heard since Horne the hunter dyed.”

In the remodelled play Shakespeare has taken pains to throw the legend back.

“There is an *old tale* goes,” &c.

“The superstitious idle-headed eld  
Received and *did deliver to our age*  
This tale,” &c.

If Mr. Knight's supposition be correct, that the original sketch of the ‘Merry Wives of Windsor’ was written before the historical plays in which Falstaff and the other characters of the comedy are introduced, it certainly confirms Mr. Halliwell's suggestion that the Richard Horne of the reign of Henry the Eighth is identical with Horne or Herne the Hunter; for then we get rid to a great extent of the anachronism above referred to, as until the production of those plays there was no necessity for referring the incidents of the ‘Merry Wives of Windsor’ to the reigns of Henry the Fourth or Henry the Fifth. On the contrary, the manners and language of the play throughout are, as Mr. Halliwell states, those of the time of Queen Elizabeth. When the historical plays rendered it necessary to refer the comedy to the same age, Shakespeare could not reject the modern tradition of Herne or Horne the Hunter, upon which so much of the plot turns, but would naturally give to it a more ancient character.

The change of the name from Horne in the original sketch to Herne in the amended play is evidently not merely accidental. Shakespeare may have found that the latter was the traditional mode of pronunciation; but, without any direct evidence, the change of name can scarcely be considered as an argument against the supposition that Rychard Horne was the individual referred to in the tradition.

That Herne's Oak is no longer in existence seems beyond all

reasonable doubt.<sup>1</sup> It stood in the Little Park, on the right of the footpath which, until very recently, led from Windsor to Datchet. Its precise position is pointed out in Collier's map of the Little Park, in which it is called "Sir John Falstaff's Oak."<sup>2</sup> This map was made in 1742, and is the earliest notice of the tree subsequent to Shakespeare's time, yet discovered. By referring to this map it will be seen that the recent path from Windsor to Datchet did not then exist. "The footway to Datchet" was under the south terrace of the castle, and over "Dodd's Hill." The path out of the Old Windsor road, made in 1815, lay on the castle or north side of "Queen Elizabeth's walk," and by "a keeper's lodge" at the southern extremity of Dodd's Hill, where Queen Adelaide's Lodge now stands.

The woodcut in the next page of part of Collier's map on the original scale, with the hand pointing to the tree, shows beyond a doubt that it stood at the edge of a pit or depressed part of ground, and outside the avenue of trees. This corresponds precisely with the statements of the position of the tree by those who can still recollect it, that it stood about six yards outside the present north row of the avenue, and upon the very edge of the pit.<sup>3</sup>

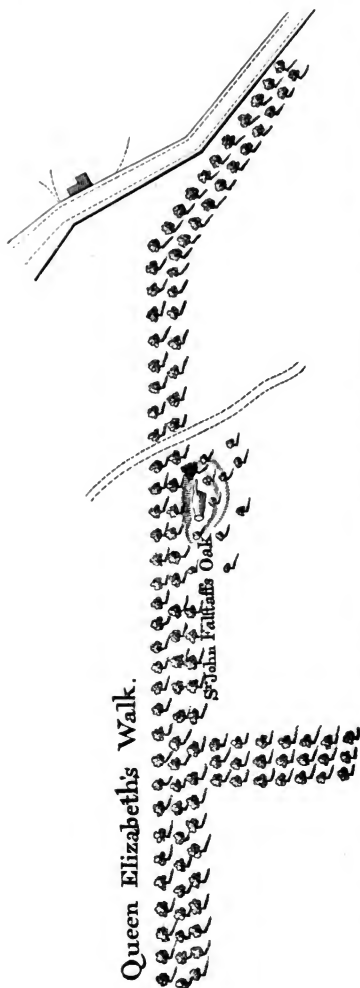
A footpath from the castle towards the ranger's lodge passed almost close to the south side of this dell.<sup>4</sup> The dell, although nearly obliterated, may be still traced; and there is little doubt

<sup>1</sup> This point has excited considerable discussion, originating with Mr. Jesse, and taken up by Mr. Croker, Mr. Charles Knight, Dr. Bromet, Mr. Halliwell, &c. See Jesse's 'Gleanings,' 2d series; 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lxii, p. 352; Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 203; 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vols. xi, xiii, xv, xxii, new series; Jesse's 'Scenes and Tales of Country Life;' Halliwell's 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' &c. The statements in these various authorities are frequently referred to in the ensuing pages.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that in this map the tree is represented as "Sir John Falstaff's oak" is a circumstance worthy of note, as leading to the inference that at that period (1742) the tree was known and respected on account of its mention by Shakespeare, rather than on account of any intrinsic interest attached to the legend of Herne the Hunter.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Bromet (under the signature of "Plantagenet"), 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 373; Rev. A. E. Howman, *ibid.*, p. 600.

<sup>4</sup> The present private path from the castle to the dairy, which is the site of the Ranger's lodge, lies nearer the edge of the park, and along the avenue of trees near the road from Windsor to Frogmore, and consequently further removed from the pit than the path referred to in the text.



that this is the pit which Shakespeare intended to represent as that in which "sweet Anne Page" as the fairy queen, and Sir Hugh Evans like a satyr, with Mrs. Quickly, Pistol, and the other members of the troop, lay concealed.<sup>1</sup>

The oak was much decayed and hollow, but bore acorns as late as 1783,<sup>2</sup> and was alive in 1788 and had a small portion of foliage. In the following year it put forth a few leaves, and in 1790 it ceased to vegetate.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gough laments that "there is no painting of Herne the Hunter's oak and the Fairy Dell mentioned by Shakespeare, and still to be seen in Queen Elizabeth's walk in the Little Park." (Gough's 'British Topography,' 2 vols., 4to, London, 1780, vol. i, p. 174.)

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 373. A correspondent of Dr. Bromet says that, when a singing boy at Windsor in 1786, he often got into the old hollow tree called Herne's Oak by his father, a native of Datchet.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of the Rev.

It was cut down in the spring of 1796, "most seriously to the regret of all who were interested in the subject." It was understood at the time that King George the Third had directed all the trees in the Little Park to be numbered; and upon the representation of the bailiff, whose name was Robinson, that certain trees were dead and incumbered the ground, a general order was given to cut them down, and Herne's Oak was amongst the condemned.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin West, the president of the Royal Academy, was at Windsor at the time, and took great interest in the subject. He traced the oak to the spot where it was conveyed, and obtained a large piece of one of its knotty arms, which Mr. Delamotte, the professor of landscape drawing to the Royal Military College,



A. E. Howman, of Henley-on-Thames. (See 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 600.)

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.; Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 204.

Sandhurst, and formerly a pupil of Mr. West, states he has often seen.<sup>1</sup> Other persons also obtained relics of its "hard dark wood."<sup>2</sup> A correspondent of Dr. Bromet states that his father, "as foreman in the park, assisted in cutting down and grubbing up the tree."<sup>3</sup>

The earliest drawing of Herne's Oak seems to be one by Paul Sandby, and of which the woodcut in the preceding page is a copy.

In the second volume of Ireland's 'Views on the Thames,' published in 1802, but from the date of the dedication (1792) evidently written many years before, there is an engraving of



Herne's Oak. The principal number of the drawings for this work are stated in the preface to have been taken in the summer of 1790.

Ireland says—"Not far from this place [Queen Elizabeth's Lodge] are the remains of that venerable tree, known by the name

<sup>1</sup> Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 204, confirmed by Mr. Howman, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> See letter from Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 375.



of Herne's Oak, which has been immortalized by our divine bard, Shakspeare, in his *Merry Wives of Windsor*. . . . Some idea has prevailed of an intention to cut down this celebrated tree, which it is much to be wished may not be true. The dell near it has in part been recently filled up. As I do not know that any engraving has been made of this tree, the annexed view may possibly afford some pleasure to the curious reader."<sup>1</sup>

In the first volume of the '*Beauties of England and Wales*,' published in the year 1801, there is a woodcut of Herne's Oak, and these remarks: "The view of the oak in the last page was executed by Mr. Anderson, from a drawing taken but a few days previous to its being cut down; and we are assured by a gentleman of Windsor, who was present at the making of the sketch, that it is an exact delineation of the tree as it then stood. Various tea-caddies, and other small articles, made from the remains of the oak, are preserved by some of the inhabitants of Windsor."<sup>2</sup>

In 1788 the Rev. A. E. Howman, of Henley-on-Thames, then residing at Windsor, made a drawing of the oak, from which Mr. Francis Nicholson made a copy in 1820, which was lithographed.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ralph West, the eldest son of the painter, also made a drawing of the tree before it was felled; and Mr. Delamotte in 1800 made a copy of it,<sup>4</sup> which is engraved in Mr. Charles Knight's '*Pictorial Shakspeare*.'<sup>5</sup>

The five drawings above mentioned evidently represent one and the same tree; but that in Mr. Knight's '*Shakspeare*' appears to have been taken some time before the sketch made for the '*Beauties of England and Wales*,' as the former has a branch which is not shown in the latter.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, pp. 15—18.

<sup>2</sup> '*The Beauties of England and Wales*,' by John Britton and Edward Wedlake Brayley, vol. i, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> See the Rev. Mr. Howman's letter, '*Gentleman's Magazine*,' vol. xv, new series, p. 600.

<sup>4</sup> Knight's '*Pictorial Shakspeare*,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> Comedies, vol. i, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Howman admits that, to give his drawing a marked character, he took a little liberty by introducing the castle, although, from the direction in which the tree was drawn, it could not be seen. ('*Gentleman's Magazine*,' vol. xv, new series, p. 603.) The castle is also introduced in the drawing in Knight's '*Shakspeare*,' from Mr. Delamotte's

In Lysons' '*Magna Britannia*,' published in 1806, the oak is spoken of in the past tense. "In this [the Little] Park *stood* the celebrated Herne's Oak," &c.<sup>1</sup>

In the '*Whitehall Evening Post*' of the year 1796 there is an ode "upon Herne's Oak being cut down in the spring of 1796."<sup>2</sup>

Ireland states that the dell near the oak had been, at the time he wrote, recently filled up. Mr. Knight<sup>3</sup> describes the state of this dell as he recollected it at the commencement of the present century. In this little dell long rank grass and fern and low thorns grew in profusion, and near it stood several venerable oaks, but Herne's Oak was not there then, having been cut down, as before stated, in 1796. A path, diverging from the footway to Datchet and leading towards the dairy at Frogmore, passed close by this dell.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Knight visited the spot about forty years subsequently, and thus describes its appearance: "Our sensations were not pleasurable. The spot is so changed that we could scarcely recognise it. We lamented twenty-five years ago that the common footpath to Datchet should have been carried through the picturesque dell, near which all tradition agreed that Herne's Oak stood; but we were not prepared to find that, during the alterations of the castle, the most extensive and deepest part of the dell, all on the north of the path, had been filled up and made perfectly level. Our old favorite thorns are now all buried, and the antique roots of the old trees that stood in and about the dell are covered up. Surely the rubbish of the castle might have been conveyed to a less interest-

copy of Mr. Ralph West's sketch, and also in the woodcut in the '*Beauties of England and Wales*;' but, as Mr. Knight observes, the position of the castle in the engraving given by him perfectly corresponds with the situation of the tree as already described. ('*Pictorial Shakspeare*,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 205.) It appears that in Mr. Howman's drawing the pit and the trees in the avenue are shown, but were omitted by Mr. Nicholson when he copied the sketch.

<sup>1</sup> Lysons' '*Magna Britannia*,' vol. i, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> The ode is inserted by Mr. Halliwell in his '*Original Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor*.'

<sup>3</sup> '*Pictorial Shakspeare*,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> This is the path represented in Collier's map, leading from the castle to the ranger's lodge.

ing place of deposit. The smaller and shallower part of the dell, that on the south of the path, has been half filled up, and what remains is of a formal and artificial character."<sup>1</sup>

Subsequent to the date of this last recorded visit of Mr. Knight, the character of the spot was still further altered. The path to Datchet was sunk, and the ground on the left side, or that next the castle, raised, so as to intercept the view of the foot passengers in that direction. The chalk and earth removed to lower the path, still further encroached upon and filled up the dell, which, however, has been recently re-excavated south of the path, and some thorns planted under the directions of Mr. Ingram, of the Royal Gardens, serve to mark the spot.

The testimony here adduced as to the position and fate of Herne's Oak has been confirmed by many former inhabitants and visitors of Windsor, some of whom are still living. Among those who either recollected the tree and its precise locality, or who received the account from others at the time, were Mr. Francis Nicholson, the artist; Dr. Lind, many years a physician at Windsor, and Fellow of the Antiquarian Society; Bishop Goodenough, some time Canon of Windsor, also a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society; Colonel Rooke, a resident in Windsor Castle;<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, formerly a Canon of Windsor;<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bethell, the present Bursar of Eton College; Mr. Secker, Clerk of the Peace for Windsor, &c., &c.

Notwithstanding this mass of evidence as to the real position and identity of Herne's Oak, various opinions have been put forth on the subject.

A dead oak situated in the row of elms forming the north side of the avenue, and a few yards to the right of what was, down to the year 1851, the public footpath from Windsor to Datchet, is still considered by many persons as the original Herne's Oak; and its claims to be so considered have been ably advocated by Mr. Jesse, in his 'Gleanings,' and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. A. E. Howman, *ibid.*, p. 600.

This tree is easily recognised. It is now quite dead, and is the only *oak* in the avenue, for all the other trees are elms. It is, moreover, surrounded by paling,<sup>1</sup> and a slab of wood is nailed to the trunk, inscribed with five lines from the play, commencing with—

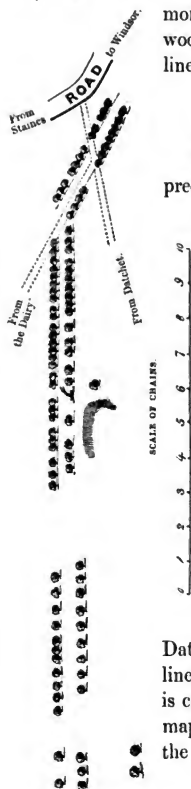
“There is an old tale goes,” &c.<sup>2</sup>

The present state of the old avenue, and the precise position of every tree, may be seen in the plan in the margin, made from actual measurement, for the purpose of elucidating the question now under consideration. The dots represent the position of the trees, and the so-called Herne’s Oak is distinguished by paling round it. A shaded curved line represents the site of the old pit or dell.

On comparing this plan with the part of Collier’s map, it will be seen that the tree now bearing the honours must be one of the trees in the avenue, and adjoining the path which led from the castle to the ranger’s lodge, and south-west of the true “Sir John Falstaff’s Oak.” The spot where that tree stood, the false tree, and another oak between it and the public path to Datchet, must have formed a triangle, having a line between the two latter trees for its base. It is clear beyond a doubt that the tree in Collier’s map was *not* in the present avenue, and that the false tree *is* in it.

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, another tree on the north side of the public footpath which is also surrounded by paling, which in both cases seems to have been placed for the purpose of protecting the ivy planted round the trees.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription was affixed at the instigation of Mr. Jesse, and therefore is not in itself any evidence of the authenticity of the tree.



The drawings of Herne's Oak, already mentioned, represent the tree as a *pollard*, *i. e.*, that its top had been lopped at some time. This is the case with all the very old oak trees in the vicinity of the dell in the Little Park, while the false oak is a maiden tree, as will be seen on reference to the woodcut at the end of this chapter.<sup>1</sup> The old trees were lopped in the winter season, and the boughs given to the deer to feed upon the bark when the ground was covered with snow. This practice was of course discontinued, in regard at least to the trees in the vicinity of the castle, as soon as they were valued on account of their ornamental character; and therefore we may fairly assume all the pollard oaks in the Little Park to be of considerable antiquity, and the solitary maiden oak and the elms forming the avenues to be of comparatively recent growth. The *false* tree is not of any great size, and it was alive in 1796, when the real tree was cut down.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Knight says in his own recollection "this tree was unprotected by any fence, and its upper part only was withered and without bark. So far from Herne the Hunter having blasted it, it appears to have suffered a premature decay within the last twenty years. This tree is of small girth compared with other trees about it. It is not more than fifteen feet in circumference at the largest part, while there is a magnificent oak at about 200 yards distance whose girth is nearly thirty feet."<sup>3</sup>

The claims of the existing tree to be called Herne's Oak are founded on the following circumstances:<sup>4</sup>

### 1. That George the Third denied that the real tree was cut

<sup>1</sup> This is a copy of a drawing made for this work by Mr. G. R. Jesse in 1846. The view is from the north-east side of the tree, and the depression in the foreground represents the existing traces of the "pit." An excellent engraving of this tree is given in Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 202. The top was then more perfect, showing that the tree is certainly not a pollard. The woodcut at p. 113 of Jesse's 'Summer Day at Windsor,' &c., does not bear much resemblance to the present appearance of this tree. It is evidently from a drawing made several years ago, and corresponds with an engraving of the same tree given in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiii, new series, p. 243, from a drawing taken in 1822.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Bromet's letter to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> See letter of Mr. Jesse, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiii, new series, p. 380.

down, and pointed out the present as the real Herne's Oak, and moreover gave particular orders to Mr. Engall, the then bailiff and manager of Windsor Little Park, to preserve it; and that George the Fourth asserted that the tree which was cut down was not Herne's Oak.

2. The supposed statements and opinions of the late Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir David Dundas, and the former and present bailiff of the Little Park and their labourers, and of some inhabitants of Windsor.

3. That the avenue in the Little Park is narrower towards the west end, whence it has been inferred that it was constructed in order to take in this tree as part of it; and that this was a proof that William the Third, who planted the avenue, preferred distorting it to cutting down the tree.<sup>1</sup>

The first argument is considerably weakened by the following statement of Mr. Francis Nicholson, the artist, as communicated to Mr. Crofton Croker: "About the year 1800 he was on a visit to the Dowager Countess of Kingston, at Old Windsor; and his mornings were chiefly employed in sketching, or rather making studies of the old trees in the Forest. This circumstance one day led the conversation of some visitors to Lady Kingston to Herne's Oak. Mrs. Bonfoy and her daughter, Lady Ely, were present; and, as they were very much with the royal family, Mr. Nicholson requested Lady Ely to procure for him any information that she could from the King respecting Herne's Oak, which, considering His Majesty's tenacious memory and familiarity with Windsor, the king could probably give better than any one else. In a very few days Lady Ely informed Mr. Nicholson that she had made the inquiry he wished of the King, who told her that 'when he (George the Third) was a young man,<sup>2</sup> it was represented to him that there

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Mr. Jesse, 'Times' newspaper of November 30th, 1838; 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xi, new series, p. 48

<sup>2</sup> There is some inconsistency in this part of the statement, as pointed out by Mr. Jesse ('Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xiii, new series, p. 380), with the fact that the tree was cut down in 1796; but it does not affect the general credibility of the story.

were a number of old oaks in the park which had become unsightly objects, and that it would be desirable to take them down; he gave immediate directions that such trees as were of this description should be removed; but he was afterwards sorry that he had given such an order inadvertently, because he found that, among the rest, the remains of Herne's Oak had been destroyed.'"<sup>1</sup>

It has been also suggested that the regret of the king upon finding that the tree was cut down caused him to feel annoyed, as he is said to have been, whenever the fact was mentioned, and led him to contradict the opinion that that tree was the real Herne's Oak. These facts, and His Majesty's lamented malady, diminish the weight which would otherwise attach to his statement to Mr. Engall.<sup>2</sup>

In answer to the argument drawn from the statement of certain other persons, it is to be observed that not one of these statements was made at the time the real tree was in existence.<sup>3</sup> They have all arisen since its destruction, and great allowance must be made for a natural and praiseworthy wish to keep such an interesting memorial in existence, and the consequent bias on the judgment arising from that circumstance. The assertions of park-keepers and labourers, moreover, as has been observed,<sup>4</sup> should be cautiously received, for reasons which will be sufficiently apparent.

As to the third and last reason assigned, a careful examination of Collier's map will show that there is no foundation for it.

In that map the trees forming the avenue are marked as they were originally planted by King William.<sup>5</sup> It will be seen that the western portion of the avenue consists of two narrow rows of trees; the eastern end of the avenue in question, extending from near the

<sup>1</sup> Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> See letter of Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Mr. Howman says, indeed, that there were two opinions, but that the best informed persons were decidedly satisfied that the tree sketched by him (see *ante*, p. 689) was that described by Shakespeare, and that such was the general belief.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> It is probable, from the name, that there was a private walk here frequented by Queen Elizabeth, although no trace of it is indicated on Norden's map of the Little Park. The avenue was certainly not formed until the reign of William the Third.

Thames, is, on the other hand, wider than any other avenue in the Little Park. It will be seen that the change from the narrow to the wide avenue is not gradual, nor, on the other hand, is there an abrupt transition at the point of contact; but the narrow avenue is continued about half way, and the northern row of the wide avenue does not cease, but is extended or produced for a considerable distance westward as far as the edge of the pit, so as to form three rows of trees, the northern or inner row of the narrow part forming a centre line. Three rows of trees, apparently the remains or commencement of an avenue, diverge here at right angles, in a northerly direction, towards Dodd's Hill; and, as the three rows in Queen Elizabeth's Walk extend east and west for about the same distance as this north avenue, a degree of uniformity is obtained in this triangle which possibly may have been the object in view when the trees were planted.

Although this avenue has since been much tempest-torn, the gaps were chiefly made in 1796 by Mr. Frost, then bailiff of the park, who not only cut down and grubbed up every dead tree in it, but perpetrated such havoc by lopping and topping this once fashionable promenade, that it was a theme of regret and condemnation to all Windsor.<sup>1</sup> The object is said to have been to obtain a view of the river from the "lodge" in which the king and the royal family were then residing.

The whole south row is still nearly perfect, except where a great opening was made for a vista from the castle by William the Fourth, about the year 1833, when all the remaining middle row eastward of the pit was removed, and this then triple avenue deprived of its original character.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the three rows of old trees can be no longer traced at any one part of the avenue; and, without Collier's map as a guide, it might be naturally supposed that the narrow part of the avenue terminated where the wider commenced, and *vice versâ*. Hence the assumption that the avenue was contracted in order to take in the so-called Herne's Oak, standing in the northern or inner line of the narrow avenue. If the contraction

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bromet, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



of the avenue at the western end was the result of any local circumstance, it is more probable that the irregularity of the ground forming the "dell" was the cause, preventing the line, commencing near the Thames, from being completed.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the tree in the avenue, it appears from Mr. Knight's recollections of Windsor as it was about forty years previously to the time of his writing (1839), that there was a second tree which was sometimes called "Herne's Oak." He says—"There was an oak whose upper branches were much decayed, standing some thirty or forty yards from the deep side of the dell; and there was another oak, with fewer branches, whose top was also bare, standing in the line of the avenue near the park wall. We have heard each of these oaks called Herne's Oak, but the application of the name to the oak in the avenue is certainly more recent."<sup>2</sup> This second tree must be one of the oaks standing on the left or north side of the (until recently) public footpath leading across the Little Park from Windsor to Datchet.

Pye, in his comments on the commentators on Shakespeare,<sup>3</sup> alludes to a tree nearer the castle than either of those above mentioned. He says—"The tree which the keepers show as Herne's Oak is also in the Little Park, not much more than a hundred yards from the castle ditch, and in the middle of a row of elms, obviously above a century its juniors; it is in a state of decay, and might well have been an old tree in the time of Shakespeare. I do not affirm this *is* the tree, but the other could not be the tree; for Page proposes to couch in the castle ditch till they see the light of the fairies; and that this was not far from the tree appears from their laying hold of Falstaff as soon as he rises from the ground."

Mr. Wilson Croker appears to have entertained the belief that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Knight and Dr. Bromet meet this part of Mr. Jesse's argument in a different way. They account for the want of uniformity in the avenue by supposing that it followed the ancient boundary of the Little Park ('Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xxii, new series, p. 151); but there does not appear to be any ground for the notion that at the period when the avenue was formed, the park was either bounded or subdivided at this part.

<sup>2</sup> Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' Comedies, vol. i, pp. 202, 203.

<sup>3</sup> 8vo, London, 1807, pp. 13, 14.

the real tree was not even near the avenue. He says—"The oak which Mr. Jesse would decorate with Shaksperian honours stands at a considerable distance from the real Simon Pure."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jesse replies that the tree alluded to by the reviewer stood near the castle, but was in truth an elm.

We believe that a tree near Adelaide Lodge is even now sometimes called Herne's Oak. It seems, however, to be admitted by all parties that, of *existing* trees, the one having the best claim to be considered Herne's Oak is the one selected by Mr. Jesse; and having, as we believe, clearly demonstrated that that tree has no claim to the title, it consequently follows that the site and nothing more of the *true* oak can be now pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lxii, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> The reader will be surprised to learn that Dr. Bromet, after collecting, to use his own words, "so multitudinous a mass of respectable testimony" as to the position of this oak, and calling attention to Collier's map, which he denominates an irrefragable record of its locality a hundred years ago, comes nevertheless to the "lame and impotent conclusion" that the real tree may have stood "on the north bank of the dell," or, if not there, "nearer to the castle ditch than the dell." We give Dr. Bromet's own comments on this point: "This dell was, within these twenty years, almost eighty yards square, and if of that extent (as I believe) in Shakspeare's time, could never have concealed the fairies as he represents. Besides, Mrs. Page expressly says that the fairies were to rush 'from forth a saw-pit,' although our local commentators on the subject have either overlooked it, or else boldly supposed that a saw-pit was too small to have contained all the fairies; but who, not amounting to more than eight or nine, might therein have sufficiently obscured their lights—which I maintain they could not have done in the dell, however overgrown with thorns and underwood it might then have been. It is, however, not improbable that in this formerly secluded corner of the park a saw-pit once existed, and that, on account of this seclusion, the conscience-stricken 'Horne' selected one of the oaks there for his suicidal purpose.

"The great distance of the dell from the castle ditch, wherein Page and his proposed son-in-law couched, while Falstaff and the Merry Wives passed to their rendezvous, may also, reasonably enough, be supposed to weaken the pretensions of any tree near this dell. For Page's party would certainly have been nearer the place of their proposed enterprise, could they have found any other fit concealment. But as they were to remain in the castle ditch from ten to twelve o'clock, is it not probable that Herne's Oak was so near the ditch that they could not have quitted it without being heard or seen by Falstaff?

"This circumstance inclines me, therefore, to doubt whether, after all our specious ratiocination, the true locality of Shakspeare's scene be not on the north bank of the dell, where, about seventy years since, was a 'Herne's Oak,' and behind or southward of which bank concealment might have been more effectual; or, from what I have said just above, that it should be sought for nearer to the castle ditch than the dell so long supposed to be the true locality. And I confess that the discovery of an ancient saw-pit

It has been already noticed that the original sketch of the play does not contain any allusion to an oak or tree in connexion with

'hard by' the remains or well authenticated site of some very aged oak, and not far from the castle ditch, would easily convert me from the opinion to which, for want of documentary authority to the contrary, I now evidently lean, viz., that the destroyed tree had much better claims to the title which Collier's map gave it a hundred years ago—and so multitudinous a mass of respectable testimony since—than this present pretending rival. And such a tree, I understand, was blown or cut down many years ago near the old path to Datchet by Dodd's Hill, not far from the ancient chalk-pit there, and which also so far bore the character of Herne's Oak as to have been danced about in that belief. Moreover, is it in nature possible that the oak of Shakspeare, which he says was supposed by the 'superstitious idle-headed eld' to have been repeatedly blasted by the spirit of Herne, could have 'contended with the fretful elements,' so as to have remained, almost to this day, not only standing, but alive and bearing fruit?" (Dr. Bromet's letter, of March 1841, 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 377.)

Before proceeding to notice these objections, we must premise that it is not fair of Dr. Bromet to make use of Collier's map as an irrefragable record against Mr. Jesse, and then to throw it completely overboard, and form his own opinion of the position of the tree, as though Collier's map were not in existence. If Collier's map is evidence (and we think it is very cogent evidence indeed) to show that the tree called by Mr. Jesse "Herne's Oak" is not the real oak, because another spot is pointed out as the situation of the tree, the map is equally strong evidence to prove that no other tree or spot is to be sought for as Herne's Oak than that indicated in the map itself. On the other hand, if we are at liberty to seek for the precise position of Herne's Oak without reference to Collier's map, it is evidently illogical to use that map against the present tree. Dr. Bromet, by so doing, is blowing hot and cold. Dr. Bromet's doubts are partly founded upon a very minute comparison of the locality with the words of Shakspeare. So minute is the criticism, that it is difficult to resist the idea that the doctor had studied the subject until at last he believed that the whole plot of the *Merry Wives* was actually carried into execution, or at least that Shakspeare himself had conducted and superintended a rehearsal of his play, having the whole town of Windsor and the Little Park for his stage. Were the point in dispute the precise locality of some undoubted fact and occurrence in history, narrated by the most accurate of contemporary chroniclers or by eye-witnesses, the species of microscopic examination indulged in by Dr. Bromet would be out of place; but to apply this "rule and compass" sort of examination to a play of Shakspeare is surely unworthy of so discerning a critic as Dr. Bromet has shown himself in the previous portion of his inquiries.

If we can show that there is a general consistency and agreement between the spot where Herne's Oak stood (as pointed out by Collier, and confirmed by general report and tradition) and the plot of the play and the local facts brought in aid of that plot by Shakspeare, we carry our evidence as far as can be reasonably expected—nay, as far as we ought to be permitted to proceed. We believe, indeed, that Shakspeare has been more than usually careful in conforming his plot to the place, or rather that he has brought a greater number of local details to his assistance in the '*Merry Wives of Windsor*' than in his other works. We are convinced, moreover, that he had in view, in the composition or perfecting of the play, some one particular individual oak, and that in the selection of that tree he was guided by the local tradition of the period.

Herne the Hunter. Neither is there, in that edition, any mention of the "pit hard by Herne's Oak," or of the "castle ditch." There are no expressions from which the place of assignation of Falstaff and the "merry wives" can be even referred to the park. All the reference in the 'Sketch of the Play' to the locality is contained in these lines. Mistress Page says—

"Now for that Falstaffe hath been so deceived,  
As that he dares not venture to the house,  
Weele send him word to meet us in the *field*," &c.

"Then would I have you present there at hand,  
With little boys disguised and dressed like Fairies  
For to affright fat Falstaff in the *woods*."

Assuming the printed edition of 1602 to be a correct or nearly correct transcript of the play as composed by the author, all the local circumstances and incidents inserted in the amended play must have been the result of actual and careful examination and selection by the poet.

The distance of the dell from the castle ditch has been made the ground of an objection by Dr. Bromet to the authenticity of the spot near Queen Elizabeth's Walk.<sup>1</sup> This objection has been raised by other critics. Pye, as has been already seen, asserts that the oak must have stood nearer the castle than Queen Elizabeth's Walk. He says—"Page proposes to couch in the castle ditch till they see the light of the fairies; and that this was not far from the tree appears from their laying hold of Falstaff as soon as he rises from the ground."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Halliwell also says—"It will be remembered that Mrs. Page says that the fairies were to rush 'from forth a saw-pit,' and that Page, Shallow, and Slender must 'couch in the castle ditch, till they see the light of our fairies.' This passage affords a strong presumption that the saw-pit was near the castle ditch, and that Herne's Oak was not far removed from either, else

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' vol. xv, new series, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> A similar objection to the genuineness of the tree at the dell is made in the descriptions annexed to a work published in 1804, called 'Select Views of London and its Environs,' 2 vols., 4to.

why should they have considered it necessary to take these precautionary measures?"<sup>1</sup>

There cannot be any doubt whatever that the "pit" was near the oak. Mrs. Page, in answer to an inquiry of Mrs. Ford as to where "Nan and her troop of fairies and the Welsh Devil, Hugh," then were, says, "They are all couched in a pit hard by Herne's Oak, with obscured lights; which at the very instant of Falstaff's and our meeting they will at once display to the night."

The fairies could only be apprised of the meeting of Falstaff and the "merry wives" by hearing or seeing them, and this on a dark night.

The inference that the tree and the pit were very near the castle ditch does not appear to be supported by a careful examination of the facts. In the text, Page says to Shallow and Slender—"Come, come, we'll couch i' the castle ditch, till we see the light of our fairies." Shallow afterwards remarks, "It hath struck ten o'clock." The meeting between Falstaff and the "merry wives" was at midnight. We must turn to Norden's map of the Little Park to illustrate the position of the parties. That map was made in 1607, and therefore shows the state of the Little Park as nearly as possible as it must have been seen and observed by Shakespeare. The "castle ditch" was on the east and south sides of the castle. It can be traced in the map of the Little Park, but it is expressly so called and more clearly shown in Norden's map of the castle. A public footpath from Windsor to "Datchet Ferrye" passed along the south side of the castle close to the ditch, and so on into the Little Park. From this path another diverged, near the entrance into the Little Park, to "the Lodge." The "dell," and the spot where Herne's Oak is supposed to have stood, would lie to the right of "the Lodge," and between that and the Old Windsor road, and where trees are represented in the map, a distance of about four hundred yards from the castle ditch.<sup>2</sup> Those per-

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell's 'First Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor,' p. 70. See, however, a correction of this statement in the folio edition of Shakespeare, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> No oak is denoted in Norden's map as "Herne's Oak;" but Norden was employed by James the First on account of his skill as a mapper and surveyor, and not on account of his local knowledge, which may have been imperfect.

sons who are acquainted with the locality know that the ground gradually slopes from the castle in this direction, and a light "displayed" near the oak would be easily discernible from the edge of the castle ditch.

The reason for Page and his companions *couching* in the ditch, and proceeding thither some time before the period when they were to take an active part in the plot, may have been the fact that Falstaff must pass close to the ditch on his way to the oak. That a public path lay by the ditch might be another reason for concealment.

Pye argues that Page, Shallow, and Slender must have been near the oak, because they lay hold of Falstaff "as soon as he rises from the ground." But the signal for Page to come forward was the light of the fairies; and between the display of their lights and his appearance a considerable time elapses. A prolonged scene intervenes, including a lengthy exordium from Mrs. Quickly, a dance and a song by the fairies, affording ample time for the traverse of the space intervening between the castle ditch and the spot where we believe the oak to have stood.

Mr. Halliwell, finding a timber-yard in Norden's Plan of the Castle, at one time conjectured that there was a saw-pit there, and that this was the saw-pit alluded to by Shakespeare; but such a supposition entails greater difficulties than that sought to be removed. There is no tradition of a tree existing so near the castle and other buildings, nor is there any probability of one having stood there; and the belief that Herne's Oak was close to the pit is founded on the direct and positive statement in the play. "The superstitious idle-headed eld," moreover, would not select a spot so close to the habitations of man for their tradition. The timber-yard, too, was evidently an inclosed space, not accessible to the public, or a spot where Shakespeare could consistently assemble Sir Hugh Evans and his tribe of fairies.

That Shakespeare had in view a locality some distance from the town of Windsor is evidenced by what Mrs. Page says:

"The truth being known,  
We'll all present ourselves; dis-horn the spirit,  
And mock him home to Windsor."

Upon a consideration of all these facts, we think there can be little doubt that the spot where the oak stood which was known in Shakespeare's time, and adopted by him as Herne the Hunter's Oak, is that denoted in Collier's map, and distant only a few yards from the dead tree now standing in the avenue, and which was supposed by Mr. Jesse to be the real tree. As a necessary consequence of this opinion, it follows that in the dell now nearly filled up was the pit which Shakespeare intended to represent as that in which Anne Page as the Fairy Queen, and Sir Hugh Evans like a satyr, with Mrs. Quickly, Pistol, and the other members of the troop, lay concealed.

We cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a regret that in a map made by the Royal Engineers, for the purpose of assisting the Health of Towns Commissioners, the tree now standing in the avenue is called "Herne's Oak." The surveyors were probably misled by the quotation from Shakespeare affixed by Mr. Jesse to that tree.

In discussing the question of the identity and position of Herne's Oak, reference has been made to the supposed fairy pit or dell, traces of which may be still seen close to the site of the tree. There is some reason for believing that this pit, which is marked in Collier's map, is of very great antiquity; and a recent examination of it leaves no room for doubting that it was originally formed by chalk and flints having been dug out at that spot.

At a forest court held at Windsor Castle, on the 25th of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles the First, before Henry Earl of Holland, Chief Justice in Eyre of all the king's forests, chaces, parks, and warrens on this side Trent, the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of New Windsor appeared, by Edward Offley their attorney, and claimed to have, for themselves and their successors, certain privileges, franchises, and liberties within the Forest of Windsor. The privileges claimed by them chiefly consisted of those granted by James the First in his charter, which they produced in support of their claim. They also claimed the privilege of sending two members to parliament for the borough, and liberty to dig and carry away chalk and flints at all times of the year at their pleasure, in a certain place called the "Chalkpitts"

in the Little Park of Windsor, which privilege and liberty they claimed to have exercised from time immemorial. Sir Edward Littleton, the king's solicitor-general, who attended on behalf of the king, prayed an adjournment as to the privilege of sending members to parliament; and as to the claim of digging chalk in the Little Park, he prayed judgment against the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, on the ground that they had not made out any sufficient legal title in respect of it; and judgment was given by the court against the borough. As to the claims made under the charter of James the First, they were admitted by the solicitor-general and confirmed by the court.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons for supposing the "Chalk Pitts" mentioned in the preceding claim to be identical with the pit marked by Collier, may be stated in a few words.

Windsor Castle stands on the brow of a chalk ridge, forming part of the great chalk formation of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the north and west, but separated from it by a deep covering of sand and gravel occupying the valley of the Thames, while on the south and east the chalk is overlaid by clay. It therefore merely occupies a small *patch* at Windsor, comprising the site of the castle and the highest part of the Little Park. The "Chalk-pitts," therefore, could not have been in the low ground towards Frogmore, or in that part of the Little Park lying under and north of the castle, and now called the "Home Park," although, as the inhabitants of Windsor exercised rights of common and of digging gravel there until the reign of William the Third, any one unacquainted with the geological structure of the neighbourhood might have been inclined to refer the chalk-pits to that locality. On the other hand, it is very improbable that such a right would have been claimed close to the walls of the castle on the south or east sides. If, then, we are driven to select a place where chalk occurs at or

<sup>1</sup> These particulars are extracted from a copy of the record of the Forest Court in a MS. volume in the possession of Mr. Snowden, of Windsor, entitled 'Burgus de Nova Windsor.' The page where the copy of the document in question is given, is thus headed: "Exempl. record. Sessiones Itineris Foreste D'ni Regis de Windsor &c. E carta originali pence Majorem et Ballivos de Windsor." The deed, however, appears to have been lost, as it is not to be found in the corporation chest.



near the surface, easily accessible to the town of Windsor and yet not close to the castle, we find that spot must necessarily have been near "Herne's Oak;" and as the hollow place marked in Collier's map was evidently occasioned by the abstraction of chalk and flint, it is a legitimate conclusion to assign it, as the identical "Chalk-pitt's" of the claim.



The Oak in the Elm Avenue.

(See *ante*, p. 692.)

END OF VOL. I.

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